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American Series

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THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

VOLUME TWENTY-TWO

MAY, 1944

YUGOSLAVIA AND THE BIG UNITED NATIONS: 1941-1943

By LOUIS ADAMIC

IN OCTOBER, 1942, the civil war which had been going on in Yugoslavia since November, 1941, began to seem an extremely serious matter with grave international implications. Britain, the United States and the Yugoslav government-in-exile were behind Drazha Mikhailovich and the Chetniks, who were fighting the Partisans and the Liberation Front who, backed by Russia, were fighting the Axis. That looked to me pretty close to war between Britain and us on the one side and Russia on the other. Could the United States do something about it? I gathered from an assistant secretary of state that the American government had no working policy for such problems. It left them to British hands — and at that time the British hands most active in reference to the Balkans were smeared with Rumanian oil and itching for Yugoslav metal deposits. Although the American government planned to invade the Balkans, it had no intelligence service of its own in Yugoslavia. And it seemed unable to take the initiative toward the formation of a commission of British, American and Russian army officers to go to Yugoslavia and assume command of the resistance to the Axis — a step which would make Yugoslavia into a symbol of Allied unity rather than a scene of conflict between the allies.

The little Balkan country had never been well known in the United States. Now many Americans thought, "Those crazy Yugoslavs! Always fighting among themselves! Why was there ever a Yugoslavia, anyhow?" Even later than December, 1942, some United

States government officials had no doubt about the hopeless incompatibility of the South-Slavic peoples whom Versailles and an undiscerning fate had lumped together into a "synthetic" state. But I was a native of the country and saw things something like this:

The Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian peoples were essentially no more incompatible, no more dissimilar than, say, the English, Scotch and Welsh, or the various strains in the German or Italian populations. Compared to the United States, Yugoslavia was strikingly homogeneous. It was no more synthetic than Switzerland.

Yugoslavia came into existence at the demand of historic forces which had appeared more than a century earlier, and what happened in the new state in the twenty-odd years after the First World War was — on the violent side — equivalent to American history from 1775 to about 1875, revolution, civil war, assassination, carpet-bagging *à la* the Chetniks, Know-Nothingism, graft, corrupt politics, capital-labor conflict. There were other resemblances too. The twenty-odd year period in Yugoslavia must be defined as a groping, dogged, uphill struggle on the part of a dynamic country for a workable constitution, for a bill of rights, for union.

But there was this difference between Yugoslav and American history: the Yugoslav struggle for a civilization was endlessly complicated by the general European mess after 1918 and by direct and indirect foreign meddling. First it was French and British "influence," then German and Italian pressure and aggression. No matter which, it was always corruptionist, always on the side of reaction, always promoting the worst type of leader whose actions, in turn, made for bad blood between Serbia and Croatia, and produced individuals who could be organized into Serbian Chetniks and Croatian ultra-nationalists, now useful to Hitler in splitting up the country as part of his "technique of depopulation" so the Germans would fall heir to the Balkans even if the Nazis lost the war.

This was the gist of the Yugoslav tragedy. But it was also the tragedy of all Europe and possibly even the United States. In December, 1942, and later, the whole world seemed caught in a confluence of contradictions. Twelve months before, a phrase had been created by Roosevelt and Churchill: the United Nations. It was still largely a phrase, a fiction. And the world was tangled in the uncomfortable no-man's land between hope and reality, between what the "democracies" and "communism" said and how they acted, between what they pretended the relations among them were and what they were in fact. In Washington many people in high places were more anti-Russian than anti-German.

The contradictions rose from the duality, the schizophrenia of the United Nations, their ostensible unity but actual disunity both as an alliance and separately within each country. The Yugoslav civil war which was revolution and counter-revolution, which was a rehearsal for World War III, was also a reflection of this essential split — a reflection, a result, and a threat.

What was happening there was part of the whole. The big democracies, England and America, were torn by the revolution too (as yet without much internal bleeding): pro-Darlan, anti-Darlan; pro- and anti-de Gaulle and Giraud, pro-Vatican, anti-Vatican; anti-Franco, pro-Franco, anti-Russia, pro-Russia; anti-Slav, anti-Negro; pro-future, pro-past; isolationist *versus* internationalist, pro and anti “a quart of milk a day.”

Yugoslavia, bleeding internally, was the obvious, tangible microcosm, the accentuated miniature, of a possible and threatening world future. There may be internal bleeding elsewhere too before the war is over, it is even more likely when the peace is being made and when the enemy in Germany, Italy, Japan is no longer our direct worry. Yugoslavia came to her testing ground in the midst of war; in the problems of peace all nations, large and small, will come to theirs.”

The Yugoslav peoples were involved in a fearful process. It was integral with their amazing resistance against the Axis; also with the war as a whole. The evolving political developments in Yugoslavia, which were only now (late in 1942) being revealed, roused in the United States impatience, annoyance and cynicism. I was impatient with such impatience. It was due to big-nation superiority, to the lack of understanding of what was going on. And I was afraid it was shared by too many people charged with preparing the Balkan invasion.

It was my deep conviction that any military plans for Yugoslavia would have to go hand in hand with a successful approach to its political problem. Otherwise, large elements of the Yugoslav peoples — elements grouped in the Liberation Front whose Partisan armies were resisting the Axis — would not welcome the Anglo-American invasion as an agency of liberation; they might even oppose it. And that would be dreadful.

The civil war in Yugoslavia was in part a manifestation of the basic difficulties between Britain and America (specifically Britain at that time, over a year ago) on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other. And it was doubly distressing because I believed that Yugoslavia could be made — through wise and purposeful statesmanship — into a bridge between the Soviet and the West.

But if the forces colliding in Yugoslavia were not recognized and creatively directed, was not World War III almost a certainty? Would it not probably become a global civil war?

Russia backed the Partisans because Yugoslav resistance helped her more than anything else so far. But might there not be other reasons? Did Russia mean to force Britain and America to "permit" her an equal voice in postwar planning? What would she do if they refused?

As late as the summer of 1943 the United States had no foreign policy; only some contradictory groping around. What was our underlying purpose — if we had one? Why were we anti-Partisan? Were we aiming for the *status quo ante bellum* or for the spread of democracy? Were we more afraid of Communism or of an upsurge of Slavdom after the war than we were in favor of a fundamental reorganization of Europe? Were we as a country and a government afraid or unable to assume responsibility? Was that why we let the worst sort of British agent handle the Yugoslav problem?

The Yugoslav problem was bewildering to the American mind. But it was complicated only in its superficial aspects. Basically it had a simple pattern.

Two old and opposing motives were now coming to grips in Yugoslavia within the rigid chaos of occupation. One, exploiting and deepening that chaos, was out to destroy what unity the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian peoples had attained between World War I and II; the other was welding that unity more firmly so that the future could be built upon it.

The first motive got its dynamic from Hitler and his *gauleiters*, from the native chauvinists in Croatia and Serbia, from the "Greater-Serbia" clique in the Yugoslav Government in London, from the camarilla of adventurers around the young king, and from some of the men in the Yugoslav diplomatic corps, including and especially the Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington, Constantin Fotich.

The second motive got its dynamic from the most active and politically healthiest elements of the Yugoslav peoples.

Not everybody in the first group was pure villain, nor were there no objectionable people and motives in the second. But in the basic pattern of division — revolution and counter-revolution: the people and the future *versus* the oligarchs and the past — the Partisans and Russia were with the second motive, while Mikhailovich, the British agents and the chauvinists belonged to the first.

The first group was undemocratic, totalitarian, centralist, anti-

federalist; the second strongly favored federalism, democracy, general welfare as the chief principles around which to reorganize Yugoslavia, the Balkans and Eastern Europe after the war.

The government of the United States continued to recognize the Yugoslav government-in-exile as the legitimate government of a country where scarcely anybody wanted it back. By tradition the United States government was deeply inhibited from doing anything officially toward reconstituting the government of another country even though, as in this instance, a new government might be capable of formulating a policy acceptable — at least tentatively — to the second motive now operating in Yugoslavia, and even though that might be very useful to us in the war. I was aware of the complexity underlying this inhibition — but we were living in a world less tied to tradition, legalism, or legitimacy than it was moving toward a great change; less tied to forms than it was moving toward the wider satisfaction of the people who make up nations

The United States' invasion plans were not helped by prohibiting short-wave broadcasters from mentioning a Balkan federation. Apparently the State Department had not yet decided whether a federation of the Yugoslav lands, Bulgaria, and possibly other countries, or some other union would be the best answer to the Balkan problems in line with the Atlantic Charter. If this were the basis for the ban, did it not imply that the American government had at least tentative political plans for the Balkans? Did that not mean that we were in reality violating our tradition of non-interference in Europe while we appeared to invoke it? In other words, was it being invoked — as it had been invoked during the Spanish Civil War — only to preclude or postpone, hoping to frustrate, interference by the progressive element in America with the government's plans for its own kind of interference? Why had our negative non-interference been so consistently disastrous to peace and the furthering of democracy?

Nor was the Anglo-American invasion helped by BBC, controlled by British censors, when it permitted the inner clique of the Yugoslav government-in-exile to broadcast outright "Greater Serbia" propaganda to Yugoslavia all through 1942 and part of 1943. The British radio was daily urging Yugoslavs to join the army of Mikhailovich, King Peter's minister of war, although it was well known in London that the great bulk of the Yugoslav people was anti-Mikhailovich, partly because he was in a cabinet dominated by a clique who had no kinship to any kind of future that would interest them; and partly because he commanded the crackpot, reactionary Chetniks and was a stooge of foreign imperialism.

Moscow had demonstrated that she was for the Partisans and against Mikhailovich. She had recognized Yugoslavia's right to Trieste. She strongly though implicitly supported a Yugoslav and/or Balkan federation, perhaps a great East European confederation, under a government of peoples' leaders friendly to Russia. She opposed the British purposes in the Balkans which revolved around and apparently depended on a *cordon sanitaire*—on leaders like Mikhailovich, the Chetniks and the government-in-exile, all regarded by the Partisans and by Russia as captives of the British and extremely questionable.

Most of the Yugoslav peoples were pro-Russia (neither pro- nor anti-Communist). They were politically mature; they knew what they wanted—also what they did not want. They were consciously fighting for life, against depopulation, for liberty, for a better world. They wanted the sort of world that Sumner Welles and Henry Wallace and Wendell Willkie talked about. They wanted that talk translated into action. And, just as fiercely as they were fighting the Axis, they would fight anybody—native, British or American—who attempted to impose upon them another military or royal dictatorship. Yugoslavs were sick of dangling as powerless pawns in the game of imperialistic politics.

The political situation in Yugoslavia must, therefore, be taken actively and seriously into account in any plans for a military invasion of the Balkans.

Late in 1942 and later still, I was pessimistic about the situation. The gentlemen in the United States government were caught up in routine. Precedent and legitimism ruled. Protocol was the thing. The past dragged along; the future had very little chance. Our war leaders hoped to save capitalism and Christianity in Europe. But that was not enough. The need was to create something new—something that would go beyond the forms of "democracy," "capitalism," "Christianity" and "Communism" which we had today. To do that, our leadership would have to move from their accustomed routine out into the living world.

The President and the State Department were confronted by a huge intra-American question mark. Were the people of the United States going to want to participate in world responsibility or not? The President was worried about the reactionary Southern Democrats; about the "Catholic vote"; about the "fourth term." . . .

But I thought there was a chance that the United Nations might still unite, that forces bigger than the reactionary trends in Great Powers were at work and would overcome their Caesaristic schemes,

which were essentially no better than Hitler's except that they were less ambitious and more "polite."

Russia too was having her own kind of revolution . . . and my feeling, my hope was that the inclusive upheaval in which the world was caught would be progressively resolved in compromise. That was as much as one could realistically hope for, and the basis for this hope was the probability that Russia and Britain and the United States were simultaneously becoming too strong to risk World War III soon after World War II. Each would be up against gigantic immediate problems in which it would need the help of the other two. Each would be obliged to yield ground at various points, and that would bring them to a middle ground further ahead than where each now stood alone.

Would this come about soon enough? Which Allied power would make the first move? Much American "leadership" was paralyzed by fear or position or both. It was too formal for a revolutionary period. Running a global war, it was still pretty isolationist at many points, still worrying about the same old "national interests." Could it be prodded into the larger realism which included responsibility commensurate with American power? Could that be done any other way than through the American people? Most likely not.

The American people were almost unconscious concerning world politics. But they were waking up. They responded enthusiastically to Wendell Willkie and Henry Wallace — men who were not merely clever or politic, correct or deft, but who were really sincere. The majority of the American people would assume their share of world responsibility if they were told the truth and convinced of the necessity.

Meanwhile, events moved swiftly. Contrary to a good deal of secret wishful thinking in America and Britain, Russia's armies did not collapse. Along in December, 1942, and in the next two months, the American and British press and radio began to be full of the Partisan-Mikhailovich "rift" in Yugoslavia and the problem of political unity in the United Nations. More than a year later, in this era of rapid communications, the peoples of the United States and Britain learned of the Yugoslav Liberation Army made up of diverse elements — Serbians, Croats and Slovenians intermingled with freedom-loving Germans, Albanians, Greeks and Italians; men and women; Catholics, Jews, Orthodox and Moslems; peasants, students, storekeepers, writers, doctors, lawyers, priests, army officers and men. These people had submerged their smaller differences and were

fighting in unity, groping toward new formulae for civilization.

The Liberation Front with its Partisan army composed of Communists and many shades of non-Communists was analogous to a crude, hastily constructed raft built of logs, planks, and debris that floated about in the rising flood-waters of the people's resistance. It was in its own way an extremely tough, efficient and tenacious craft. The Axis and Mikhailovich, assisted in varying degrees by the Yugoslav government in London and the pre-Anthony Eden brand of British agents, tried their best to wreck it. Uninformed or reactionary Americans in and out of the State Department helped by suppressing, or ignoring the facts of its existence. But the flood-waters finally carried the raft over the retaining-walls of censorship.

Then official Britain, noticing the Red glow over the miracle of Stalingrad, experienced enlightenment. Cairo reported in July '43 that "the British government has established military liaison with the Yugoslav Partisan movement led by the chieftain who bears the *nom de guerre* Tito." The dispatch quoted an official statement of the General Allied Headquarters for the Middle East which, although it respectfully referred to Mikhailovich, went on to recognize some recent Partisan successes which were "welcomed here as proof that the German claim to have wiped out the main body of the Partisan army is false." The statement mentioned the Partisans' "increasing war against Axis communications," and added, "this military success is considered to be of particular value to the Allied cause."

This was a good, even if a terribly late—and not quite convincing—beginning in the right direction. I do not know where the State Department stands on Yugoslavia as I write, but I have reason to believe that some American military men, who during 1943 have quickly acquired considerable perception about the complex Yugoslav problem, are also tending in the right direction.

The process of compromise within the big United Nations has finally begun. And it is anybody's guess whether the Moscow Conference last November was facilitated by the liaison established by the British government with Tito, the Yugoslav commander who happens to be a Croatian and one of the foremost Communists in the Balkans. In any case, right after the Moscow Conference General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, commander-in-chief in the Middle East, issued a sharp denunciation of the pro-Nazi Chetniks who were collaborating with the Germans against their countrymen.

The good beginning was not altogether convincing, however, because at the same time—in July-September, 1943—the "Anglo-Americans" were also in contact with quisling Nedich, a potential

Serbian Darlan. But I think the chances now are against the deal with Nedich they were then hatching.

Nothing succeeds like success, and the Partisan successes were of particular value to Allied strategy. Although the Partisans were badly mangled by the Nazi offensive in the early months of 1943, by the middle of March large numbers were back in the fight, continuing to pin down numerous Axis divisions in Yugoslavia.

Around May 15, the Italo-German-Ustashi forces launched a series of attacks on Partisan positions and the many "islands" of the Liberated Territory. The attacks, whose aim once again was the destruction of the Partisan army, were so coordinated that they amounted to another general offensive, in which the Axis used eight full divisions. They were incalculably better equipped than the Partisans, who in most places were outnumbered three and four to one. But the enemy's new tactic, called "triple encirclement," failed to work. "Our heroic fighters," said the Free Yugoslavia radio station, "punctured all three rings." And in the process they expanded the Liberated Territory.

By the end of June the victory was clearly the Yugoslavs' — and Axis sources admitted it. Three German divisions lost around fifty per cent in killed and wounded. The Partisans suffered great losses but not as many as the Axis claimed. And all through the summer they were accepting anti-fascist deserters from the Italian army, as well as Serbians escaping from various Chetnik units into which they had been forcibly inducted.

Tito was the supreme leader of this warfare. On July 19 the Nazis priced him, dead or alive, at one hundred thousand gold Reichsmarks.

Fascist writers were forced to take notice also of the government which the Liberation Front set up in the Liberated Territory. It was no sporadic administration that they could ignore, but a democratic machine in action which worked effectively against the Axis scheme of fomenting internal strife and inciting one national or religious group against another. Serbo-Croatian unity, which appeared dead and buried in 1941, had been resurrected under the Partisan flag. This Yugoslav unity within the Liberation Front may be the only force in the world able to frustrate the Axis idea of winning the Balkans even if they lose the war.

Swinburne wrote: "Not with dreams but with blood and iron shall a nation be moulded at last."

The first Yugoslavia was molded from dreams and chicanery, and

from the top down. Now, within the Liberation Front, a new Yugoslavia is being molded with blood and iron, from its depths up, from within resistance, in and from the raft.

But something else is being molded in that raft — war and postwar techniques, formulae, approaches and relationships. Within the Yugoslav LF movement, as in wartime Russia, various kinds of non-Communists (the great majority of the population, as in Russia) have been working together with so-called Communists on the basis of mutual war and postwar aims. This fact seems to me of crucial importance to the postwar world.

I say “so-called” Communists, for in the Partisan army and among the LF civilians that designation — after nearly three years of almost unbelievable struggle for life and eventual freedom — has lost the special, sharp, distorted meaning it had before the war. Not that Communists have given up the Communist ideology or that the non-Communists have taken it on. In the situation in which they found themselves most prewar labels became irrelevant long before the Comintern was dissolved.

People who used to belong to many parties are working and fighting for something beyond the whole botch of fear-ridden counter-revolutionary impulses and unrealistic revolutionary notions of the previous twenty-five years, beyond the red herrings and the Stalinist-Trotskyite struggle, beyond the Moscow Trials and the Russo-German pact, beyond World War II. That something is as yet without a name unless it is a “New World.”

The Partisans must feel that this “New World” is anything but hopeless. Otherwise it is hard to understand what has enabled them to go through the hell of their fearful warfare. They must see a future that looks at once possible and good.

Between battles and burials they talk a great deal about the shape of things to come. Their thoughts diverge somewhat when it comes to details of postwar politics, but the differences are not serious. The men and women in the Liberation Front are sons and daughters of small nations; the big world outside their country — even after the Moscow Conference and the Roosevelt-Stalin-Churchill meeting — is criss-crossed with uncertainties and opposite purposes, enveloped in a fog of vagueness and distrust; and so their post-liberation thoughts are painfully tentative.

In the summer of 1943 a disquieting possibility was being discussed by American radio commentators and magazine writers: the idea that the Germans would hold Russia in the East while offering no more than a token resistance to British, American, Polish, French

armies coming from the South and West. The implication was that Germany would be holding Russia for the Western Allies as well as for Germany. The Moscow Conference seems to have disposed of that possibility, but if anything resembling it should be in the wind things will be pretty wrong in Yugoslavia, the Balkans, Eastern and Central Europe when and if the United Nations beat the Red Army into those regions

Tito was of course glad to establish military liaison with the Americans and the British-dominated Allied Headquarters for the Middle East. But he — and the civilian LF leaders over him — must have noticed the generous reference to Mikhailovich. It said that Mikhailovich was still fighting the Axis in the spring and summer of 1943 (not true); and that he personally was not collaborating with the Axis — only his Chetniks were, which is like saying that the Partisans had been fighting the Axis for two years but that Tito had had nothing to do with it.

While General Wilson's statement of November was encouraging, Tito must have wondered if the "Anglo-Americans" were going to try to rehabilitate Mikhailovich in spite of everything. And why? As a counter-weight to the Partisans and for possible use against them later on? It must be remembered that the Roosevelt-Churchill tentative policy in the summer of 1943 was anti-Leftist and deliberately though subtly counter-revolutionary. Tito knows that they frown on any labor, left, or revolutionary movement in Italy as the Anglo-American armies inch up the Italian boot.

And no doubt Tito and the LF leaders know of the support which Mikhailovich and his Serbian-Orthodox Chetniks have long been receiving from the Vatican, although perhaps half the Partisans are Catholics. Also, the Partisan leaders know that Archbishop Spellman discussed Mikhailovich in Rome as early as February, 1943, whereupon some of the largest Catholic newspapers in the world, published in Switzerland, Portugal and America (including the *Brooklyn Tablet*) went pro-Mikhailovich. Nor could Tito and his LF superiors help but worry about President Roosevelt's tieup with the Vatican.

Although the National Anti-Fascist Liberation Council (*Večeh*) has declared that the concrete solution of all political, social, economic and cultural problems affecting the future Yugoslav state must wait till after the war, the current thinking within the Liberation Front touches the fringes of the postwar question. Anxious to withdraw their country and the Balkans from the reach of Western imperialism of whatever source, Partisans and LF civilians are pondering a number of possibilities and probabilities.

First of all, they are thinking of a Yugoslav federation whose territory will include the Slovenian region with Trieste and Gorizia, the peninsula of Istria, the cities of Rieka and Zadar (Fiume and Zara), and the Slavic islands in the Adriatic which the London Pact of 1915 gave to Italy; and also the Slovenian territory that remained in Austria

This new Yugoslavia will be built from the ground up, largely under the new wartime leaders and under people who will emerge after the liberation. Most of the politicians who "deserted" the country in 1941 will be barred from sharing in its re-creation. So will anybody else who considers himself "superior" to the general run of people. A republican form for the new state is assumed. The right of the peoples to fashion their own economic, political, social and cultural life is insisted upon. The trend of thought is toward collectivism, much of it to be organized around the village cooperative.

How many autonomous units there will be in the Yugoslav federation is to be left to future determination by the people living in the different regions. Many Yugoslavs have read Stalin's views of 1925 on the nationality problem in Yugoslavia, and realize that he is the only major contemporary world figure who has given the problem close and serious thought.

The federation is to be created by merging principles which are at work in the United States, Switzerland and the Soviet Union. There is to be a People's Bill of Rights; freedom of the press, assembly and religion. Religion, however, will be severed from state and local politics. It will have to rest on its spiritual soundness, on its appeal to the people, not on special privilege, vested interests or Clerical politics

The Yugoslav Partisans are in close contact with Leftist guerrillas in Bulgaria, Albania and Greece. They talk of bringing Bulgaria into the South-Slavic federation, depending on the will of the Bulgarian people, many of whom think of themselves as Yugoslavs and have refused to fight against Russia. The Bulgarians used by the Axis to butcher Serbians, Jews and Greeks are chauvinists resembling the Serbian Chetniks and Croatian Ustashi.

The idea of a still wider Balkan union which might include Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece and Rumania intrigues a great many Balkanites. But such a development is possible only within a democratic, republican system built on the principle of the people's right to self-determination; and only under leaders who come up from the people during or after the ordeal of occupation.

Such a federation would then be ready for inclusion in any bigger

combination — an East European federation, or the U.S.S.R. I believe that a majority of people forming the Yugoslav LF and the Bulgarian underground are ready for Sovietization, but they know that, in view of the difficulties such a proposal might create between Russia and the Anglo-American allies, the Soviet may not want them.

Everything depends on the big United Nations; on whether or not the difficulties among them can be resolved.

It would be ideal if American, British and Russian troops simultaneously occupied Eastern Europe and if they jointly held the region in a sort of international escrow, without rivalry. At the end of six months, say, or a year, free elections should be held in which the peoples — after listening to an open debate among their leaders — would decide whether they want to be made into one federation, or into several confederated federations, or to enter the Soviet Union.

The trend toward federation is very strong. But even under the best imaginable leadership and in the best possible international atmosphere the re-creation of Yugoslavia herself, to say nothing of a Balkan federation, will not be easy.

If liberation should be achieved by the Fall of 1944, well over a million and a half of Yugoslavs will have perished in warfare, by execution, starvation and epidemics at home or in German and Italian slavery, and by other methods of depopulation. This is proportionately the same as if the United States' war losses reached seven or eight millions. Should the Nazis make a stand on a line running through Yugoslavia, many more inhabitants will be ground out.

Hundreds of villages and towns are completely destroyed. Those partially ruined are almost beyond count.

When liberation comes, there will be at least half a million recently orphaned children. Five to eight million people will be undernourished and inadequately clothed. The food supply will be low. Other supplies practically non-existent.

Food, clothing and medical relief from America has been promised the South-Slavs over short-wave radio and is being organized in Washington. But they will be in need of rehabilitation and reconstruction aid for a considerable period of time. The plans which I have seen look very good.

In addition to almost general physical destitution, there will be, as in all liberated countries, extreme personal and social unhappiness; many kinds of social and psychological pathology. I believe that American Relief workers would do well to read these wise words of Jacques Maritain, the eminent Catholic lay writer: "Let us not believe that to help Europe . . . is an easy job. Europe is old and

experienced, it has experience, a terrible experience, in wisdom as well as in wickedness . . . Europe will be sure to have learned a great deal and to know a great deal — a bitter knowledge of its own. It will have its own ideas and its own will as to the future of the world . . . Deeply rooted will be an abiding flame of revolt against the evils suffered and the injustices of the past . . .”

Largely depending on whether Britain, America and Russia draw together or apart, the will of the South-Slavic peoples may force Sovietization; and Stalin may have to extend Russian borders for reasons of security. But now in November, 1943, it seems probable that the situation immediately following liberation will favor a federation which is not incorporated into the Soviet Union. However, the people will want such a federation to lean on Russia politically and economically. If a pro-Russian federation or confederation system is allowed to develop, or develops regardless of British and American disapproval, then the Liberation Front formula of collaboration between Communists and non-Communists will stay in effect with few adjustments.

Assuming this to be the prospect immediately after liberation, what will be the mood of the South-Slavic peoples?

Even before eating a substantial Relief meal, they will draw a deep sigh of release from the extreme despotism of the foreign occupation armies, from the terrorism of the Gestapo and the quislings, from the horror of the whole “technique of depopulation.” In many places they will have taken a terrible revenge on the quislings, the retreating enemy armies and the Germans whom Hitler established on Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian farms. Now they will be ready for the future.

The liberated people will want many freedoms. And I must make this absolutely clear: they will demand a new situation — collective security, close unity or cooperation with neighboring peoples (including former enemies if under proper governments), and safeguards against any repetition of the period just ended. They will fight any attempt to restore an *ancien regime*, to quick-freeze their revolutionary mood. Except for a short time in which to introduce order necessary to life, they will tolerate no arbitrary officials, their own or Allied; no Darlan or Giraud or Badoglio. They are Balkanites and they will kill them. If the Anglo-American forces come into the country with the wrong approach and protect the Darlan so no one is able to get at him, someone will be apt to kill the highest British or American officer he can get at. The South-Slavs and other Balkanites are through fooling around.

They will want political democracy, with local and federal administrations freely elected by the people. The people intend to be the source of power, to carry on the techniques of government started in the LF. They will want democracy in other areas of their lives. They will be tough on undemocratic individuals and groups, and will probably provide severe legal penalties for anyone guilty of national or racial discrimination.

Freedom from want will have to be realized within a reasonable time. The people will not be satisfied with a reversion to the miserable prewar standards. The slogans will be: Full national liberty. Equality among peoples. Land for the peasants. Decent wages for those who want to work. New industries. Dams in Croatia and Bosnia which will produce electricity for Serbia and Dalmatia and Albania as well, and perhaps for Greece and Bulgaria.

If the "Anglo-Americans" come with a military government which does not include Russians, the Yugoslavs will want to know why not. They will insist upon adding them. Also, as an ally who has contributed much to the general victory, they will want LF Yugoslavs in any such temporary government. Relief will have to be so handled that it will not give prestige to would-be leaders objected to on any score by any considerable number of the people who fought the guerrilla war.

"Reconstruction," said Lincoln, "is a more difficult and a more dangerous task than either construction or destruction." The South-Slavic and other Balkan peoples will need a great deal of help to help themselves through several years. I hope they get it. They will deserve it. Their sacrifices and their contribution to victory over the Axis will have been proportionately greater than any other nation's.

But in helping them help themselves the best, most lasting help will come to them — and to all the world — if the big United Nations achieve and maintain postwar unity.

AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS

By SAMUEL H. CROSS

A SURVEY of certain current movements of American opinion regarding the Soviets is valuable as a barometer of interallied weather, especially in view of the likelihood that casual day-to-day revelations of American attitudes and feelings concerning our Ally during the war-years will have considerable power for good or evil in regulating both the mood and the sympathies which Soviet representatives will eventually bring to the peace table.

Much water has flowed under the bridges since President Coolidge wrote, on December 6, 1923, "Whenever there appears any disposition to compensate our citizens who were despoiled, and to recognize that debt contracted with our Government, not by the Tsar but by the newly formed Republic of Russia; whenever the active spirit of enmity to our institutions is abated; whenever there appear works meet for repentance — our country ought to be the first to go to the economic and moral rescue of Russia."

Since that date, our fellow-citizens have been efficiently despoiled elsewhere. Enough old debts have been repudiated and enough new ones incurred in all directions to make our original claims of 588 million dollars against the Soviets look cheap. In October 1941, for instance, as a starter, President Roosevelt offered Marshal Stalin a loan of one billion dollars.¹ The American Communist Party, after acrobatic gyrations in pursuit of the party line, first became a vociferous partisan of democratic victory, then faded from the political stage. And when it comes to works meet for repentance, the nation which Republican administrations of the past long discounted as a social and diplomatic inferior has performed against the common enemy practically the only military exploits which give us any real grounds for optimism as to the outcome of the war in the European theater.² Not even a New England President was prophet enough to foresee who eventually would be the first to go to the rescue of whom — even involuntarily.

On the other hand, public opinion is not entirely oblivious of the

¹ Its terms were later superseded by Lend-Lease arrangements; E. R. Stettinius, Jr., *Lend-Lease* (New York: Macmillan, 1944), p. 130.

² Cf. a syndicated article by Major General G. V. Strong, Assistant Chief of Staff (G2), War Department, March 29, 1944: "Our optimism for the future is based almost entirely on the ability of our Russian allies to keep nearly three-quarters of the German army occupied in the east . . . If for any reason the fighting on the Russian front should suddenly stop, we could well expect to find a considerable number of additional German divisions fighting us in southern Italy in a short time. Then our recent advances would be turned of necessity into a hasty retreat."

American-Soviet Relations

past and therefore, from the American standpoint, the Soviet Union entered upon its uncharted role of ally under serious handicaps. Of course, the Soviet Union is not in this war by preference, but by bitter necessity. Like the United States, the Russians were deliberately attacked. Before June, 1941, hardly a single American had the vaguest inkling that the United States would one day be allied with the country which so long inspired in many of his fellow-citizens a good deal of suspicion and mistrust, not to say outright hostility. The outspoken disapproval formerly expressed by Soviet publicists for old-style and (in their eyes) moribund democracy and capitalism, reported Communist activities in American labor unions, the curious psychology of the Moscow trials, the 1937 purge of the Soviet general staff and army, and the allegations of the Dies Committee, all contributed to making the American public reserved in its attitude toward the Soviet Union even after the first Roosevelt administration resumed diplomatic relations with it in 1933. The Russo-German pacts of August, 1939, the partition of Poland, the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States, and the deportation to Siberia of numerous Poles from the occupied areas all combined in early 1941 to give the Soviet Union the worst press it had inspired in the United States since the earliest days of the Bolshevik ascendancy. It has thus taken some time, along with the defense of Stalingrad and current Russian successes in the southwest, to provoke a real shift in the public mind.

As yet, however, this shift is not wholly proof against relapses due to past prejudices. Too many people in the United States and elsewhere still identify the Russians at home with loud-mouthed local members of the Communist party, who have frequently comported themselves less as patriots than as foreign agents. It is unfortunate that so few observing Americans have been able to watch the Russians hard at work, under colossal handicaps, to push their country forward and upward, and that many prewar tourists, who did visit the Soviet Union were so ignorant of Russia's past and so concerned for their own creature comforts as travelers, that they failed to sense the zealous pioneer spirit behind the physical construction or the keen Russian appreciation for things of the spirit that ensured the preservation of artistic and cultural monuments, stimulated literary and scientific research, and widened educational opportunity. Before the recent official recognition of the Church, too many perfectly conscientious Christian observers condemned Soviet disapproval of religion without the slightest comprehension that, in the imperial epoch, the old State Church had made itself suspect as a tool of autocracy; that new social ideals were introducing a higher conception

of human rights, relations, and conduct throughout the Soviet Union than the pre-revolutionary Russian Church had ever promoted; and that no church, in Russia or elsewhere, can live unless it satisfies contemporary needs and aspirations and is closely integrated with the social system in which it lives.

On the evidence of increasing tolerance in the Soviet Union, of patriotic activities on the part of priests and believers, and of a complete reversal of Soviet official policy toward religious organizations, it might perhaps have been reasonably expected that the intensity of resentment against the Soviet on religious grounds might in some degree abate. A decrease was indeed reflected by the generous efforts of Protestant churchmen and laymen in behalf of Russian war relief. On the other hand, in certain Catholic quarters suspicion dies harder. For example, speaking at Boston in March, 1944, Father Edmund A. Walsh of Georgetown University, originally a frank opponent of American recognition of the Soviets, while recognizing "the purely military achievements of the Red Army" and "Russia's magnificent resistance to an unprovoked invasion," declared that "her concomitant attempt to profit by the present world tragedy and, under cover of the confusion incident to global warfare, to seek first to nullify her plighted word, then *plan to expand a way of life hostile to Christianity*, should be exposed and condemned."³ Speaking next day in the same city and in the same vein, the Reverend Edward L. Curran of Brooklyn asserted his belief that "Communitistic Russia" should not "*benefit one iota for its participation in the war.*"⁴ Statements of this nature are not without public effect, as witness one recent irate letter to a Boston paper asking, "when will the people of the United States wake up to the fact that we are being sold up the river to Russia?" "We have lost all our prestige as a power," the writer goes on. "We have fed Russia so much already that she has us just where she wants us. . . . *Some day Russia will turn on us and, when that day comes, watch out, America and Christendom!*"⁵

Substantially the same undercurrent of mistrust, though on a higher plane, was expressed in the protest against Soviet policy toward Poland put forth somewhat earlier by Mr. William Agar of Freedom House and other representative and progressive co-signers:

If Russia values America's friendship as we believe she does, she must not use her power to impose either an unjust frontier or a puppet government upon the Polish people. *Russia must choose.* She can impose her

³ As quoted by the *Boston Post*, March 20, 1944.

⁴ As quoted by the *Christian Science Monitor*, March 22, 1944.

⁵ *Boston Traveler*, March 30, 1944.

will but she cannot impose it without estranging millions of Americans whose opinions may be decisive in the development of her foreign policy.

The expressions of suspicion here typified derive from their basic motives: religion, resentment of Russian power and influence, and deep-seated mistrust of Soviet political intentions.

Loth though one may well be to approach the religious aspect of this situation, with its pitfalls of prejudice, tradition, and emotion, any public assertion of an ostensibly authoritative opinion that the Soviets are promoting "a way of life hostile to Christianity" is so insidious as to demand some query about its base. For modern economics, sociology, government and diplomacy are far too complicated to justify their definition or regulation by any mere *ipse dixit*, whether lay or clerical, Catholic or Protestant. We are dealing here with a nation which, after decrying and persecuting religion, has accepted it as a vital factor in national life, and those Russian Christians who, after twenty-five years of trial in the fires of martyrdom, have legitimized their faith by works, are very likely better judges of their own religious needs than any outsider, whatever his creed or station.

It would be idle to deny that, in the early stages of Soviet revolutionary progress, religion was identified with superstition, family life discouraged and ridiculed, marriage debased to a function of caprice, childbearing reduced to a matter of convenience, property rights disregarded or denied, and human life held worse than cheap as against the doctrinaire and merciless application of principles, theories and experiments of which time and experience have been the ruthless judges. But over two decades attitudes and policies have changed. The Church has been reinstated, the family restored, abortion discouraged, divorce made difficult, child-welfare promoted, socialized medicine successfully applied, personal liberties extended, art and literature fostered, education brought to the unenlightened, and racial prejudice eradicated. Until the present war struck home, the general living standard had been impressively raised, and the rights of private property-ownership considerably enlarged — a series of factors which conditions the valiant and self-sacrificing defense of Russian homes and firesides which the world has witnessed since 1941.

On the record, these developments strike a simple New England Protestant mind as being essentially at one with the Christian ideal of the perfectibility of man, society, and institutions, which is more than can be seriously asserted of the activities of the Fascist regimes in Italy and Spain which Catholic personages have not merely tol-

erated but even praised. But as long as our Chinese allies, whatever may be the religious affiliations of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, can hardly be classed among the Christian nations, it might well be more tactful (to say nothing of being closer to the truth) if less were heard of the alleged Soviet promotion of "a way of life hostile to Christianity," more especially since the Soviets themselves may justly claim a more rapid material and intellectual advance over the fifteen years from 1926 to 1941 than has ever been registered by any modern nation (not excepting even the United States) in such a relatively brief interval.

A tendency also exists in some circles to regard the Soviets as somehow not quite *salonfähig* — in other words, long on frankness and short on manners. Substantially the same comment was applied to American diplomats in England during the Civil War, when the rise of a new power was not always relished in governing circles. But this tendency has the unfortunate result of tempting idealistic and internationally-minded American liberals to admonish the Soviets in regretful tones. Such admonitions are notable only for their futility. If Mr. David Zaslavski of *Pravda* could deliver a strenuous swing at Mr. Wendell Willkie for expressing a frank and entirely rational opinion on the Polish Frontier question (though the suspicion prevails that Mr. Zaslavski was reaching for a still higher target), there is little likelihood that sanctimonious warnings are likely to have much effect on the Soviet authorities. In other terms, the Soviet Union, though not yet our equal in industrial development, is territorially twice the size of the United States, has a population half again the size of ours, and is economically a more nearly self-sufficient country than our own, with a national pride and a consciousness of achievement at least equal to that cherished by Americans in general. It cannot therefore fruitfully be treated with tolerance or condescension, and must be accepted unreservedly as an unquestioned equal in political as well as in military respects.

Now does history reveal that any influential nation which resolutely bases its policy on cold national interest as domestically interpreted has ever been regarded as tactful or even considerate by those on the receiving end, as witness (for example) certain earlier episodes connected with the Panama Canal Zone, the seizure of Vera Cruz in 1914, the Mexican Punitive Expedition of 1916, American estrangement from Europe in the early '20's, or American efforts to collect the foreign debts incurred during the last World War.

In approaching diplomatic problems, the besetting sin of both diplomats and commentators, whether amateur or professional, is

wishful thinking. A mental picture is conceived of how a given foreign nation should behave, and disillusion sets in when that nation, for reasons sufficient unto itself, does otherwise, and often the precise opposite. The fact is, in the absence of some over-all international organization, no *permanent* cooperation seems possible between any two nations unless they possess analogous geographical situations, speak the same language, and exhibit substantially identical social and economic structures. In all other combinations, competitive commercial and political aspirations are likely to provoke divergencies of interest which jeopardize sane and sincere long-range collaboration. Vagaries of ideology, of continental background, of tradition, and of experience merely complicate the situation. Thus, in the present instance, coincidence of military aims creates an intimate relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States. But unless this temporary identity of interest can be translated into a more enduring community of purpose and action by a determination to establish and maintain world peace, the prospects for lasting intimacy appear slight indeed. If the situation is allowed to drift, both nations run the risk of automatically adopting the opportunistic policy once stated by Palmerston, who said of England in 1849, "We have no eternal allies and no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is one duty to follow." What Palmerston failed to add is the corollary that the selfish pursuit of national interest renders eventual hostile collisions inevitable, as proved the case both in his own day and in Disraeli's.

As the protest of Mr. William Agar and his associates indicates, among the problems rising out of the war in Europe, the most disturbing is connected with the eastern Polish frontier. In theory, this might well be one of a number of secondary items incident to post-war settlements, and one in which an overseas nation might be expected to take no more than an abstract interest dictated by the hope that justice will ultimately be done. Unluckily, however, it gains in poignancy by the presence of a large and well-organized Polish minority in the United States, by general American commiseration for Poland's harassed past and by patriotic memories of Kościuszko and Pułaski, by natural Catholic interest in a predominantly Catholic state under pressure from a larger nation that does not stand high in Catholic favor, by the activities of Ukrainian immigrant groups in this country, and by traditional American sympathy for the Jewish minority throughout Eastern Europe. Thus, while the British may not wholly appreciate American official reserve in approaching this difficulty, and though the Soviet authorities may imply

that too much steam is being raised by American public opinion over a matter which, geographically, is a well-nigh exclusively Russian concern, the fact remains that both these American attitudes are conditioned by domestic factors which make it inevitable that the Polish frontier question will be publicly aired with rather more frankness than diplomatic tact might in principle render desirable

This Polish problem also has broader implications through its tie-up with the whole question of the post-war status and function of smaller nations, some of whom already exhibit nationalistic ambitions rather in excess of their post-war prospects. If there is any lesson to be learned from the experience of the twenty years between 1919 and 1939, it is that setting up a series of economically weak national states solely on the basis of romantic ideals and strategic aims is no guarantee of peace. To bolster up their precarious budgets or to favor local industry, such states erect tariff barriers which hinder the normal flow of commerce and exchange on which their very lives depend. If their territories contain linguistic minorities, the latter are discriminated against in business and politics until they seek support from the nearest larger state to which they are akin, and eventually provide that state with a natural pretext for intervention. In order to counterbalance their more powerful neighbors or checkmate some adjacent state with momentarily better diplomatic affiliations, these lesser states unite in ententes and combinations which become the pawns of international politics, and give the statesmen of these minor organisms a chance to assume positions of influence and prominence for which they are often unqualified by experience or vision. If, therefore, the peace of the world is ultimately to be assured by the combined force and authority of the major nations, the political importance of smaller peoples is bound to decrease in proportion to their military and industrial weakness. Insofar as any nation of the present day, large or small, may be said to have a mission, it consists in assuring the maximum prosperity of its members, in refraining from acts which antagonize its neighbors, and contributing by its innate gifts to the sum total of human progress. Small nations have a right to evolve and develop their native talents freely under the aegis of international security, but as long as they are adequately protected they are not entitled to jeopardize the general welfare by political aspirations or by romantic sighs for an irrecoverable past.

These remarks apply with special cogency (though not exclusively) to Poland, manifest sympathy for which must often be tempered by a cold appreciation of its inept foreign policy both before and since the death of Marshal Pilsudski. Without great national self-restraint

and internationally guaranteed security, Poland's very existence is likely to remain uncertain. Devoid of natural land boundaries, situated at a focal point in Eastern Europe, it lies squarely across the path both of northwestward Russian expansion toward warm water and of the age-old German push eastward toward fertile grainfields and more abundant raw materials. Regardless of any defects in domestic administration and political leadership, regardless of any merits in its culture and political philosophy, Poland ceased to exist at the end of the eighteenth century because its two most powerful neighbors (Prussia and Russia) wanted to destroy it. After its restoration in 1918, Poland enjoyed an abnormally preferred position because both its major immediate neighbors were temporarily paralyzed, Germany by defeat and Russia by revolution, civil war, and the painful process of recovery. Once these giants had regained their health, Poland's situation became as precarious as ever. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Poles faced two alternatives: absorption by Russia, or partition. Today, thanks to the prospective defeat of Germany, the alternatives are not quite so drastic. But, regardless of sentiment and many bitter memories, understanding with Russia is a categorical imperative for war-time and post-war Poland.

Formally, Polish objection to the acceptance of the so-called Curzon Line as a basis for fixing the Polish eastern frontier rests on the substantial identity of that line (except at its northern and southern extremities) with the German-Soviet demarcation line of September, 1939, plus the fact that the Soviets, by the Polish-Soviet agreement of July 30, 1941, characterized this line as invalid, while Mr. Eden, on the same date, declared that the British Government recognized no territorial changes which had been effected in Poland since August, 1939. The area in dispute belonged to Poland from the union with Lithuania in 1386 until the Partitions, and was regained by the Treaty of Riga in 1921. Polish figures claim just under 40 percent as the proportion of Poles among the population of the whole area occupied by the Soviets under the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement of 1939, but in both Wilno and Lwów, each a major and long-standing center of Polish culture, the proportion of Poles approximates 65 percent.

Apart from motives of military security, the Soviet claim rises primarily from the facts (1) that in northeastern Poland, north of the Propet marshes, the population is largely White Russian and thus a westward continuation of the dialect group which, on the Soviet side of the pre-war frontier, extends from Rzhev and Smolensk west through Minsk to the old border; and (2), that south of the marshes

the Ruthenian population is again a western continuation of the Ukrainian population of southwestern Russia. The Soviet allegation that this area was wrested from Russia by the Treaty of Riga departs in some degree from the record, since Polish accounts of the negotiation of the treaty indicate a reasonable spirit of compromise on both sides. Lenin is reported to have said, with characteristic realism, that the temporary sacrifice of a bad peace seemed to him cheaper than the prolongation of war, while the head of the Soviet delegation at Riga characterized the treaty as "giving full satisfaction to the vital, legitimate, and necessary interests of the Polish nation." What is more, the evidence for the free nature of the plebiscite "on a broad democratic basis" which the Soviets claim to have held in this area in 1939 is not entirely conclusive.

These minutiae are important only as they contribute to the creation of a well-informed American opinion on the issue which, complicated by long historical processes and disconcerting ethnographic confusion, is one of those baffling items which discourage the American public in moments of close contact with European affairs. From factors rising from the presence of influential Polish and Ukrainian groups in this country, the choice for American opinion would seem to be squarely between backing a claim justified chiefly by arguments in the past or favoring a solution likely to facilitate productive future relations with a major nation of growing strength, capable of fruitful cooperation for the pacification of the world. On the other hand, whatever the disabilities of the Polish Government-in-Exile at London (and, in terms of personnel, they are indubitably numerous since General Sikorski's tragic death), it must, from the American point of view, remain the legitimate and constitutional Polish Government until replaced by popular decision freely reached in Poland itself. Persistent Soviet refusal to deal with this Government creates an unfavorable impression abroad and has so far directly prevented that very reorganization of the Polish Cabinet which the Soviets profess to desire.

In the main, then, American opinion desires reassurance on Russia's political intentions as typified by its attitude toward Poland. The Soviets themselves obviously prefer for the moment to make an independent decision in a situation which they have created very largely by their own ingenuity and their strong right arm. What, then, do the Russians want of us? First of all, they want supplies of all kinds: armament, munitions, motor-transport, planes, tanks, railway rolling stock, chemicals, non-ferrous metals, precision tools and

machinery, refining equipment, fats, food stuffs, seeds, and clothing for the civilian population.

To the popular Russian mind these technical needs were less imperious than the call for a second continental front in Europe, and the Russians would never have been satisfied until they got it. The second front first became an issue in the late spring of 1942, when the Germans had overrun the Crimea and were pushing on toward the Volga and into the Caucasus. The Soviets knew that the balance in manpower, aviation, and mechanized equipment was precarious. They were prepared to bend every sinew to hold out, but were not certain that they could. If therefore, they suggested, the Anglo-American allies could stage an operation in Western Europe which would divert even as few as forty German divisions from the Soviet front, that would so shift the advantage in favor of the Soviets that they would be able to deal the Germans a decisive blow.

At the time, our maritime tonnage situation was not as favorable as it is now. Supply-routes via the Pacific, Alaska, and the Persian Gulf had not attained their present development. The submarine menace was severe. Convoys to Murmansk were under constant German naval and air attack. Corregidor had just fallen. The British situation in Africa was dubious, and the direction of the next Japanese offensive was as yet uncertain. Nevertheless the Russians urged that if they, by any chance, were greatly weakened by German successes in 1942, the war would be that much harder for the Anglo-American combination the next year even if the western allies would be better prepared. But the cogency of this argument was wiped out by the course of events. By the end of June the British in Libya had their backs against the Egyptian frontier and required sea-borne tonnage for reinforcements. Almost simultaneously the Japanese landed reinforcements on New Guinea and drove cross-country for Port Moresby, a threat that was not removed until the end of September.

It is open to question whether the Russians, not being traditionally a seafaring nation, have ever seen the difficulties of a second front in their true perspective. In the summer of 1942 they themselves had a land front stretching the equivalent of the distance from New York to Denver, over the whole extent of which they could expect no direct help. It was only natural that they demanded the relief a second front would give. On the other hand, we ourselves had a naval front which extended from Iceland to Australia in both directions, and our armament production had not reached its present level. As luck would

have it, of course, the German offensive failed to penetrate the chief oil-fields of the Caucasus and broke at Stalingrad. Never again were the Nazis able to duplicate this mighty effort, and the Russian drive westward was never more than temporarily halted. The Russians owe their success, first of all, to their own resolution, military gifts, and industrial capacity, but also to 8,800 American planes, 5,200 American tanks, and the rest of a total of 9,500,000 tons of American supplies.

The Russians never shared the belief that bombing alone could bring about a German collapse. They have therefore watched intensely for any indication that the second front might be delayed. They also listened to German propagandists harping on Anglo-American readiness to fight to the last Russian and probably knew of irresponsible rumors floating about Washington and New York that the invasion would be postponed till after the election. After all, recent Soviet military successes have been expensive, and the civilian food situation is far from brilliant, so that the Soviet authorities welcome any allied action that eases the pressure on them. Their impatience is therefore comprehensible. Now that the critical moment has arrived, disappointments on this score will doubtless soon be cured and reproaches silenced.

If there is any essential difference between the Russian attitude and our own to want the war and its aftermath, it lies in the drastically realistic and practical attitude which the Soviets adopt, as contrasted with the idealistic if not extravagant hopes frequently enounced by American publicists. The Russian aim is national security: the prevention, as long as may be possible, of another war which may cost them losses in any way comparable to this one: ten million soldiers dead or prisoners, twenty million civilians starved, slaughtered or deported, the machinery and production capacity of uncounted industrial enterprises lost or evacuated and the crops, cattle, and farm inventories of their vast agricultural south destroyed. The war put the Soviet Union and its people face to face with realities even more grim than the revolutionary period produced, and this experience conditions them to safeguarding national interests first, momentarily giving international projects secondary emphasis. There is, however, as far as I know, no evidence that the Soviets have ever been unfriendly to American proposals for disarmament, control of aggressors, international control of strategic islands, or international trusteeships for backward areas. As Secretary Hull said on April 10, "at Teheran the three Allies fighting in Europe reached complete agreement on military plans for winning the war, and made plain

their determination to achieve harmonious action in the period of peace." To be sure, the achievement of harmonious action as a goal would seem to imply that something less than this exists at present. So far, moreover, despite oceans of good will, there is as yet no guarantee of a post-war international organization that will assure either the Russians or ourselves peace on our own frontiers. That may well come after the peace, when accounts are cast up against the aggressors. But meanwhile it does not escape Russian attention that a presidential campaign in the United States precludes any long-range commitments, except those of general acceptance and innocuous tenor. The United States can hardly expect international cooperation from other nations on problems of far-reaching scope when this country seems momentarily barred from offering any *quid pro quo*. In international relations, a nation rarely gets more than it gives.

In the interest of a peaceful post-war world, we must (it would seem) be disposed to go some distance toward meeting Soviet desiderata if we can be accurately informed as to their nature. We recognize that, being on the ground, the Soviets have a more immediate stake in both Europe and Asia than we. They are fighting, first and foremost, for security. What they consider as ideal security may well exceed our local notions of what security they should have. Were we involved in some boundary dispute with an adjacent state, it is conceivable that our ideals of security might well exceed the notions entertained in Moscow or London as to the security we ourselves should have. On the other hand, we ought to be prepared to consult frankly with the Soviets on all pending questions of common interest. But we cannot thus consult if uninformed by the Soviets or if our diplomatic representations in Moscow are unable to figure what goes on. At the present moment, there is obviously too much particularism on the Soviet side and too much domestic politics on the American. Since there is every likelihood that after the war the Soviet Union and the United States will inevitably be the only two remaining dynamic countries in the world, there are no readily discoverable alternatives for these nations except the cooperation that rises from common aims and understanding or the rivalry and hostility that spring from divergent aims and chronic misunderstanding. It is deeply to the world's interest that the first alternative should prevail.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

POST-WAR POLAND*

By OSCAR HALECKI

NEXT spring the whole Polish nation will celebrate the one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the insurrection which Thaddaeus Kościuszko, after participating in the American Revolution, conducted against the invaders of his own country. Without knowing at the present moment under what circumstances this celebration will take place, we all feel that Kościuszko's program of 1794, summed up in the words: "Freedom, Integrity, Independence," is once again our program for Poland's future.

The permanent significance of these three ideas throughout our whole history is one more proof of the continuity of Poland's development. It was in vain that Kościuszko opposed the partition of Poland, but even that partition and the following century of foreign domination could not interrupt the continuity of Polish national life. What a distinguished American historian, writing recently about Czechoslovakia, has rightly called "the vital immediacy of the past," is an even more important truism as far as Poland is concerned. Therefore any concrete discussion of our future aims must be based upon the "consciousness of historical realities."

I

Such a historical reality is Poland's democratic tradition, developed through evolutionary methods. This is what the word "freedom" means to us, and with this idea in mind the Polish Government will assume full authority in our country as soon as the Germans are forced to leave it. Everything is ready for that moment, thanks to a powerful underground movement, which at present is directed from London. This movement, having organized during all the years of occupation a most effective resistance against the invaders, will contribute to their final defeat by a general uprising as soon as the General Staffs of the United Nations consider it advisable.

Our Government has declared time and again that after liberation its very first step will be the holding of regular elections to the Polish Diet. An electoral law is therefore being prepared which, superseding the very unsatisfactory law of 1935, will guarantee a universal, equal, direct and secret vote. Whether it also should be proportional, as before 1935, may be a matter of discussion, but there is no doubt that all political opinions and all parties — of which the four most important are now represented in the Government, in addition to

* This article was written in December, 1943.

three ministers without party affiliation — will enjoy full freedom of expression.

The electoral law is easy to replace, because it was not part of the constitution. The constitution of 1935 itself will have to be revised by the first Diet in the liberated country. Its trend towards a strengthening of the Executive was justified to a certain extent in view of the conditions then prevailing in Europe. Most of us think, however, that this trend went much too far, as did the limitation of authority of the Parliament. Without simply reverting to the Constitution of 1921, it will be necessary to work out a system of truly efficient democracy and parliamentary rule. Having become better acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon systems, both in the United States and in Great Britain, we shall be in a position to benefit by the experiences of these countries, experiences which in any case have much in common with our own democratic tradition.

To mention but one of the points where our historical evolution has followed similar lines: it seems clear that the rôle of local and regional self-government will be greatly increased within the framework of our post-war constitution. The same is true of the rights of the individual, another common ground of both Anglo-Saxon and Polish tradition. These rights were formally recognized in the 1935 Constitution also, but should receive better guarantees of protection against any possible violation. Poland will certainly be ready to participate in any international action aiming at such a protection of the rights of the individual everywhere.

In a similar spirit of freedom, resolutely opposed to both forms of totalitarianism, whether fascist or communist, and strengthened by the frightful experience of Nazi persecution, post-war Poland will approach the program of social reforms.

Here, too, a long tradition, going back to our great social reformers of the sixteenth and of the later eighteenth century, will remain a source of inspiration. In the same way, in the field of government, the Constitution of May 3, 1791, the anniversary of which is celebrated every year, was a decisive step on the road to the ideal of social justice. A great deal of progress in this direction was accomplished even during the century of foreign domination, when resistance against oppression united all classes of society; an intellectual middle class was formed; the peasants, the great majority of the population, obtained full liberty; and the industrial workers started to play a rapidly growing part in our national life.

It was therefore already a truly democratic society which undertook the task of reconstruction in the liberated country after World

War I. Eighteen years of peace were hardly sufficient to accomplish that task fully in every field of social life, especially as in Poland the general standard of living was comparatively so low that it explains to a large extent the poor condition of the masses. A well-developed system of insurance and close cooperation with the International Labor Organization in the protection of the workers were paralleled by an agrarian reform which was, however, far from being fully carried out when World War II suddenly placed all social groups in the same state of the utmost misery.

It is one of the few fortunate consequences of our present ordeal that it has brought all these groups more closely together than ever before, unifying the country socially as well as politically. The underground movement is unanimous not only in opposing the invader, but also in recognizing the necessity of far reaching social reforms in post-war Poland. Just because that movement is democratic, representing various currents of opinion, there are, of course, differences of outlook as to the degree of state intervention or the methods to be employed. But quite recently a joint statement of the same four parties which are participating in the Government has clearly shown that not only the socialists and the peasant party, which always supported most energetically the claims of both agricultural and industrial workers, but also the labor party, which represents Christian Democracy, and the national party, which is developing the program of the former National Democrats, are all in complete agreement as to the principles for planning the social life of the new Poland.

It is scarcely necessary to stress that the Government itself, with a well known peasant leader as Prime Minister, and an experienced labor leader of the Socialist party as Deputy Prime Minister, not only approves, but most decidedly supports such a program, including a complete land reform in favor of the peasant population and a truly progressive legislation in favor of the rights of labor. Repeated statements of the Government, reaffirming the initial declarations of the late General Sikorski, make that position entirely clear. As long as our various Ministries are working in London, they have an excellent opportunity for studying the social reforms which are being planned in the United Kingdom; and as soon as they are transferred to the liberated country, they will faithfully execute the decisions of our reopened Diet. The Polish National Council, which replaces in exile such a regular Parliament, has been equally outspoken with regard to social progress.

The National Council is also in full agreement with the Government as far as the settlement of the minorities problem is concerned.

Truly reflecting the opinion of an overwhelming majority of the Poles, both authorities have declared that in free Poland all citizens must enjoy full equality of rights, without any discrimination for reasons of religion, language, or racial origin. This interpretation of the idea of freedom can also be traced through the various periods of our history; and it is highly instructive to note that the application of this principle was most perfect in the times of Poland's real greatness, while traditional Polish tolerance unfortunately suffered serious setbacks in times of a general decline in the political and in the cultural field.

The high percentage of minorities in restored Poland between the two World Wars — almost one third of the whole population — was unavoidable in a part of Europe where the various nationalities have lived for centuries mixed together. For the same reason considerable Polish minorities were left in all the neighboring States. The Polish constitution of 1921, in a series of articles which remained unchanged in the constitution of 1935, went farther in the protection of minority rights than the international obligations to which Poland, together with some other countries, was committed. The Polish people seriously resented that international protection of minorities was not made universal, and this discrimination, as well as the persistent German policy of using the minorities as a propaganda weapon against Poland and the other liberated countries, were among the chief reasons why in practice the solution of the minorities problem was not as satisfactory and successful as most of us would have desired.

We therefore have to admit that such a solution requires not only constitutional guarantees, but an atmosphere of mutual good will and confidence. After the present war such an atmosphere will certainly exist in the relations with the Jewish minority, relations which proved so delicate in the past. The particularly cruel treatment of the Jewish population of Poland by the Nazi invaders has given rise among the Poles to a deep, human sympathy for the victims. On the other hand, the Jews must have realized the difference between a real persecution and the difficulties which they had to face in pre-war Poland. That all such reasons for complaint must be completely eliminated in post-war Poland is the sincere conviction of all Poles faithful to our best traditions and to the principles we are fighting for.

Common suffering under foreign occupation has also improved the relations between the Poles and their Ukrainian and White Ruthenian fellow-citizens, our most important minority group. Those of the Ukrainians who had hoped to benefit by German support have been

more brutally disappointed than during the last war. The experience of 1939-41 must have left all the inhabitants of Eastern Poland highly skeptical — to say the least — with regard to any “liberation” coming from the east. At the same time the Poles themselves have become fully aware that the inconsistent pre-war policy towards the Ukrainians must be replaced by a constructive program of cooperation, including autonomy for the regions where our Slavic minorities live in compact groups, and full opportunities for their cultural and economic development everywhere.

The only minority question which the war has made even more difficult than before concerns the Germans settled in Polish territory, a comparatively small group (2.3%) but the most dangerous one, because it is almost totally opposed to everything Polish. After what happened during these last years, a peaceful life of Germans and Poles together will hardly be possible. It therefore seems clear that a transfer of population will prove the only possible solution; it must not be limited to the removal of those whom Hitler has recently brought to Poland, but must be thoroughly systematic, executed without Nazi brutality, and incorporate at the same time an exchange of the Polish minorities from Germany.

II

There is, of course, a close connection between the problem of minorities and the problem of boundaries. Nevertheless, when planning our future policy with regard to minorities, we are taking as a basis the pre-war statistics, because we have a right to expect that after victory not only the artificial shifts of population perpetrated by the invaders, including all the inhuman deportations, will be undone, but also that the territorial integrity of Poland will be completely restored.

As all the territorial changes affecting Poland since September 1, 1939, have been made by violence, the repeated declarations of the leading Allied statesmen that no such changes will be recognized, undoubtedly refer in the first place to the Polish situation. Furthermore, it is unconceivable that any nation should accept a mutilation of her territory after a victorious war. And in the case of Poland, the mutilation which unfortunately is being discussed would be more severe than any territorial losses which a defeated nation might expect: Poland is openly threatened by the loss of more than a half of her area!

In spite of the natural desire of any nation to maintain its integrity,

Poland has made in the remote and recent past far-reaching concessions in the matter of her frontiers, especially in the East. For that very reason her eastern frontier, as it existed without any dispute from 1921 to 1939, is not at all an historical frontier, based upon outdated claims, but a line of compromise, taking into account the contemporary situation. The new frontier, on the contrary, which — strangely enough — not our enemies but our allies want to impose on us, far from being an ethnographical frontier, as is usually stressed, is in reality a historical one, taking us back six hundred years to the first half of the fourteenth century. It disregards not only all the political developments of the following centuries, but also the fact that, since these remote days, the ethnographical settlement of the Polish people has been considerably extended in the eastern direction, so that in 1939, before all the measures of deportation and extermination, about five million Poles were living in the disputed territory, mixed with other national groups, none of which was larger than theirs.

As a matter of fact, two different boundaries are suggested by those who want to abolish the pre-war frontier. Very frequently the so-called Curzon line is mentioned, and this line, discussed in 1919–20 as a provisional demarcation but never recognized by either of the interested parties even in that capacity, is in a misleading way characterized as a frontier allegedly fixed by the Allies at the Peace Conference. It is, however, equally misleading to identify that line with the new frontier which is suggested now and which is much more disadvantageous for Poland. The mere fact that it has been fixed through an agreement with Hitler — not to mention his agent in this as in so many other disgraceful matters, Herr von Ribbentrop — makes it hardly believable that it is seriously considered by those who are fighting Hitler and all that he stands for. It would be his triumph and victory indeed if the new order in that crucial region of Europe should be based upon what he had approved, if not suggested, at a moment when he proudly boasted that the Western democracies need not bother themselves with the fate of that region.

No Pole can think of a post-war Poland limited to the western half of our country, without cities like Lwów and Wilno which are centers of Polish culture, just as are Warsaw, Cracow and Poznań. Such an issue would not only mean that Poland has lost the war, has fought and suffered in vain, and is being “punished” more severely than the aggressor nations: such a “first partition” would inaugurate, as in the eighteenth century, other dismemberments and eventually lead

to the complete elimination of Poland from the map of Europe. No Polish Government and no individual Pole loyal to his country, can accept the idea of such an "unconditional surrender."

Claiming the rights which the Atlantic Charter has promised to all the Allied nations, Poland is, of course, ready to accept the obligations contained in that historic document, including the engagement not to seek any territorial aggrandizement. There is, however, in connection with our Western frontier, an extremely important problem which is one not so much of enlarging our pre-war territory, but rather of securing its integrity in the only effective manner. Being Germany's immediate neighbor in the east, Poland has much more reason to fear for her security than those who never can be invaded by the Germans as long as a strong and independent Poland stands in the way.

It is obvious that the Polish-German frontier, violated by German aggression on September 1, 1939 without any declaration of war, must be restored, but with a guarantee that it cannot be violated again. Events have proved that Polish Pomerania, so stupidly called a "Corridor," by no means an artificial creation of Versailles but the restoration of a situation which before the partitions of Poland had existed for three hundred years, is impossible to defend in the conditions of modern warfare. That danger, and not the alleged impossibility of communication between East Prussia and Germany, is the real "Corridor" problem, the real reason why a revision of the Versailles boundaries is necessary.

Such a revision, must, however, be made at the expense of the aggressor, and not of the victim, by abolishing not the "Corridor" but the German enclave east of it, a German colony which was the cradle of Prussian militarism, but did not become an integral part of Germany before the days of Bismarck; a territory which for two centuries had been a fief of Poland and even now has a considerable (400,000) Polish population in its southern part. The eastern part, the Memel territory with a largely Lithuanian population, lost by Germany in 1919 and retaken by Hitler in 1939 through an ultimatum to Lithuania, should, of course, be returned to that country. The remaining part has indeed been ethnographically German since the extermination of the Baltic Prussians in the Middle Ages. And in connection with what has been said above, Poland is not at all anxious to have within her borders a still larger German minority than before. But, as already mentioned, German-Polish relations will require anyhow large transfers and exchanges of population, and in no other case would such an operation be as decidedly in the inter-

est of a lasting peace as in the case of East Prussia, contributing to the security not only of Poland, but also of the Baltic countries and of Russia.

This is one more point where Polish public opinion seems to be quite unanimous. Many Poles go even farther in their claims of a revision of our Western frontier. The invasion of 1939 has also shown how dangerous is the German salient in Upper Silesia, whose major part, though ethnographically Polish, remained with Germany after the plebiscite of 1921. The disappearance of that salient would greatly favor the security not only of Poland, but also of Czechoslovakia, and facilitate the coöperation of these two countries. If, however, such a solution should be considered impracticable, the Polish minority in these eastern border lands of Germany ought to have an opportunity to be transferred to Poland, such a move being part of the whole scheme of resettlement which has been suggested.

Poland's integrity depends, in the future as in the past, on her boundaries with Germany and Russia. But two minor frontier problems must also be discussed in that connection. Having just mentioned our highly desirable cooperation with Czechoslovakia, let us turn first to the territorial controversy which between the two World Wars has seriously handicapped that coöperation.

We sincerely hope that after the present war it will be peacefully settled, and therefore, instead of turning back to the painful recollections of either 1919-20 or 1938, we want rather to stress the secondary character of a problem which, if compared with the large issues concerning Poland's eastern and western frontiers, really appears insignificant. It is wrong to call it the problem of Cieszyn, because the main part of that city, more familiar under its German name of Teschen, and the eastern part of the Cieszyn district, were considered undoubtedly Polish and allocated to Poland even in the award of 1920. What Poland seized in addition to it in 1938 was only the railway station of the city and the western part of the district, beyond the Olza river, an area of not more than 400 square miles with a population of 240,000. A great majority of the Polish people disliked the method of that seizure and the moment chosen for putting forth our claim. Whether or not the claim itself is justified could be easily determined by a plebiscite in a region where the national consciousness of the people is very well developed. Such a fair settlement would close the Czech-Polish frontier quarrel once and for ever.

We also hope to arrive at a similar settlement of our frontier quarrel with Lithuania. The problem of Wilno certainly is of greater importance for both the parties concerned than the drafting of the boundary

in the Cieszyn region. But here too it would be a mistake to argue without end about the tactical mistakes made by both sides in the critical year of 1920, or about the Polish ultimatum of 1938 which asked for nothing but the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the two countries whose frontier, with Wilno on the Polish side, had been internationally recognized fifteen years before. At a moment when Wilno is occupied by the Germans and claimed by the Soviet Union, we also prefer not to discuss the part played by the Lithuanians during the occupation of that unfortunate city in 1939-40. And when the very existence of an independent Lithuania is questioned, the Lithuanians will probably realize that such an issue is infinitely more vital than the possession of one city which for centuries has been culturally Polish and wants to remain an integral part of Poland.

III

For the Poles, too, independence comes first. Without real independence, the problem of territorial integrity becomes meaningless, and freedom, if limited to the constitutional rights of the individual citizen, would be absolutely insufficient. We decided to fight Hitler not merely because he claimed some territorial concessions, but chiefly because we realized, especially after the experience of Czechoslovakia, that appeasement would result in the loss of our independence. Now we are enthusiastic about the "four freedoms," but in order to enjoy them we must first have another freedom: the freedom from foreign rule, which we call independence.

Furthermore — and the point is worth repeating — it must be real independence. When Kościuszko started his fight for independence, Poland, though territorially mutilated, was still supposed to be an independent state. But practically it was under Russian control, with Russian troops garrisoned all over the country and the King of Poland dependent on the Russian ambassador who interfered with all questions of government. As a matter of fact, the "Republic" was nothing but a Russian protectorate. And such was also the real position of the Polish "Kingdom" created by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, or — to consider our relations with another neighbor — the position of the "independent" Kingdom of Poland whose establishment the Germans proclaimed during the first World War.

For that very reason we now are so strongly decided never to admit anything which would prejudice or jeopardize the full independence which we regained in 1918 and legally did not lose even after the defeat of 1939 and the occupation of our country by the invaders. Our

President and our present Government are "in exile" only as far as they are obliged to have their headquarters in an allied country. But they are also exercising their authority in the occupied territory and never ceased to be our only legal authority, recognized by all Poles who are not traitors to their country. No such traitors have been found in the country itself, the only occupied nation where nobody cooperates with the German invaders; and a group of such traitors which appeared elsewhere is so small and insignificant that nobody could possibly utilize it even as a puppet "government," nor oppose it to the real one. Likewise, any attempt at interfering from the outside with the composition of that legal Government would meet the unanimous opposition of the Polish people.

Such being our position at the present moment, it is obvious that we shall never consider any compromise in this matter after victory. The elections which, as stated above, will take place immediately after liberation from the Germans, must not be organized under another foreign occupation. The changes which will be made in our constitution and the social reforms which we are planning, must be decided exclusively by the Polish people, and not under the threat of any foreign army. For all this we need no "transition" period between war and peace, which, instead of being a "cooling-off" period, would be a period of confusion and uncertainty, a "war of nerves" continued after the cessation of hostilities, merely in favor of foreign propaganda. After all their fighting and suffering, the Polish people have well deserved to have their full independence and sovereignty restored to them at once, as soon as Germany is defeated. Poland's independence and sovereignty cannot become a "Polish question" to be decided by others.

Using the additional term "sovereignty" in order to make the sense of the word "independence" entirely clear, we are, of course, fully aware that in the post-war world the old concept of state sovereignty will undergo considerable changes everywhere. As far as these changes will really be accepted everywhere, the Poles too will undoubtedly be ready to accept them in their own particular case. If the principle of legal equality is respected, they are even prepared to go farther, as was clearly demonstrated at an early stage of the war in their agreement with Czechoslovakia. The plan of a federation or confederation to be concluded with that country involved a serious limitation of the individual sovereignty of both parties, going beyond the limitations which might be required by the universal international organization of the future.

Poland is strongly in favor of such an international world organiza-

tion which she considers the only real guarantee of a lasting universal peace. In our opinion, such a world order ought to be just the opposite of the "new order" planned by Hitler and the Axis. It ought to be based not upon power politics, but upon international law, with an international force behind it, strong enough to make its violation impossible. It ought to be an association of free and equal nations, without any discrimination between the big powers and the so called small nations.

Within such a universal society of all the peace-loving nations, regional groups of more closely collaborating countries would certainly prove desirable. And it also may be advisable to form larger communities as intermediary organizations between the world-wide association and the regional federations. In our opinion it is, however, doubtful whether these intermediary units should correspond to the individual continents, and we have no doubt whatsoever that they should have nothing to do with any "spheres of influence" of individual powers. They ought rather to be communities based upon a common cultural background and a common way of life. Hence our genuine interest in what is frequently called the Atlantic community, which is supposed to include all nations which belong to Western civilization and, faithful to the Greek-Roman tradition and to the Christian ideal, are truly democracies, opposed to any kind of totalitarianism. But we feel greatly alarmed when the Atlantic community, to which we feel we belong and want to belong, is limited to the geographical west of Europe, coöperating with the Americas, while our country is being abandoned to other influences which are entirely strange to us.

We also feel amazed when our suggestion of creating regional federations in the part of Europe situated between Germany and Russia, after having been welcomed as a constructive program of post-war organization, is interpreted as a plan for a "cordon sanitaire" directed against the Soviet Union. If it should be a "cordon sanitaire" at all, it would be directed against Germany's eastern expansion, and therefore is in the obvious interest of Russia, a country with which Poland, so seriously menaced from the West, sincerely desires to establish friendly and neighborly relations. But our federal planning is, in the first place, not made against anybody nor anything, but has the positive objective of serving the common interests of countries which all want to be free and independent, but realize the danger of political isolation and economic nationalism.

Such federations, based on the principle of full equality, can be concluded only between countries which, without being mathematically equal in area and population, are, however, in no striking dis-

proportion as far as these two elements are concerned. For this very reason we do not want to be forced into any kind of "union" with a power so overwhelmingly stronger that a "federation" would soon turn into a domination of the stronger side. The system of bilateral treaties between a great power and each of its smaller neighbors is one more political conception which has been completely discredited by our experience with Hitler.

Independently of any formal treaties or possible federations, post-war Poland will be extremely anxious to develop her friendly relations with other nations. Much progress in that direction has been made during the twenty years of our restored independence, and these efforts ought to be resumed as soon as possible.

There is no doubt that after their common experience under German occupation, all the liberated countries of the European continent will feel closer to each other than ever before. For Poland, two aspects will be of special importance in this respect: cooperation with all the smaller nations east of Germany, a cooperation which even without federal ties can prove extremely fruitful; and the development of our traditional friendship with France, whose rôle in post-war Europe will certainly be much greater than many superficial observers believe at the present moment.

On the other hand, stressing once more one of the few happy results of the present crisis, Poland's relations with the Anglo-Saxon world, considerably developed during the war, will assume after victory a much greater importance than ever in the past. This concerns, of course, both the United States and the United Kingdom, and to a certain extent also the British Dominions. Polish-American relations will, however, play the largest part, with the Americans of Polish descent being a natural link between the two nations.

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These relations certainly will greatly facilitate the tremendous task of reconstruction, both cultural and material, which post-war Poland will have to face. It would have been much more pleasant to discuss that task than to touch so many delicate and controversial problems of a political character. The solution of these problems is, however, a prerequisite to any possibilities of reconstruction, which demands an atmosphere of freedom, full certainty as to the territory to be reconstructed, and what we have defined as real independence.

It is naturally almost impossible to visualize the extent as well as the conditions of our reconstruction program without knowing how long the war is going to last and under what circumstances it will

come to an end. Both issues will strongly influence the amount of destruction we shall have to repair, a destruction which is increasing with every day of the war and might become terrific if the war, before ending, should rage still more violently on Polish soil and the Germans have an opportunity of a devastating and exterminating action at the very last moment before leaving Poland.

With such dangers in prospect, and amid so many alarming discussions about Poland's future among our allies, it is extremely difficult for the Poles to do more than simply fight on and keep their faith in a better future for Poland in the post-war world. Such a vision is their only comfort, even if its details are not yet clearly discernible.

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THE FUTURE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By J. B. KOZÁK

I. RETURN TO LIFE

PLANES bringing President Beneš and his collaborators—both Czechs and Slovaks—back to their country may land at a time when much sporadic fighting will still be going on in and around Germany. Underground forces will have aided, or joined, the Allied armies. Will the accumulated rage against the invaders lead to a *mêlée* in Czechoslovakia? We make no gratuitous predictions. If there is still much fight left in the German soldiers by the time the war reaches Central Europe, the country may be a scene of horrors. The SS-men are sure to go on killing to the bitter end. But the majority of German officials and evacuees from the Reich, as well as many of Henlein's and K. H. Frank's traitorous henchmen will have fled to Germany in time. Moreover, many Czechs and Slovaks who have been sent to the Reich can be swapped for Germans, if Germany is willing and able to negotiate at the moment. The more accurate rulings are prepared by the United Nations for the orderly prosecution of war criminals, the better. Lists of crimes are being well kept.

It is easier to look into the more distant than into the immediate future. Some analogies will be helpful. After the last war, when the Czechs and the Slovaks were making their first steps in independence, a National Committee with branches all over the country took over the administrative apparatus and put the country in tolerable working order before President-elect Thomas Garrigue Masaryk arrived from the United States. A revolutionary National Assembly in Prague had passed the first basic laws and was awaiting his first Presidential message. It is not too much to hope that the feat will be repeated, under much more difficult circumstances, but perhaps with more experience and efficiency. Scores of thousands of officials who have been pressed into the service of the Protectorate and the puppet State of Slovakia will be anxious to prove their innocence or to straighten up their records. But all omens bode ill for the few Czech traitors as well as for the quislings of Slovakia. They will not be at large on the "D plus one Day," as some Czechoslovak military leaders call the day after the liberation. It may be a long day.

But no civil war is impending in Czechoslovakia. The Czechs have attained an amazing degree of unity. Slovakia, where the number of beneficiaries of the new regime and fence-sitters has been much greater, is expected, on convincing evidence, to swing back toward a union with the Czechs. Expectations may prove wrong in detail, since

Slovakia has been more infected with fascist thought. Nevertheless, it is agreed that Czechoslovak authorities will take over without delay. No AMG is envisaged.

One of the first duties of the Czechoslovak Government-in-exile will be to resign. Some of its present members will remain in office, underground leaders will take the place of others. Which of the pre-war statesmen and politicians who are at odds with Dr. Beneš and his set-up will be able to rally supporters and get into position again, we do not pretend to know. The first reshuffle will be provisional, pending the first parliamentary decisions.

The present Czechoslovak government-in-exile consists of exiles, but it was not in power when the country was being dismembered. Its chief importance lies in the fact that it exists and is recognized by the Allies. Its recognition, like that of President Beneš, is the visible expression of the continuing existence of the Czechoslovak Republic. Were it not, as such, a full-fledged member of the United Nations, we could not write about the future of Czechoslovakia. The standing of the Government depends, of course, on the supposition that it expresses the basic temper of the whole of the country. It has taken care not to get out of tune with the chief world Capitals, at least not too far. Meanwhile, it is busy preparing the return of the Republic to life, guiding its international relations, preparing laws for the crucial economic transition, and laying foundations for relief and rehabilitation.

President Beneš and his London group are tough customers for their oppositional and disgruntled elements abroad, but their attitude vis à vis the country is humble. This enhances, rather than weakens, their position. In a broadcast to the country, delivered on Febr. 13, 1943, Dr. Beneš said: "On that day, we, returning from our exile in Great Britain, America, and Soviet Russia, will render to the nation on account of our stewardship, of which we shall remain proud until the end of our lives, and we shall humbly bow ourselves before Czech and Slovak fellow-countrymen of all classes who went on fighting undismayed and prevailed in the end. It was they who held and carried the torch of truth in the darkest hours, it was they who saved the nation at home and it is they who will brandish the sword of punishment in the hour of victory. And the victorious Czechoslovak people itself will freely determine upon the new path for our nation and State at the beginning of its new lease of life."

Another token of continuity is the Czechoslovak State Council in London. One of its members lives in the Soviet Union and two (Senator Vojta Beneš and Dr. Milan Hodža, the former Prime Minister)

in the United States. It consists in part of former deputies and senators who can claim confidence by virtue of the last (1935) parliamentary elections, while others are prominent men nominated by the President. On the whole it represents those former political parties which remained sufficiently steadfast in the face of the Nazi onslaught. Meanwhile political life has been ruthlessly suppressed in the "Protectorate" of Bohemia-Moravia and, to a lesser degree, in quasi-totalitarian Slovakia. Remnants of former political organizations and labor unions are alive in the underground, but their sharp divisions are obliterated. After the loss of the Sudeten territory in 1938, which was immediately followed by the dissolution of the Communist Party, the number of political organizations was reduced to two, one of which was a Labor Party. This was done under strong totalitarian pressure. The creation of a united Labor Party was an act of disobedience, and brought back word from the Reich that the Czechs will repent it. Nevertheless, plans to simplify the country's party system after this war are being widely discussed.

The State Council swelled to several times its present size (viz. forty-four members), will function as revolutionary National Assembly, but this, too, will be provisional. It will have to prepare the first regular elections in accordance with the Constitution which provides for a universal, equal and secret ballot, but on the basis of new political alignments. The old Constitution will be immediately reinstated.

The adversaries of Dr. Beneš have made the utmost of the point that it was the Government-in-exile, nominated by himself, which prolonged his term of office on December 3, 1942. According to them, only Dr. Emil Hácha in Prague and Msgr. Josef Tiso in Bratislava are duly elected Presidents. Yet the Government's decision is based on a provision of the Czechoslovak Constitution which entitles the Government to keep the President in office if regular election is impossible, as is now the case. The presidency of Dr. Beneš is, of course, subject to confirmation by a constitutional National Assembly (i.e., Chamber of Deputies and Senate in a common session) after his return home. Yet his position both at home and abroad is strong. His resignation on October 5, 1938, was brought about by threats from Berlin. He had to run for his life. Soon after, Dr. Hácha signed away both the indivisibility of the State and its liberties which he had been elected to defend. Both present "Presidents" and "Governments" in Prague and Bratislava belong to the aftermath of Munich. With the repudiation of Munich Dr. Beneš reclaimed his former position. His chief asset is that he was consistent and unyielding toward fascism-nazism in general and Adolf Hitler in particular. He faced a seemingly

hopeless task when, for the second time in his life, he took the lead in the fight for liberation on March 15, 1939 as professor in Chicago. At that time the continuity of the Czechoslovak Republic rested merely on courageous legations and consulates abroad which had refused to surrender to arrogant German emissaries. Yet he had friends among truly great statesmen, and a strong moral cause to defend. Even the legations would have fallen, sooner or later, had they not received succor in Washington, London and Paris. The United States and Russia had never subscribed to the Munich Deal. Great Britain and France soon realized they had been cheated. Thus the first and almost paramount aim of the second struggle for liberation was the repeal of that fateful act of appeasement. Going was hard, as always, and the struggle had to be based chiefly on diplomacy and on sympathies of world public opinion. World shaking events have taken place since. Now it is certain that not only Hitler, but all his evil creations must be beaten. Czechoslovakia will be resuscitated and Beneš will come out on top. Should, however, the liberated country refuse to reelect Dr. Beneš, it would be another proof that he has succeeded and that Czechoslovak democracy is no thing of the past.

The country will need help from the Red Cross and from the United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It will look for loans. The UNRRA Conference in Atlantic City concluded that it will be on level ground with regard to foodstuffs within a year after its liberation. By and large, it has not suffered much physical destruction thus far. Outrages and executions in the "Protectorate" have followed each other with dreadful regularity. Even Slovakia has concentration camps and plenty of martyrs. But unless the Hitlerites starve the people out and wreak havoc in retreating, Czechoslovakia will soon be able to help herself.

II POLITICAL PHYSIOGNOMY

Like most of occupied Europe, Czechoslovakia will have gone more or less left. This will not be due principally to the looting and total mobilization inflicted by the Germans. Poverty in itself does not produce leftist mentality. The chief causes are to be seen in the basic social pattern of the people and in the past mistakes of the political Right. The Czechs and Slovaks, having lost their aristocracy and gentry in the seventeenth century and having had to work their way up from the bottom, are structurally a collective of common people. Austrian aristocrats lived among them, but nearly all were

strangers. Genteel traditions are non-existent. The bourgeoisie, though ambitious, was younger and less entrenched than in other countries. Snobbish officials and landed proprietors were not uncommon, but were ridiculed. There is much common sense and humor in the common people, and the intelligence of the workers has always struck this writer as outstanding. "Sokol," the powerful athletic and educational association, and its analogies among the workers and Catholics, used to be run on the basis of brotherly equality. The deep mutuality of the underground resistance has created respect for the selfless fighter and helper regardless of his position in life. It has surrounded many humble people with the halo of heroism. On the other hand, collaborationists were recruited mostly from people who had much to lose. The intelligentsia, never too well-off, has stood the test well. It has come into closer touch with the workers and the countryside. The Gestapo has struck out against it with especial savagery. But the old right-wing politicians are not likely to come in for a large share of the moral credit. Apart from what has happened since 1939 there is a hangover from pre-Munich times. The small but self-conscious conservative party, called National Unification, was always in opposition to T. G. Masaryk and E. Beneš, and directed most of its efforts against their staying in power. The agrarian politicians, though one of the mainstays of pre-war coalitions, felt uneasy about the country's 1935 defensive treaty with Russia, at least about its implementation. They put on the face of wise impartiality toward the march of fascism, and caved in when Hitler and Mussolini triumphed. In the six months between Munich and the occupation they played themselves up as political wizards. At that time many people believed them. A wave of indignation against Beneš, fanned by an increasingly controlled press, swept the country. It looked as if the people had condemned him forever. But the pendulum swung back within a few weeks after the invasion. Now it was Beneš who had been dead right all the time. In a more or less vague romantic way, the era of the first President, T. G. Masaryk, is being idolized, in proportion to the wounds inflicted by the reign of terror. Everywhere, but especially in Bohemia-Moravia, the number of real traitors is extremely small. The pro-Nazi traitor organization "Vlajka" (Flag) was dissolved by the German Protector himself as useless and troublesome.

The communists, who were supported by one tenth of the voters in the 1935 elections, have followed the party line. They were non-committal before the invasion of Russia, repeating the well-known slogan that this was just another imperialist war. No one was pleased.

Then they swung round, in June 1941, with the thoroughness that characterizes all their actions. The anti-communist man-hunt has been particularly fierce in the Protectorate. In Slovakia the sloppiness of the régime may have left some air to breathe, but on the whole the former leaders, those responsible for the vacillation, are gone.

This writer's political experience in the last Czechoslovak Parliament, especially at the time of the agitation for the popular front and during the Spanish civil war, has led him to believe that many Czechoslovak communists had a split personality resulting from divided loyalties. They were, as a party, primarily an extension of the Moscow Foreign Service and of the Russian defense system. Yet they certainly loved their country, at least its common people. They were patriotic at the time of the Munich crisis, when the showdown with world fascism seemed near and Russia was at their side. Soon after, the party line must have been distasteful to many. Hitler's invasion of Russia provided a painful opportunity to recover their moral poise. Some of their martyrs were prominent writers and clean beloved men. It is a fair guess that the people bear them no grudge now, despite all the public manifestations and diatribes with which the country has been flooded since the conclusion of the Russo-Czechoslovak Pact in Moscow on December 12, 1943.

In concluding that treaty, President Beneš acted on the supposition that the country would be glad to endorse it. For geographic and historical reasons, as well as out of the instinct for survival, the Czech and Slovak people are favorable to Russia. They have never had to suffer from that quarter. They put great hopes in their former treaties with France and Russia — "from Paris to Vladivostok." The Soviets were out of the picture when Czechoslovakia was being sold down the river. There are three dangers, against which they must forever be on guard: pan-Germanic efforts to get rid of the western Slavs, Hungarian irredentism, and international isolation. The conclusion of the Moscow Pact was accompanied by official speeches which praised it as the beginning of a regional system able to put an end to the German "*Drang nach Osten*." Whether it will reach that objective, will obviously depend on many other developments in the wide world. The degree of cooperation and mutual trust among the chief four or five World Powers will provide nine-tenths of the answer. What a stake the Czechs and Slovaks have in the removal of friction, e.g., in an amicable solution of the Polish-Russian clash, is easy to imagine. If the bright hopes raised by the Moscow and Teheran Conferences are fulfilled, there will be a minimum of power politics in the post-war period, and regional pacts will fit into the pattern of general

world security which will be regionalized in any case, as Sumner Welles, Walter Lippmann and others have recently shown. If not, the Russo-Czechoslovak Treaty will assume the unpopular character of a secondary insurance.

Here the matter stands. The rest consists of commentaries none of which can be evaluated on a priori grounds or merely on the basis of past analogies. Let us state, without comment, the views of Dr. Beneš and his collaborators.

During the first turbulent years after the First World War, the Czechoslovak Republic succeeded in warding off the first attack of communist agitation by the timely introduction of land reform and progressive social legislation. It has never resorted to repressive measures inconsistent with its liberal Constitution. The original virulence and negativism of the communists wore off with the passage of years. They remained vocal, to be sure, and were always in opposition. But despite appearances their policy was increasingly defensive. Their *raison d'être* ceased to be the imitations of the Russian civil war. In the future, the minimum of trouble from the extreme left is hoped for, if the country is on good terms with Russia, deepens its land reform and continues along the former progressive lines. Czechoslovaks believe in the sincerity of the Russian declarations that Moscow wishes strong and independent States as its neighbors and will not interfere with the conduct of their domestic affairs. They also expect the system of collective security to be built up in a more experimental and regionalized way than was the case in the old League of Nations.

With the exception of the easternmost tip of the Republic, the inhabitants of Czechoslovakia are western people. The first Christian mission of SS. Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century was almost immediately superseded by the influence of Rome. At the beginning of the tenth century St. Wenceslaus decided the issue. Since his times the successive generations of Czechs and Slovaks have lived first in the cultural climate of medieval Latin culture, Reformation, Renaissance, later under the counter-reformation, baroque culture, enlightenment, reaction and liberal phases of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Neither the religion nor the social conditions of the people have ever resembled those of Russia. The violence of the bolshevist revolution, they think, was largely due to the many evil old things that were being blasted away at the same time. The antecedents of sovietization do not exist in Czechoslovakia. The people desire to continue their cherished and intimate relations with the West and with all Slavic nations. They are devoted friends of the Polish people. They have shown their friendly disposition toward all at the time when the

country was a sanctuary for German refugees from the Third Reich. They want to be safely poised between East and West, protected against German expansion, they love liberty and dislike being bossed by any Great Power. This, however, the Great Powers habitually do when they are at cross-purposes. The smaller countries pay the bill. Czechoslovakia wants to be the sphere of influence of the Czechoslovak people. She is, with all her mind and heart, pro-United Nations.

The wording of the above statement is largely the author's own, but it reflects official documents and speeches by responsible Czechoslovak leaders.

The contemplated simplification of the country's party system is hardly a blueprint as yet. Messages from back home demand it, but they do not go beyond the demand for more national unity. The plan entails more problems than meet the eye. Czechoslovakia used to be criticized and even derided for the number of her political parties. Only six of them played a major role in the successive coalition Governments. Most of the apparent fragmentation was due to the nationalities comprised in the Republic. Thus there were three "truly Catholic" parties: Czech, Slovak and German (which joined Henlein later). There were two "international" social democracies. The nationality principle proved to be stronger just where the program allegedly transcended nationality.

A two-party system is neither possible nor desirable. It tends to become violent. Three political organizations appear as obtainable minimum. Even then it is not clear where the Communists would go. There would be a political right, some kind of center party, and labor. This would enable Czechoslovakia, which has a tradition of coalition Governments, to make combinations. The communists may or may not join the labor party. But in any case the nationality principle would have to yield to economic and social issues and this, in turn, would raise the old, sometimes hotly debated question whether the Republic can be called a national State. We shall have to touch upon this question once more later.

European Center Parties used to be Catholic. With what right, it is hard to see, for the Catholics always dissented widely on social issues. The Czech People's Party, the head of which, Msgr. Srámek, is now Prime Minister in London, was notable for its increasing understanding for the common man's plight. It is felt, however, that the Church should influence public life merely through the characters she has educated, not through bids for political power. The clerical People's Party of Slovakia (Hlinka Party gone fascist) has

brought discredit to both its Church and its people. Thus the outlines of the future political centre in Czechoslovakia are blurred.

Communists are best defined as people following the party line set in Moscow. It is hard to imagine them otherwise than as a fourth group, despite the discontinuation of the Komintern and the latest line of Earl Browder. All this would mean the termination of old-time communism, a reversal of Leninist tenets. Too much to believe, say the critics. If Communists join another party and with it the Government, how much radicalism and impatience are they going to spread from the new enlarged platform? What about their totalitarian aspirations? Czechoslovakia means to revert to its old system of proportional representation (probably even within the parties). She is dedicated to the liberal and humanitarian tradition of a truly great thinker and statesman, T. G. Masaryk. Beneš and his collaborators are almost without exception middle-of-the-road men. They know that the Republic will be eagerly watched as a new experiment. But theirs is not a top-heavy country and this situation is propitious to democracy.

III MINORITIES

Rumors are rife that a wholesale expulsion of the Germans from Czechoslovakia is in the offing. Dr. Beneš and others have spoken about a transfer of populations and the historic opportunity to remove the human dynamite by a radical settlement of minority problems in Europe. Some commentators refer to the obvious cold rage of the tortured Czechs; others seem to know what Mr. Stalin said to Beneš behind the closed doors of the Kremlin. Haven't the Czechs adopted, after all, the methods of Hitler? This is what we hear from Mr. Wenzel Jaksch, a former social-democratic deputy in the Czechoslovak Parliament, and his adherents in Sweden, England and America. The air is heavy with mutual fear. The Sudeten Germans have been used as a lever for the destruction of Czechoslovakia. Now some, though not all of their speakers and sponsors abroad are afraid that, unless they are recognized well in advance as one of the parties on which the restoration of the Republic depends, they will be driven from the seats their ancestors have occupied since the Middle Ages. Speculations as to the extent of Czech radicalism, though seldom based on a knowledge of the complex question, tend to irritate world public opinion.

The treacherous designs of Konrad Henlein and his Sudeten-German Party are on record as part of recent history. When they felt big in the first half of this war, they made merry over the gullible folks who had taken at their face value their protestations that they

were no Nazis. No Czech can ever forget the fact that the only living-space his people possess on earth forms a wedge driven into the German lands. Efforts to get rid of the western Slavs, to make them disappear like the Elbe Slavs of old, antedate the era of the Teutonic Knights. Utterances to that end go back as far as the tenth century.

We all wish the competition of nations to take place on a high cultural level. Time and again this was actually the case in Bohemia and Moravia. There were breathing spells when the struggle was dormant, but they were few and far between. Very different ideologies have clothed the strife at different times. But on the whole it had an almost biological basis.

Many of Hitler's precursors and Hitler himself had come from Austria-Hungary, and it was the dual monarchy that produced the most poisonous roots of Nazism. The Junkers were technicians who could do things. But the visions of those Austrian and Bohemian Germans who wanted to join Bismarck's Reich were of the apocalyptic kind. To experienced Czech observers much of Nazism was very old stuff. Brawls occurred and Czech books, chiefly Palacký's famous *History of the Czech Nation*, were burned in the squares of Sudeten-German towns as early as the 'nineties. Hitler just started doing what many a burgher, especially the typical petit bourgeois, sometimes talked when he got drunk in his Bierhalle. Such people, rendered boastful and arrogant as a result of a long miseducation, have been just themselves during these years. When Hitler shouted, "I want no Czechs," many naïve souls in the West rejoiced. Peace in our time. Czech hearts were heavy, for they knew he meant it. No Jews. No Czechs either.

This is the one side of the story. The workers were better than this. Not all Sudeten Germans were traitors. Despite the real suffering brought about by the depression and unemployment of the 'thirties, despite their demagogic exploitation, the progressive socialist elements, looking across the border into the Third Reich, preferred Czechoslovak democracy. A part of these Germans, the exact size of which it is obviously hard to estimate, wanted either "cultural autonomy" or remained faithful until they were overwhelmed. A Czech-German rally in one of the exposed Czech towns took place only a few weeks before Munich. It was eagerly being watched by Nazi spies. A statue of T. G. Masaryk was being unveiled. This writer concluded his speech in German, his German colleague in Czech. The great question is, how those friends in need have behaved since. Disillusionment came fast on the heels of "liberation." Their toll in blood has been terrific. But the will to resist was broken and they

had been let down by Chamberlain and Daladier too. They seem to have shown the same obedience as the other Germans, though without rejoicing. The youth is certainly indoctrinated. Occasional resistance, even some contact with the Czechs cannot be excluded, in which case they would find advocates in the most unexpected places. But we have no direct evidence of that, and, frankly, it is not probable. There may be some switch toward democracy after the war, but it will be received with suspicion.

The German minority in Czechoslovakia was large, twenty-two percent of the total population. It will have slightly decreased due to the war as well as to the deportation and slaughter of German speaking Jews. The Republic has a vital stake in reducing it to manageable proportions. How many fanatics can it retain within its borders? How many can it punish without being blamed? Their continued presence would mean a constant physical danger. There would be no end of plotting and sabotage. Can the Republic afford to grant democratic civil rights to people intent upon finishing off both democracy and the State itself?

In discussing the problem let us start with minor steps to which there will hardly be any objection. This will help us to isolate and, at the same time, to reduce the big question.

Officials, "guests," and new settlers from the Reich must go, and they will go willingly enough. Bohemia and Moravia are shot with new German settlements. Although there has been some lag in the execution of the program, due to manpower shortage, scores of inhabited places have been cleared of Czechs and resettled with Germans. This was intended to facilitate the final digestion or eviction of the broken nation. There are also old islands of Germans in purely Czech surroundings. We find them mostly, though not exclusively along the border between Bohemia and Moravia. These settlements served the same plan, which is by no means Hitler's invention. It called for a "closed" Sudeten-German territory with one official language, viz., German, and at the same time for numerous mixed areas with two languages—for the time being. As a matter of fact, the Sudetenland is a fiction of a very old propaganda. It contained, as is the case elsewhere in Europe, minorities within the minority. About a million Czechs were detached from their fatherland by the cession of the "Sudetenland." Their fate has been pitiable.

A cleaner division of nationalities is not only desirable, but also in the interest of the inhabitants of those islands, and it will necessitate some moving. This will be a minor step in the migration of millions which is already taking place under the Nazi New Order and will

continue when the tide turns, only in other directions. The process will be a slow one.

Many of the big shots among the Nazis in Czechoslovakia will be wanted for the murders they have ordered or assisted. As for the regular Nazi rank and file, there can be little objection to the demand that Germany should deal with them itself. There are sure to be difficulties. Defeated Germany will be unwilling to accept them, for the very same thing will be happening in Poland and perhaps in other countries as well. The formula "drive out the active Nazis" is justified. But it cannot be disposed of by simply saying: "if there are too many of them, the worse for Nazidom." This matter is sure to reach the level of international politics. Off the record, several world statesmen have occasionally thrown in remarks which seem to favor a radical solution. But the adopted principles must be universally applicable.

As a matter of principle, the Czechoslovak Republic must insist that its minorities are going to be its inner problem, but from what point? No Republic will grant the same human and political rights to its minorities as before, but not the right to treason. It must also refuse to deal with "autonomists" like Mr. Jaksch who act as if all Sudeten-Germans were innocents who condescend to negotiate the terms of joining the Republic "again." But the final decisions are sure to be the result of complex international considerations. As far as can be seen, there will be three periods. A turbulent one when the tortured peoples will turn against their taskmasters and create some accomplished facts. Then a period of Allied military intervention and diplomatic deliberations. Only after that will minority policies be considered as inner affairs of the several States, insofar as they adhere to approved principles.

In this sober light there is little likelihood that the above formula will be applied indiscriminately to Sudeten-German workers, to slow peasants and to the simple hillfolks in the Ore and Giant Mountains (Erzgebirge and Riesengebirge) which form the northern rim of Bohemia. The burghers will be hard hit. They deserve it. But some political representatives of Germans from the Republic cooperate with us as real friends and they hope to be by no means isolated after return.

The Germans in the "Protectorate" have become, by Hitler's decree, direct citizens of the Third Reich. At the first glance this seems to suggest an elegant solution: they will not be citizens of the Republic except on application, which in turn would be refused if they are found guilty or wanting. But Hitler's decrees are to be annulled on

principle. Why should this one be left standing? Not all Sudeten Germans wanted the annexation. And the problem would grow into European dimensions, since the same situation prevails in Poland. Yet in a modified form the question is bound to stay. European passport offices will be meticulous after this war. There will be many disfranchised and even stateless people when peace comes, even in Germany. Even among those Germans who will remain in their old seats a number of individuals must be put on probation, until they prove that their pledge to behave as democratic citizens is sincere.

- Czechoslovakia's fight for liberation is based, by and large, on the status quo. Without the territory wrested from her in 1938 it was shapeless and defenseless and everybody inside the new borders knew that the time of the final kill was near. It cannot be without those mountains. To argue with a Czech that strategic frontiers will no longer be necessary in the new world we are going to build with a meek regenerated Germany in the picture is a waste of time. The Czech will continue to think in terms of centuries. Nevertheless, the westernmost districts of Cheb (Eger) and Asch lie beyond the hills and were a liability, rather than an asset, to national defense. Except for a number of officials, railway men and frontier guards they were purely German. Almost the same applies to two square-shaped salients in the extreme north of the country which are clearly visible on all the older maps. Would it not be a good idea to cede them to Germany thus reducing the number of Germans by almost half a million? Such a step was actually under consideration at the Versailles Conference. The salients could be exchanged for a smaller but deep indentation near the city of Náchod which lies almost on the Silesian border. This indentation was carved out by Prussia in the 18th century, certainly with a view to its being used as a gate of invasion later (it was used that way in 1866 and 1938-9.)

But the Czechs did not accept any change of their historic northern frontiers at Versailles, though Dr. Beneš was for the plan. They are likely to resist again. Their reason is not to be sought in any desire for as much territory as possible. They simply feel that if they give way in one point, the whole historic structure will get into a flux again. The story of 1938 will never be forgotten.

No vital questions are involved in the case of the other minorities. The Magyars in Slovakia were no source of trouble, despite the constant beckoning of revisionist Hungary. With the Czechoslovak land reform and social legislation they were better off than the common people across the Hungarian border. Hungary will be forced to disgorge Sub-Carpathian Russia she grabbed when the grabbing was

good. With this territory half a million of Ruthenians will return to the Republic. They used to be disunited among themselves, but they really could not complain of being in Czechoslovakia which they had joined voluntarily as an autonomous part in 1918 and which gave them the first taste of civic and human rights in many centuries.

Hungary will also lose the so called Vienna Award, which means the southern rim of Slovakia. Even then a sizable Slovak minority will remain in Hungary. Repatriation from both sides is possible. It could be done in a humane way over a period of years. With a Hungary that has accepted the limitations and the intrinsic dignity of being a small nation even other things could be talked over in a spirit of amity. Not St. Stephen's Crown, though. Are we going to see the birth of such a Hungary?

Between Czechoslovakia and Poland the question of the industrial Teschen district is pending. There is practically no doubt but it will be settled eventually in a fraternal spirit.

Minority problems and "grievances" were the pretext, not the cause of this war. Minorities blow up when an aggressive Great Power wants headlines and excitement. Their reduction to their proper size and importance will call for much planning and still more for a genuine understanding among those chiefly responsible for the peace of the world. If aggression is effectively checked, if power politics are really reduced to an all-time minimum, as promised by universally respected world statesmen, then we are indeed approaching an era of almost dazzling light. The right aim is to reduce frontiers to lines of administration, to demilitarize them, to render them as insignificant as possible.

IV SLOVAK AUTONOMY

The question of administrative autonomy for Slovakia is not expected to be as knotty as many outside observers believe. A dispassionate study reveals a situation which, though not hard to understand, appears slightly paradoxical on the surface.

The corrupt quisling régime of puppet Slovakia is discredited, to say the least. All the haranguing of its representatives about the glory of independence sounds hollow. The Slovaks have experienced enough of German expansiveness on their own soil. They have seen their relatives being sent to the eastern front and to forced labor for Germany. The romantic desertions of airmen and even of large Slovak units in Russia are more than a straw in the wind. The deserters are overjoyed to be, at long last, on the right side in the world struggle "with their Russian and Czech brothers," as they actually put it. They reported for duty to President Beneš, then in Moscow. Now

it so happens that the Czechoslovak legion in Russia has a Czech leadership, but not a Czech majority. This is due to inevitable circumstances: the Czechs were trapped in Bohemia and Moravia by the German invasion. Thousands, especially airmen, escaped to Poland at great risk to their lives, but not enough to form a sizable army. Some helped to fight for Poland's life. Others were transported in the summer of 1939 to France, where they joined other Czechoslovak forces, lived through the cataclysm and were, though by no means all, evacuated to England. Czech units fought bravely in the Near East and in Tobruk; they, too, are now in Great Britain. Some of their fliers have won the highest distinction. But the small Czechoslovak force in Great Britain has been marking time awaiting the invasion of the Continent. Actual land operations could be undertaken only in Russia under the able leadership of Gen. Svoboda. The rank and file of his brigade are largely Carpatho-Russians, Slovaks, are joining them, and in the end there may be a surprising majority of the latter two groups engaged in actual fighting for the Czechoslovak Republic. These legionnaires will return home as champions of a common indivisible Republic which, though decentralized, must remain indivisible. Their influence will supplement that of the underground movements in both parts of the country between which there seems to be connection.

One need not credit either the Czechs or Slovaks with any extraordinary loftiness of character. Some bitterness is sure to linger on for some time after the war. But such feelings would thrust rather more than less autonomy upon Slovak shoulders.

The fact is that the Slovaks would not gain by certain forms of home rule. The inclusion of financial autonomy would be a heavy burden. Slovakia would not have developed by leaps and bounds during the twenty years between the wars without much financial assistance from Bohemia and Moravia. That the Slovaks had greatly profited by the union, was recently frankly admitted by Konstantin Čulen, one of the official speakers for the present regime. It would be futile to deny it; the people know the truth. Whether or not it is true that the Slovak nationality was saved at the eleventh hour in 1918 and that it would have been plowed under in old Great Hungary, all Czechs and most Slovaks know that separation would be a reckless gamble. Czech resistance to Slovak autonomy, which Slovak "centralists" supported, was animated largely by the fear that it would be used as a stepping stone to complete disruption. This is what has actually happened. The quislings of Slovakia would not have got the upper hand without support from Hitler. Even before Munich they

aligned themselves with Henlein's Sudeten-German Party, disregarding the political legacy of their deceased leader Father Hlinka, who had never been a separatist. If such dangers are removed in the future, the question of Slovak autonomy is bound to lose much of its poignancy.

The word autonomy in itself carries very little meaning, especially after being twisted so long to conceal the deepest issue. Future autonomists will try to drive a bargain, which is their right. But their zeal will flag where the advantage ends. The discussions and preparations that are being carried on in London (where four members of the Cabinet are Slovaks) are based on two principles: that the decentralization must be balanced by a corresponding strength of the union, and that the final stipulations will have to be confirmed or proposed by the real contracting parties, i.e., by the Czech and Slovak people back home. A regional "Diet" in Bratislava would be cumbersome, but otherwise there is no objection to it. Common foreign policy, diplomatic and consular representation abroad, national defense and overall control of finances, railways, postal service seem a foregone conclusion. Whether all this will be done in Prague, is another question. Railway management was always decentralized. The supreme court of justice used to be in Brno in Moravia. There is no obstacle except for practical considerations to moving some central offices to Bratislava, should prestige demand it. It would, of course, bring a fresh influx of Czech officials to Slovakia and the cry "Slovakia to the Slovaks" might start again. Education, agriculture, the ministry of the interior, social welfare and health administration, agriculture and public works can be either wholly divided or have important regional subdivisions. The railways have always had them. But what about finances and taxes? Will the Czechs insist on autonomy there?

One can easily see that a certain intermingling of officials is inevitable. Nor is it in the interest of able and ambitious Slovak public servants to be confined to their part of the Republic. Agitation of Hlinka's People's Party has obscured these issues. At the outset, after 1918, the Slovaks could not cope with the administrative task alone. Their intelligentsia was weak and pervaded with people who felt as Magyars. Thus many Czechs got employment in Slovakia, while many a Slovak made a splendid career in Prague. One need not overrate the petty irritations some of the Czechs produced. The growth of agitation against the Czechs had a more substantial basis. When economic depression descended on the country — the whole country of course — the plight of unemployed Slovaks was as real as that of

unemployed Czechs. It invited efforts to oust anyone that could be ousted. Complete separation offered an opportunity to adventurous young job hunters who hoped for high positions and got them with the help of the New Order. They have had their day. If Czechoslovakia succeeds in solving the problem of employment, the old slogans will lose much of their magic. But in this respect the Republic cannot succeed without the rest of the world.

During this war Central Europe has often been theoretically treated as a jigsaw puzzle which must be put together in some new — or very old — pattern. On deeper analysis, even the “brand new” combinations reveal themselves as very conservative. They reckoned with the old social patterns in the territories concerned: with an unregenerated Hungary, for instance. Russia was distrustful lest subtle efforts to revive the idea of a sanitary cordon were somehow to be involved. Some of the blueprints were advertised as means to preserve order, i.e., to prevent the development of popular movements like those sweeping Yugoslavia, Greece, and France. Widely different as these plans were, they had something in common. They reckoned with the territorial fragmentation which Hitler himself had so greatly assisted. A Danubian, or Central European, or an even wider new structure was being pieced together from disjointed provinces and autonomous areas. In some of them even the Sudetenland was to enter the picture as a separate territory which would presumably be willing to come to terms with something that would no longer be Czechoslovakia. At the same time, official Hungary and its friends abroad continued their propaganda for the restoration of St. Stephen’s Crown, i.e., of the old Hungarian Empire as the best guaranty of “order,” while Otto of Hapsburg attempted to play himself up as a speaker for all the imaginary “Austrians” who would welcome a restoration of the old Monarchy in some form, possibly also at the expense of Germany.

We are not discussing these blueprints, because in each of them Czechoslovakia was to lose its identity. They are on the losing side — if they were not, all we say would be beside the point. The federative idea is, of course, by no means dead. But all plans to that end will have to reckon with three matter-of-fact premises. First, with the existence of States which already are recognized as members of the United Nations and the main outlines of which are plainly visible, despite the well known territorial disputes and pending border questions. Second, with the political and social trends which are already emerging from the cataclysm and point more clearly to an era of the common man than the conservatives believe. Third, with the general

situation created, or to be created, by the leading Great Powers.

As for Slovakia, the cause of Greater Hungary is the most hopelessly lost. Some of the leaders of the present puppet régime were suspected of pro-Hungarian sympathies on very good evidence, both old and new. But no Slovak will dare stand for a return to Hungary. Even the press of the totalitarian Hlinka Party quarrels with Hungary most of the time. Though they are nominally allies, the régime claims credit for protecting Slovakia from Hungarian greed, to rally some supporters and to offset the universal hatred of Germany.

Meanwhile, a high-strung faction among Slovak-Americans is carrying on a campaign in favor of independent Slovakia. Since the Tiso-Tuka régime adhered to the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo alliance on November 24, 1940, and even had the effrontery to declare war on the United States after Pearl Harbor, no one here can, in the long run, speak with impunity as its advocate. The present line of the advocates of separatism is therefore based on the assertion that the Slovaks are a nation distinct from the Czechs and that, as such, they have a right not only to nationhood, but to a nation-state as well. This question has a bearing on our topic. But we must carefully separate the kernel from chaff.

During the heated debates about autonomy, some leaders of the Slovak League of America have talked themselves into the conviction that the chief enemy of the Slovak nation is the Czech. A Slovak plebiscite, they say, would enthusiastically decide for an independent Slovak State, if only the victorious Allies sent an AMG there and filled it with correctly chosen, understanding Slovak-Americans. All this is mistaken: they do not possess a realistic picture of actual conditions; they will not be invited to influence the AMG; and the issue cannot be decided by citizens of another State, whose ardent love and hatred nobody doubts, but who can only belabor public opinion. The Slovaks back home will speak the decisive word.

The separation of Slovakia from Bohemia and Moravia was approved by the Slovak Diet in Bratislava on March 14, 1939, under the influence of German guns trained across the Danube, after having been twice voted down by a three quarter majority. Should a decisive majority of Slovaks clamor for complete separation after their recent lessons, they might conceivably receive consideration in the councils of the United Nations. A scheme sponsored by Hitler would have to be endorsed. Along with Slovakia, Carpathian Russia, which lies further east, would be gone. The Republic would cease to exist. Will the Allies go back upon their word? One can make assertions. But the minimum requirement is that they should be based on better

evidence than that furnished by the controlled Press of the Tiso-Tuka régime and the articles of a free lance like Mr. Peter Pridavok in London.

To all this should be added that Carpathian Russia was, and is again going to be, autonomous. Its autonomy will be expanded as it recovers from the brutal blows inflicted on its educated people. Autonomy has always played an important role in Czechoslovak administration. Municipal administration, which covered a surprising number of details, was a second autonomous track running parallel to the State civil service. It was organized according to component parts of the Republic: Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, Slovakia, and Carpatho-Russia. Thus decentralization, although its future scope and details remain to be determined, will be anything but new. Past experiences were good. Coupled with sufficient guarantees for the cohesion of the State, autonomy does not loom as a major problem.

It is even possible, as Paul Winkler recently (January 28, 1944) pointed out in the *Washington Post*, that "if the Slovak population could vote on the question today, it would choose a centralized rather than a federalized reunion with the Czechs." Important underground reports speak that way. Possible situation: some Slovaks with a tarnished past will rediscover the virtues of centralism and some Czechs will try to keep them at arm's length.

V A NATION-STATE OR A FEDERAL UNION?

The Czechs and Slovaks are nearest kin on all counts. Some writers and scholars of purely Slovak origin hold a very high place among the champions of the Czech national renaissance in the early part of the last century. They wrote in Czech, and Czech was for a long time the sacred language of the important Slovak Protestant minority. Even in this century many Slovaks considered themselves as belonging to the same differentiated but essentially identical people. They use both dialects with equal ease. Their use of the word "Czechoslovak" had national, as well as political overtones.

Nevertheless, the Slovaks have a collective personality distinct from the Czechs. They lived for many centuries in a very different environment as part of the Hungarian Empire. Their rapidly growing and valuable literature and recent political developments have aided the differentiation. The silence of poets and scholars, of which the controlled press bitterly complains at present, shows that they are biding their time until they are free to speak again. But what they hold in their drawers will be in good Slovak. Meanwhile the language is being standardized in such a way that where several words offer

themselves, it is the one farthest away from Czech that is chosen. Even when the political implications of this process are blown away, some of its results are bound to remain. It is this writer's opinion that the Slovaks, having drunk the heady wine of nationalism, will insist on the title of distinct nationhood. As far as passive knowledge of both idioms goes, they are near enough. They are mutually fully understandable without being learned. But to call them dialects of the same language would mean to evade the issue. European nations must be mostly defined — or rather described, since each case is individual — in terms of literary language, religion, culture, science, folklore, and temperament. A dialect must be regarded as a distinct language if it has a sufficiently developed literature to support it. Without this criterion practically all Slavonic languages would be but dialects of each other. In the last analysis a nation is a sufficiently integrated collective that insists on calling itself a nation. Slovaks and Czechs will continue to gravitate toward each other, as they did before this war, if they derive satisfaction from their living together. But the basis must be political rather than ethnological. Spontaneity and mutual recognition will be the best atmosphere.

In our opinion the constitutional, political meaning of the word nation, though not later in historic appearance, is a higher conception than that of a nation-state. It is a means by which peoples transcend themselves. The emphasis is shifted toward issues which are world issues at the same time: toward constitutional and human rights, toward economic and social questions. It is true that big talk about Europe and "defense of Europe" has been grossly misused on the Continent of Europe for the purposes of domineering races. But it was a mere pretext: the real purpose was the reduction of alien peoples to the status of helpless minorities which would be either absorbed or otherwise disposed of to make a large nation of a small one (Hungary) or to create a greater living space for a drive toward world ascendancy (the Greater German Reich). But if the terminology is used in a sincere manner, its moral and political value is obvious.

The discussion concerning the hyphen in the name Czecho-Slovakia must have struck outside observers as something ridiculous and freakish. In fact, the real issues were hidden behind it: on one hand, a plot to remove even the hyphen in due time, to develop autonomism into separatism with Nazi help; on the other, emphasis on the indivisibility of the Republic. Given a sufficient guaranty that the treacherous story of 1939 will not be repeated, no sensible person should get excited about it. It would also render the name of the country more readable abroad.

The word Czechoslovak is difficult for additional reasons. To the Hlinka party, and later to Hitler himself, it furnished fuel for propaganda: the Czechoslovak nation, they say, was a synthetic nation, a formula for denationalization. This was repugnant to the tender conscience of the Führer. But, even if we dispose of this fraud, we find the term was hardly applicable to the minorities. The Slovaks, of course, were anything but a minority. They belonged to the State-forming, State-supporting core of the Republic. But there were the Germans, the Magyars, and the Poles. We are of the opinion that the word "Czechoslovak" should be used in connection with the word "citizen" in such cases. In a good, democratic, and humane Republic — such was and will be its ambition — every one can use the term without reflection on his nationality, even with pride. Our friends and collaborators from the ranks of the minorities are doing this already.

All this may revive old discussions whether the Republic is a nation-state or a nationality state. In the past, they had the same well-known background of treason and apprehension. They may break out at a time of nationalist irritation. Discretion will be called for until the smoke of the last decade clears away. In any case, the Czechs and Slovaks will have a lion's share of responsibility for their common Republic. But their intimate cooperation, stripped of phrases, will reveal itself as a clean case of federal union, and federal union is the best recipe yet invented to make "e pluribus unum."

VI. ECONOMIC FUTURE

Five skeleton Ministries in London (Economic reconstruction, Industry-Commerce, Agriculture, Justice, and Social Welfare) are preparing measures to be taken toward post-war rehabilitation. They are in close touch with the official planning bodies of the United Nations. The country's economic future will largely depend on the success of the stabilization of currencies, reconversion of industries, world industrial planning, liberal tariff policy, freer trade, and an expanding world economy.

These questions are outside the scope of our analysis. But Czechoslovakia will enjoy the benefits, if such world planning succeeds, or else pay its part of the bill, like many other countries. A critical period of reviving the disrupted economies of the country (which will have shared, in a way, Germany's defeat), is likely to be followed by the habitual post-war boom, the length of which it is hard to predict. Nor is it possible to foresee, beyond certain generalities, the measure of its ultimate success and its future standard of living. More, however, can be said about the kind of economic structure it is going to have.

The Russo-Czechoslovak Treaty is more than a detail in the security system of the future. It entails a certain reorientation of the country's economies. Previously Czechoslovakia had lively export-import relations with Germany and (partly through Germany) with the Western world. Since 1933, however, Germany's share in Czechoslovak foreign trade was decreasing until it represented, in 1937, only 12 per cent of the entire foreign trade. Export statistics show that the Republic succeeded fairly well, considering the ever increasing difficulties. Sacrifices were necessary: competition was keen, products had to be of high quality and cheap at the same time. The goal was attained partly by an up-to-date rationalization of key export industries, partly by good taste, but also sometimes by relatively low wages. The thrifty people somehow managed to make modest wages — and modest salaries as well — go a long way.

Czechoslovakia is roughly half industrial, half agricultural. The farmers, politically well organized and powerful, improved their lot by developing agricultural industries, by raising quality crops, and by a great number of cooperatives. But also by politics. They did their best to avoid the competition of agricultural countries to the south, with the result that economic, though not always political relations with them were strained at times. Hungary was a difficult neighbor in both respects.

The good-will of Russia can certainly insure steady employment for a long time. Its immense needs during the reconstruction of its devastated territories will be able to keep Czechoslovak industries going and to employ a large number of high-grade technicians in addition. But a high standard of living is not to be expected from these connections. The Russian people themselves will cheerfully bear heavier burdens.

Under such conditions relationships with the West of Europe and the United States will assume a new importance. Czechoslovak exports used to go far enough, some articles (shoes, for instance) went to the remotest corners of the globe. With the expected perfection of world transportation and the development of backward areas new opportunities may present themselves which would add butter to the country's bread.

But all such considerations will necessitate much State planning and intervention. A smaller country cannot afford being provincial in any way. It is apt to be hard hit whenever great countries suffer a major depression. Its resources are smaller and its breath shorter, especially if it has been badly mauled by an invader who thoroughly understands the economics of force. It can ill afford a medley of pressure groups and disjointed vested interests. It has often been ob-

served that the world has not yet attained the level of national economy at a time when world economy is already badly needed. In Czechoslovakia central planning will be of the essence. It cannot live on the tender mercies of cartels and smart banks. At the same time, it will have to encourage enterprise as well as to pay tribute in money, services and docility, to foreign creditors and investors. The country's greatest asset will be in the abilities of its population and in the increase of specialized qualitative output.

Since the dismemberment and occupation of the Republic, the visible kind of looting has been by no means the worst, even if art treasures and national gold were being removed. Much more harm has been done by the concentration of banks and their incorporation into the German banking system; this kind of robbery had all the trimmings of legality. The same thing has been done to the key industries. War industries have become part and parcel of the Hermann Goering Werke and other giant combines, while numerous others have new Nazi bosses. The controls are in Germany. Undertakings not essential for the German war effort have fallen a prey to the total mobilization of 1943. Many plants will be destroyed, machinery worn out or evacuated, rolling stock depleted. How much time and toil it will take to retool the plants and set them going, this author does not know. Much will depend on kind help from the outside, but even the helpers must know what kind of produce will be most feasible and most welcome abroad. This author knows one sorry fact: many of the former owners have been killed, especially the Jews; many others have been dispossessed or paid off in occupation marks. The former will never rise from the dead. As for the living—the settlement of all the claims will mean, all over Europe, the most staggering accumulation of legal problems in human history.

Nazi economists are banking on the hope that they will be able to exercise economic control through the financial and industrial octopus they have created, even in the case of a "temporary" setback in this war. To inherit the tentacles, even if the head has been crushed, is certainly repugnant. But there is no other possibility. At the outset, and for a considerable time afterwards, the State will have to make use of the concentration of banks and industries. This, coupled with the compromised position of those who have too willingly collaborated with the Germans, will force the Government to assume a large share of control in the economic life of the country. It will be no doctrinaire issue, merely hard necessity and political retribution. But it is bound to find some expression in the political complexion of the country.

State control and ownership have always been stronger in Czecho-

slovakia (and generally in Europe) than in America. Apart from the obvious railways, the State-owned mines, forests, estates, a number of defense industries, a tobacco monopoly, a Postal Savings Bank, the State had influence on the National Bank and membership on the board of directors of others. This was not much criticized as a matter of principle. State management was good if it was good. If not, the matter was thrashed out in Parliament. As a rule it was middling fair at least; the railways were excellent. The Republic is going to have a mixed economy again. One can safely exclude totalitarian convulsions in the economic as well as in the political sphere. But even the return to private and corporate ownership in important economic sectors, which is anticipated, will be in some way subject to overall planning and the authorities with their advisers will find themselves, willy nilly, more often at the controls than before the war.

Freedom of speech and freedom of religion will remain the mainstay of Czechoslovakia's political system. But the economic and social implications of democracy, as well as the freedom from fear, will naturally come to the fore. Czechoslovakia attracted attention and sometimes won praise for her elaborate network of accident and old age insurance. Workers' committees had a word in the management. Unions were strong and dignified. In social security the country will have to start from scratch, for the very considerable funds of the respective institutes have been stolen by the Germans. The people will pay in again, but with much self-sacrifice because this generation will hardly enjoy the fruits of the effort. But by the same token, these social issues are sure to assume added importance.

On the other hand, Czechs and Slovaks will not worry much over the limitations of sovereignty. They will plainly see the necessity of taking the advice and sometimes the more vigorous hints of the Great Powers. The voice of their own representatives will be heard too, and it will not entirely depend on the size of the country which, after all, is not so small. The world is often misled by maps. With her 14.72 million inhabitants, Czechoslovakia was more populous than all but two of the American countries, and the people are well up to European standards. The people stand to profit enormously, in every respect, by national security. Czechoslovakia does not crave that kind of sovereignty which consists essentially in the unchecked exercise of power. It will be happy, if it can be itself, and a land of the free.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MARCH 1, 1944

OU EN EST-ON?

PAR HENRI GRÉGOIRE

LA FIN DE LA GUERRE DE TRENTE ANS: CERTITUDES MILITAIRES

L'AUTEUR responsable de la présente chronique se rappelle avec enthousiasme, mais non sans confusion, le jour de novembre 1918 où, dans le dernier fascicule d'une revue clandestine, il résumait fiévreusement les événements d'un Mois apocalyptique. Il s'excusait alors de la pauvreté d'un historique improvisé, balbutiant, lacuneux, bref, tout à fait indigne du formidable spectacle qu'il avait la charge de commenter. Les mêmes émotions, une gêne pareille, le chroniqueur belge de *Renaissance* les éprouve, à vingt-cinq ans de distance, à la veille, derechef, d'une victoire qui est très certaine et d'une paix qui l'est beaucoup moins. . . .

A l'heure actuelle nous entrons dans cette année 1944 qui restera mémorable comme la dernière de ce que nous avons appelé, et de ce que l'histoire universelle appellera la Guerre de Trente Ans du vingt-ième siècle (1914-1944). Par ses causes, en partie idéologiques, qui lui donnent parfois l'apparence d'une guerre de religion, par ses périodes successives (bohémienne, polonaise, scandinave, française) par ses intervalles de fausse paix, par son enjeu surtout, l'hégémonie européenne, la maîtrise du monde, ce conflit oecuménique mérite, en effet, sans jeu d'esprit ni de mots, une appellation qui souligne l'une des plus étonnantes réitérations des annales des l'humanité.¹ La défaite définitive de la nouvelle "Maison d'Autriche" était assurée dès l'année 1941. La journée du 22 juin 1941 a suscité la seule force, je veux dire, la seule grande armée continentale capable de détruire l'armée allemande. Et la journée du 7 décembre 1941, en assurant la mobilisation immédiate, et par degrés totale, de toutes les ressources des Etats-Unis d'Amerique, a stimulé les esprits héroïques de la Grande-Bretagne, et fourni à l'armée russe les moyens matériels de repousser l'invasion et de pousser ses contre-attaques victorieuses. Déjà la coalition des défenseurs de la liberté a derrière elle seize mois de succès presque ininterrompus, de victoires incomparablement plus éclatantes et plus décisives — pensons à l'épopée de Stalingrad et à la bataille de Carthage — que les rares avantages marqués par l'ancienne "Entente," ses alliés et ses associés du mois d'août 1914 au mois d'août 1918. Déjà une alliée de l'Allemagne, l'Italie, a changé de camp. Déjà la France, "gazée" par le *Blitzkrieg* de 1940, se ranime, se relève et retourne au feu, tandis que la Russie, vaincue en 1917,

¹ On nous permettra d'ignorer aujourd'hui le "théâtre" du Pacifique. L'issue de la guerre de Chine dépend évidemment de celle d'Europe.

n'avait pu, il y a vingt-cinq ans, s'arracher à sa révolution pour participer à notre victoire. La résistance, d'abord morale et passive, ensuite active, militante et parfois militaire des pays envahis de l'Europe dépasse en efficacité, sinon en grandeur, la protestation spirituelle que la Belgique de Mercier et de Max avait opposée à l'ennemi pendant la "première période" du conflit. Et, sans parler de l'*U-Boot Krieg* devenu "l'extermination des sous-marins," les raids quotidiens et dévastateurs de l'aviation alliée infligent à nos adversaires des pertes démoralisantes capables, d'après certains observateurs, de leur arracher l'aveu de la défaite. Avec le grand fait militaire qui domine tout, à savoir, le puissant martellement du front allemand, sans cesse bousculé, bossué, crevé et refoulé par l'offensive russe, tels sont les facteurs qui annulent "l'avantage" assuré à l'Allemagne d'aujourd'hui — d'après Hitler et ses complices — par un régime fort, grâce auquel l'opposition et l'opinion y sont sans forme, sans couleur et sans voix.

Tel est l'aspect purement militaire d'une situation qu'on doit juger désespérée, sinon encore à Berchtesgaden, du moins dans les capitales des satellites et des vassaux du Fuehrer, à Helsinki, à Budapest, à Bucarest et à Sofia.

SOUICIS POLITIQUES

Politiquement, certes, et précisément parce que la défaite allemande, escomptée, presque acquise, cesse d'être un problème, les soucis ne manquent pas aux vainqueurs. Cette guerre est une guerre de coalition; mais, dans son effectif actuel, la coalition est née en quelque sorte de la guerre elle-même, tumultuairement, sous l'empire de la nécessité et de l'urgence, sous les coups successifs d'agressions soudaines. Elle n'a pas pu prendre encore, ou elle n'a pas su, ou encore elle n'a pas voulu (ceci serait plus exact) prendre les formes définies et régulières qui lui permettraient d'avoir un programme commun, de former une entente capable de résister à l'épreuve de la victoire.

A l'origine, ou plutôt à l'heure où la grande guerre se ranima, trois Etats, la Grande-Bretagne, la Pologne et la France, étaient liés ou allaient bientôt se lier par une alliance du type traditionnel. Mais l'héroïque Pologne, bien que les accords qui l'attachent à l'Empire Britannique et, bien entendu à la France, subsistent en droit et en morale, a subi en 1939, du fait de la Russie, aujourd'hui notre amie,² mais alors celle de l'Allemagne, un démembrement que cette même Russie paraît considérer comme définitif, tandis que le gouvernement russe n'entretient plus — depuis un certain incident — de relations diplomatiques avec le gouvernement polonais. Quant à la France,

² Et l'alliée de l'Empire britannique.

bien que le Comité de la Libération Nationale tienne l'armistice pour nul et non avenu, et qu'il soit prêt à faire honneur à tous les engagements internationaux de son pays, le défaut d'une reconnaissance *de jure* dudit Comité par l'Angleterre, l'Amérique — et même le Russie — achève de détruire, au moins juridiquement, la triplice originale qui devrait être la base de l'ordre nouveau. Quelques personnes prennent d'un coeur assez léger leur parti de cette éclipse de la triple alliance de 1939. Elles la considèrent comme avantageusement remplacée par une combinaison autrement solide, autrement puissante, la coopération complète et plus que cordiale qui unit l'Empire Britannique et les Etats-Unis. Faut-il leur rappeler qu'entre l'Angleterre et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique il n'existe pas aujourd'hui (et beaucoup d'esprits sérieux et réfléchis estiment qu'il n'existera jamais) une alliance en bonne et due forme? Vérité paradoxale, inquiétante, certes, mais vérité politique dont les raisons profondes, psychologiques et constitutionnelles, économiques et sentimentales, ethniques et commerciales, sont bien connues, sinon toujours avouées. Vérité dont les optimistes affirment qu'elle est sans importance pratique, puisqu'à toutes fins utiles, les deux grandes nations anglo-saxonnes se comportent exactement comme si elles étaient liées par les accords les plus précis et par les engagements les plus solennels. Peu de vrais alliés en effet, ont usé vis-à-vis l'un de l'autre de ménagements aussi délicats et d'attentions aussi constantes que M. Churchill et M. Roosevelt. Respect mutuel des zones d'influence, avances réciproques, concessions quotidiennes, soucis également mutuels du prestige et de l'amour-propre du partenaire (surtout quand il a tort), tout cela est certes édifiant et exemplaire. Et en ce qui concerne la conduite de la guerre, l'absence d'un traité d'alliance anglo-américain ne fait pas obstacle à une conduite très efficace des opérations, sous des commandements communs, dont la composition, d'un bipartisme subtil et savant, est une création continue qui veut des soins infinis, sinon "beaucoup d'amour." Il n'en reste pas moins que, politiquement, le bloc anglo-américain, faute d'une doctrine commune, d'un plan commun d'organisation du monde, ne saurait jouer avec la force décisive que devrait, que pourrait lui donner la combinaison de ses gigantesques ressources. Telle est l'explication de plus d'un phénomène qui surprend quotidiennement l'observateur moyen. Dès que se présente un problème, fût-il d'intérêt immédiat et brûlant, dont l'essence soit politique en même temps que stratégique, aussitôt qu'il s'agit, pour les deux empires anglo-saxons, d'offrir solidairement des garanties à des tiers ou de discuter solidairement avec des tiers alliés, neutres ou ennemis, quelque litige territorial ou autre, la coalition anglo-américaine, en dépit de sa formidable puissance, virtuelle et

actuelle, matérielle et morale, ne peut toujours articuler les paroles fermes et claires qui auraient raison des doutes et des hésitations. Qui ne voit que les flottements, les incertitudes et de la Turquie et des satellites de l'Allemagne sont dus à ce vice originel d'une alliance qui n'en est pas une — qui est *mieux* peut-être parfois, mais parfois beaucoup moins?

GÉNIE ANGLO-SAXON ET GÉNIE RUSSE

Dans ces conditions, l'on admirera le génie des grands partenaires de Londres et de Washington qui ont su, malgré tout, conjurer les plus graves périls. Pendant longtemps nous avons tremblé, disons-le froidement, pour l'avenir immédiat des relations, d'une cordialité douteuse, qui unissaient ou plutôt désunissaient la Russie et les puissances occidentales. La Russie n'avait été représentée ni à Casablanca, ni à Québec. La stratégie des Alliés, incapables d' "ouvrir un second front," était critiquée avec amertume dans la presse russe. L'importance de l'appui matériel américain était niée ou passée sous silence à Moscou; l'entreprise africaine, les victoires de Tunisie et conférences de Moscou, de Téhéran et du Caire ont changé tout cela. Le maréchal Staline, aussi bien que ses interlocuteurs d'Amérique et d'Angleterre, a soudain proclamé une satisfaction complète, une confiance absolue, une amitié sans nuages. Un véritable second front, a dit M. Staline, existera bientôt (*Nastoyachtchii vtoroi front nié za gorami*)³

Les événements n'ont pas encore vérifié cette prédiction. Il ne manque pas de critiques militaires "très compétents" pour affirmer que l'heure D, je veux dire celle d'un débarquement massif en France et en Belgique, en Hollande ou sur la côte norvégienne n'est pas encore arrivée et que peut-être elle n'arrivera pas. Le major de Seversky, par exemple, le grand spécialiste de l'aviation, opine, en trois points, 1) que l'arme aérienne peut seule, en assurant aux alliés la maîtrise absolue de l'air créer des conditions propices à un tel débarquement; 2) que cette maîtrise, actuellement, n'existe pas encore; et 3) que d'ailleurs, si elle existait, le débarquement serait inutile, puisqu'un pays livré sans défense aérienne aux dévastations quotidiennes d'une aviation ennemie n'a plus qu'à capituler. Conclusion ironique peut-être, mais nullement paradoxale. En tous cas, et pendant quelques mois encore peut-être, les "commentateurs politiques" auront beau jeu.

Nous voici de nouveau en présence du douloureux problème polono-russe. Une des thèses officielles russes, conforme au bon sens et à

³ "Il n'est pas derrière les montagnes." Le proverbe russe dit de la Mort qu'elle n'est pas "derrière les montagnes," mais "derrière les épaules."

la justice, est qu'une Pologne indépendante et forte importe à la sécurité russe comme à l'ordre européen et mondial. Mais une autre thèse russe, également officielle, est que les frontières orientales de la Pologne d'avant-guerre n'existent plus, et qu'une partie au moins de ses provinces de l'Est sont irrévocablement incorporées à l'Union Soviétique. Circonstance aggravante qu'il nous faut répéter aussi, les relations diplomatiques sont rompues entre la Pologne et les Soviets. Enfin, plusieurs articles de la *Pravda*, le dernier à l'adresse de M. Wendell Willkie, violemment pris à partie pour avoir vaguement parlé de conciliation, montre que Staline ne tolérera aucun arbitrage, aucune médiation amicale des Alliés, dans cette affaire purement russo-polonaise, ou même, selon Moscou, purement russe. On se rappelle involontairement ces frontières constitutionnelles de la Première République Française, que la Convention, comme le Directoire, imposait comme condition préalable de toute négociation avec l'étranger. Si les Russes, qui n'ont pas obtenu jusqu'ici, et qui sans doute n'obtiendront pas avant plusieurs mois l'appui militaire qu'ils ont longtemps réclamé avec beaucoup d'acrimonie, sont néanmoins, satisfaits depuis Téhéran, n'est-ce donc pas tout simplement parce qu'ils croient avoir gain de cause sur cette revendication essentielle, savoir l'intangibilité de leur frontière occidentale, telle qu'elle était tracée le 22 Juin 1941, de Petsamo à la Carélie, de la Baltique à la Mer Noire? De là à dire que l'Angleterre abandonne son plus fidèle allié, le malheureux peuple polonais, il n'y a pas loin, et la propagande ennemie ne s'est pas fait faute de propager cette version perfide, et sans doute mensongère, des faits. La vérité est probablement que le gouvernement britannique souhaite que la Pologne fasse librement à la Russie des concessions territoriales très larges et qu'elle s'accommode d'un tracé analogue à la fameuse ligne Curzon de 1920, moyennant une garantie internationale de ses frontières, des accords sur l'échange des populations, l'annexion compensatoire de la Prusse orientale par la Pologne, et des engagements mutuels de non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieures de chaque état. Nous n'avons point l'intention de discuter ici les droits historiques et nationaux de la Russie et de la Pologne sur la Russie Blanche et l'Ukraine Occidentale. Mais, nous faisons des vœux ardents pour que ce litige soit réglé par un accord mutuel, équitable, honorable, ménageant non seulement les droits sacrés et les intérêts "vitaux," mais encore l'indépendance et la dignité des Etats en cause. Nous souhaitons que l'Angleterre et l'Amérique, se comportant en alliées de droit ou de fait, ne refusent pas leur bons offices aux deux parties, évitent toute pression qui pourrait rappeler le cruel souvenir de Munich, et invoquent au besoin et les principes, dont les grandes démocraties, ne sauraient faire litière,

et certaines considérations très réalistes d'opportunité politique auxquelles ni les Russes ni les Polonais ne sauraient rester sourds. A supposer que la Russie impose par la force le règlement territorial le plus tranchant, à supposer qu'elle n'accepte de traiter qu'avec un gouvernement polonais de son choix, à supposer encore que l'Angleterre et l'Amérique acceptent tacitement ces solutions unilatérales — ce qui impliquerait, aux Etats Unis, un désenchantement facile à exploiter par toutes les oppositions, il est clair que moralement la coalition anti-germanique subirait une *diminutio capitis* dont l'effet à la longue peut être désastreux. Si à Moscou comme à Washington on est conscient de ce péril suprême qui est aussi la chance suprême des Germains en déroute, la détente de Téhéran peut être suivie à bref délai d'une véritable entente.

La souplesse de la politique russe est prouvée par un récent télégramme de M. Staline à M. Pouritch, ministre des affaires étrangères du roi Pierre de Yougoslavie. Plus d'un partisan convaincu du système stalinien s'est montré surpris de cette manifestation amicale, qui semblait contraster avec l'appui exclusif et jaloux donné par les Russes aux insurgés croates et slovènes du "Maréchal Tito," en révolte ouverte non seulement contre les occupants germaniques mais aussi contre le gouvernement Yougoslave et contre la "domination serbe." C'est que Staline, le Staline d'aujourd'hui, est à la fois l'héritier de Lénine et le successeur de Pierre le Grand et de Catherine II. Il a "fait mieux" qu'eux: il a rétabli le patriarcat russe. Il ne peut oublier que les Serbes orthodoxes sont traditionnellement les clients de la Sainte Russie. Il ne peut lui suffire de rallier les paysans catholiques latins de Croatie et de Slovénie. C'est la Yougoslavie tout entière qu'il entend libérer et peut-être n'a-t-il voulu la diviser que pour la mieux unir, sachant à merveille que la nation yougoslave doit son existence à l'héroïsme épique des Serbes au moins autant qu'à la slavophilie romantique d'un prélat romain comme l'évêque Strosmajer, l'ami du philosophe russe Soloviev. Il doit savoir également que les partages de la Pologne dans le passé ont affaibli moralement la Russie et que la modération est encore la preuve la plus sûre de la vraie puissance.

NEW YORK, 15 janvier, 1944

RUSSIA REVISITED: AN EMIGRANT RETURNS TO HIS NATIVE COUNTRY*

By MAJOR OLEG PANTUHOFF, JR, C A C, A U S.

A QUARTER of a century after I left my native country, I had a unique chance to rediscover Russia. As one of the officers accompanying Major General Donald H. Connolly of the Persian Gulf Command on a mission to Russia early this year, I travelled for weeks across that war-torn country. We enjoyed an unprecedented opportunity closely to inspect its three great cities, Leningrad, Moscow, and Kiev, which Hitler had coveted so much.

Kiev actually endured German occupation for more than two years. Moscow flung back the Nazi hordes from its very gates but, most heroic of all cities, Leningrad withstood the most terrible siege in history and is only now resuming its new life.

Although twenty-five turbulent years took me thousands of miles away from my native land and made me an American, I always remembered beautiful St. Petersburg with its many parks and its magnificent palaces and cathedrals. When I was a little boy, my family lived in Tsarskoe Selo, where my Father was a Colonel in a Guards Regiment. During spring and winter seasons, my brother and I were sent to live with our grandmother in St. Petersburg.

I have never forgotten these two cities. I collected books on them and photographs of them, and was told innumerable stories about them, so that they always lived in my memory. But never, even in my most reckless moments, did I expect to come back. The stories we heard about new Russia destroyed the desire to return. We were so prejudiced that we shut our minds to reason and truth.

This war brought more death and misery to the people of Leningrad than probably to any other city of its size in history. I saw the results of years of siege, starvation, cold, and bombardment which even to this day defy all description. But I owe this same war the opportunity to revisit and rectify my misconceptions of Leningrad and Russia as a whole. It happened so quickly that I am still not reconciled to the fact that it was not a dream. There I was, gazing out of my window in Hotel Astoria one early morning, as darkness slowly lifted, revealing the city's fantastic silhouette. The bright morning also lifted veils from my memory and dispelled many of my doubts.

I cannot speak of the military objects we saw and inspected. That must remain a military secret, but my own emotional and intellectual experience, shared with several American Army Officers, may be told.

* This article has been passed by both the Soviet and the American military censorship.

In touring the city I recognized so many things—some because I remembered them from childhood, others because of stories told me in family circles in America. Siege, bombing and shelling did not change the general character of the city. As we made our way across barricades, past iron concrete pillboxes, and across the historic Neva River, the Tsar's Winter Palace and the Hermitage Art Galleries, shabby and shell-pocked, stood firmly, still proudly defying enemy shells. The old fortress of St. Peter and Paul, with its lofty spire covered in drab canvas holster, still remained, symbolic of Leningrad's will to live.

Farther north, just beyond the little park where we used to go sleighing, I recognized Kronverski Prospekt. I was just on my way to the corner house, No. 23, where I once lived, when a sudden burst of artillery over the Hermitage and along the waterfront brought me back to reality. I could not see No. 23 on that occasion.

One of the most amazing and inspiring sights is the famous Kirov Armament Plant—one of Russia's oldest. It made history in pre-revolutionary days when it was known as the Putilov Works, and has maintained this rôle continuously ever since. It was in this, St. Petersburg's great industrial plant, that the Russian revolutionary ferment developed in 1905 and here the revolution rose to its climax of 1917. In this locality we were only three miles from German artillery positions, and the plant, outwardly nothing but ruins and rubbish, was nevertheless working full blast producing ammunition for Soviet batteries only a few yards away. With practically every other building completely demolished and all others damaged, the Kirov Plant was still an extraordinary beehive of production.

Under constant fire and daily intensive shelling, men, women and children, oblivious of death and destruction staring them in the face, worked day and night. There was not the slightest evidence of defeatism or tragedy on the faces of these "Heroes of Labor." They labored smilingly, apparently reflecting the knowledge that it was their fortitude that kept Leningrad securely anchored on the Baltic and only a few weeks ago, since our visit, flung back Hitler's legions beyond the Estonian border.

Within an hour after our departure, the Kirov Plant was shelled. We heard and almost felt the explosions, but we knew that only the first shell was dangerous for the workers. Thereafter they were all safe in their bombproof shelters. We also knew that, when they emerged from underground, they would work with more courage, determination, and an intense desire for revenge.

A little later we climbed an observation point and just below us

observed not only the flashes of enemy guns but the positions along the woods. Through the Baltic mist, just beyond the fringe of woods, I recognized my old town, Tsarskoe Selo, now renamed Pushkin.

A week or two later we might have visited Pushkin, but at this time it was still a great German stronghold—or at least its ruins were. The Germans have long since removed the statuary, paneling, flooring, and even the plate glass from the palaces, but we could still see their shells standing.

Back in the heart of the city, we walked through the hundreds of empty rooms of the Hermitage and the Winter Palace. Almost all the priceless treasures of these two museums had been evacuated to the Urals, but endless large and small empty frames, hanging symmetrically on cracked walls, looked down upon us like the eye sockets of human skeletons. A day or two before we arrived, the Hermitage had received a direct hit.

I was astonished to see that the Soviets had preserved the monuments commemorating imperial glory from the days of Peter the Great. Peter's own famous bronze equestrian statue still stands on its ancient site, but hidden under tons of masonry and sand which protect it against anything but a direct hit. Not far beyond, in the so called Summer Park on the Neva, were scores of famous statues buried deep underground. The "Engineers' Castle," built by Paul I in mediaeval style with moats and bridges which nevertheless failed to protect him from assassination, likewise stands, its gilded spire strangely preserved. I identified the castle by the spire as the building where my Mother lived 50 years ago and where my Grandfather was Commandant.

During the siege, the people demolished all wooden structures, either because of fire hazards or because they needed the wood for fuel, but the log cabin, the first St. Petersburg building which Peter the Great erected, still stands protected by brick walls. To my great disappointment, I found it locked and closed to visitors. I remembered there 25 years ago when I almost fainted in its tiny chapel from the smell of candles and incense.

Not the least of the wonders of Leningrad was the discipline and order which prevailed. I had occasion to test the efficiency of the local "Information Bureau" where records of all citizens are kept. I remembered vaguely that some years ago two of my cousins, a brother and sister, were living in Leningrad. Although I had not heard from them for years, I gambled for the chance and inquired for their addresses. It took no more than two or three hours before I obtained the girl's address, place of work, and telephone number. To

avoid the initial shock of meeting, I telephoned first. Neither one of us could believe that we actually found each other, but there could be no doubt about the identity.

My cousin Lelia is a practicing physician and her husband a surgeon in the Red Army. Her brother, a railroad engineer, is at the front too. But here she was with her old Mother, survivors of all the horrors of war, both well, and Lelia decorated for her heroism during the siege. She told me she could have evacuated to safer areas but she and her Mother, like so many other residents of Leningrad, refused to leave, and decided to stay and defend the city.

We spent New Year's Eve in the "Palace of Pioneers," a former imperial palace near the Fontanka Canal where the Russian equivalent of the American boy scouts gathered to celebrate the New Year. In order not to offer a concentrated target for enemy shells, the children were separated into six or seven large groups in different wings of the palace, each with its own Christmas Tree and lavish decorations.

The children amazed us with their gayety, healthy appearance, and holiday spirit. They sang and danced and put on several fine performances which included choral singing, acrobatics, and playing musical instruments. We were told that groups of these kids visit the front only a couple of miles away, where they regularly entertain the troops.

On my way to the Moscow Station, we ran into merry holiday crowds waiting for trolleys and busses. It might have been New Year's Eve in any American city except for the total blackout and the nearby flares and rockets from both Russian and German positions which punctured the pitch-dark sky.

We returned to Moscow by the circuitous Vologda Railroad, since a stretch of the direct line from Moscow to Leningrad was still in German hands. The trip which took us 2 days can now be made in 10 hours.

Back in the capital, where we could spare a few hours from the inspection of war and railroad plants, we partook of some of the gayety of Moscow's operas and ballets, since the season was being in full swing.

We had seen the efforts the Soviet Government had made to restore the old traditions and establish the continuity of Russian history. You can see it on any street in Russia, in the new brilliant uniforms of Red Army Officers, in the churches always packed with worshippers, and we saw it again in the Historical Museum located in the middle of Moscow opposite the huge and distinctive Hotel Moskva. A thousand years of Russian history are graphically exhibited here. There is the ancient armour of the Grand Dukes, the

battle flag with which Marshal Suvorov crossed the Alps in 1799, the colors that Marshal Kutuzov, the victor over Napoleon, carried to Berlin in 1813, and rich exhibits of the Red Army's present battles. One of the main exhibits is devoted to the exploits of the 16 year old Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya—Russia's Joan of Arc—who, a year ago, when led to the gallows by Germans, urged the crowd from her village not to weep. "What are you crying for," she exclaimed as the Nazi hangman tightened the noose around her neck, "I shall die, but our country never will."

- At the Park of Culture on the Moscow River, now an exhibition ground for captured German equipment, we were presented with Hitler's iron crosses that had been earmarked for the would-be conquerors of Moscow.

Externally, Moscow in winter no longer looks like a wartime city. There are no more barricades, camouflage, or sandbags. The old and crooked Tverskaya has been renamed Gorki Street, and is as wide and modern as a similar avenue in any European capital. The snow is neatly and quickly removed from the street. Trolley busses and tram cars are packed with warmly dressed crowds and stern-looking soldiers in long coats and fur hats, with colorful epaulettes on their uniforms. The bookstores on Kuznetsky Most are doing as brisk a business as did the book vendors on the banks of the Seine in Paris before the war.

Moscow is never more beautiful than during the victory salutes marking the reoccupation of new towns—almost a daily occurrence now. More than 200 powerful guns shoot out hundreds of colorful rockets, casting strange shadows on the Kremlin walls and exposing the dark silhouette of its spires and battlements.

On the road to Kiev we traveled through hundreds of miles of devastation, and saw the ruins of Orel and Kursk, sites of some of the most decisive and desperate battles of the war. On one occasion our train was subjected to aerial bombardment, but anti-aircraft guns made short shift of enemy planes.

The story of Kiev, Russia's oldest town, where my father and grandfather were born, is another tale of horror and devastation. The story has been told repeatedly elsewhere. The Kreshchatik, the best residential and business district of the town, is a pile of debris. Many great modern public buildings and ancient monuments are shells, but here like in Leningrad the city is teeming with life, reconstruction already making progress. The Ukrainian Opera, which we visited one night, completed its performance, although the singers were interrupted by the distant bursts of anti-aircraft guns.

Here again I am compelled to omit reference to the important military objects we saw in Kiev and to the west of the city on General Vatutin's first Ukrainian front. Between conferences with the authorities and visits to military installations, I managed to see St. Cyril's Church, where my Grandfather was buried in 1910. With the cooperation of the authorities I located my Father's oldest brother, aged 75, whom I never expected to see alive. In a blinding snow-storm I found the street and the house of my Uncle, with his daughter and grandson. They had remained in Kiev during the German occupation and had escaped deportation to Germany or execution by hiding in villages under haystacks, cellars, etc.

I was told of the Gestapo's favorite practice of rounding up people on the streets and immediately carting them off to Germany to labor camps without any warning to their families. People simply disappeared from the streets.

From Kiev we travelled southwest of Zhitomir and saw the Red Army in action on what is probably the most important front of the present campaign. Later we travelled in the Caucasus and saw more of the gigantic Russian war effort and the use of American equipment. That story must remain unrecorded for the time being. One thing can be stated with certainty. Probably no American or Allied mission has had the opportunity to see so much of Russia at war as did General Connolly's.

MAXIM GORKI IN NEW YORK

By ERNEST POOLE

SOME ten years after Alexei Peshkov had won fame as a writer under the name of Maxim Gorki (Maxim the Bitter), he came to New York in the spring of 1906 to raise funds for the Bolshevik movement in Russia. During the disaster that followed, I was in close contact with him and I shall set down my memories here. But before I do, it may be worth while to sketch briefly my own Russian adventures up to that time, for they throw light on the widespread interest here in the early movements to set Russia free.

In Princeton I had hungrily read in translation Turgenev, Tolstoi, Dostoyevski, Gogol, Gorki and other great Slav realists, and also American George Kennan's books on the early Russian revolutionists, books widely read all over our land. Then, living for two years or more on the lower East Side in New York, I became a friend and admirer of Abraham Cahan and his Yiddish socialist daily, *Die Forwaerts*, and through him I met many Russian Social Democrats and Social Revolutionists. When old Katharine Breshkovskaya, known and loved as "Babushka" (little grandmother), after twenty-eight years in Siberia, came to New York on a speaking campaign, Cahan gave me the first long interview. My story appeared in *The Outlook*, a magazine widely read at the time, and she sold over 20,000 reprints at her meetings in cities clear out to the Coast. Everywhere she found warm welcome and raised immense sums for her Social Revolutionist cause. I met Social Democrat leaders, too, and some Russian liberals uptown. When the tragedy of Red Sunday occurred at St. Petersburg in January, 1905, and the Czar's Cossacks and police killed hundreds of unarmed workmen, led by the priest Gapon and marching with wives and children to the Winter Palace to ask their Little Father for aid, I hungrily read the news reports and Gorki's long dramatic cable to the Hearst papers here describing the massacre and declaring: "The Russian Revolution has begun!"

Only twenty-four at the time and crazy to get over there, I signed a contract with *The Outlook* and sailed that same week, taking with me to Russia a score of letters and several thousand roubles for the cause. In Paris I saw the liberal exile, Peter Struve, and from him took five thousand roubles more. All this money I delivered in St. Petersburg to Harold Williams, correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, and through him and my letters I gained access to secret meetings of liberal, labor and socialist groups. There, too, I met S. S. McClure, who had come over for his big American magazine,

and he told me: "If I had the money and the time I would start an American magazine called *Russia In Revolution* and would plan to run it for ten years; for this job will take fully that long and the interest in our country will keep increasing all the time."

That was in 1905, so his timing was not far from right!

At St. Petersburg, working day and night, in six weeks I learned enough Russian to help a bit in interviews; and later, with a Russian friend, I went to Moscow and later down through the Ukraine, making many stops in the villages. Then from the Crimea by boat I traveled to Batum, and from there up through the mountains with my friend, the agent for a group of English liberals who planned to help the revolutionists by smuggling a few thousand rifles into the Caucasus from the coast. Arrested, we managed to clear ourselves, and with eight relays of horses drove up northward over the famous military road and so down to the Russian steppes. From there I came to London and so home. Meanwhile *The Outlook* was printing my long series of articles.

In New York, during the next year I helped to organize the A Club, a small group of writers, in an old house at 3 Fifth Avenue, with Walter Weyl, Howard Brubaker, Leroy and Miriam Scott, Charlotte Teller, Robert and Martha Bruere, and several more liberals and radicals, and such visitors as Jack London, Upton Sinclair, David Graham Phillips, S. S. McClure and old Samuel Clemens, Mark Twain, who lived just around the corner and often came in to drawl out stories before our hearth through the smoke of his cigar. We had several Russian visitors, too, brought by Abraham Cahan or sent by our friends Arthur Bullard and William English Walling, who were in Russia at the time. The best known of these was the old Social Democrat, Chaikovski. Another, Ivan Narodny, lived at the Club for some months, and I helped launch his publicity by writing his dramatic story in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Through him and other Russians, including Gorki's adopted son, Peshkov, then in New York, we learned in advance of Gorki's coming over here. For the powerful Bolshevik faction of the Social Democrats, we heard, he was to make all over this country a big money raising campaign; and with him as manager and treasurer would come Nicholas Burenin of the Bolsheviks. Asked to do what we could for the advance publicity, we appealed to men we knew, and so helped to organize an American committee, including Samuel Clemens, William Dean Howells, Jane Addams, Arthur Brisbane of Hearst's *Evening Journal*, S. S. McClure, Robert Collier, owner of *Collier's*, Finley Peter Dunn (Mr. Dooley), David Graham Phillips,

Robert Hunter, and others, and we persuaded old Mark Twain to take the chairmanship. To launch the movement we planned a stag dinner of fifteen or twenty at our Club for April 11, the night after the day of Gorki's landing. During the same week another dinner was to be given by Gaylord Wilshire, owner and editor of the socialist *Wilshire's Magazine*, with such guests as H. G. Wells, Edwin Markham, Charles Beard, Franklin Giddings and John Spargo. Other receptions and mass meetings were being planned in New York and other cities by liberal, socialist and labor groups and organizations—for, in the ten years since his first success, Gorki's novels, short stories, and plays had sold well in translations all over our land, and to millions of Americans his name had become a symbol of the cause of Russian freedom then so popular over here. We learned how the Russian Embassy had failed in attempts to have him shut out by our government as a dangerous alien; and when a rumor reached us that he might be invited to the White House, we jubilantly began to dream of a million-dollar whirlwind campaign.

Then, from a Russian banker friend in Washington, Narodny learned that Gorki was bringing with him the actress Maria Andreyeva, with whom he had lived for about three years since separating from his wife, and that the Russian Embassy here, in a last effort to dynamite his American tour, was to supply the New York press with photographs of his "mistress" and of his "deserted" wife and child. At once we sensed the danger. We knew about Andreyeva. Born in an old Russian family, she had been forced at sixteen, we heard, into marriage with an old Russian prince and, since his death, had become a star in the world famous Moscow Art Theater, where she had helped in Gorki's first plays. A highly gifted charming woman, speaking fluent German and French, she was devoted to Gorki, looked after him when he was ill, and was considered by all their friends as his wife — which of course she proved to be for the remainder of his long life. As for his first wife, Katharine Pavlovna Volzhina, they had parted by mutual consent, and she had found a new mate and a good home for herself and their child, whom Gorki supported, and she was friendly to him still.

Indignant at the perversion of the real situation in the press story now planned, we yet saw at once what a blunder it was to bring Andreyeva here. America then was not what it is now. Puritanism was still going so strong that our dream of a million dollar campaign might all come to nothing if the story should be played up in the way the Russian Embassy hoped. In order to help hold it back, when Gorki landed on May 10, Leroy Scott and Narodny went out with

Wilshire, Cahan, and others on the revenue cutter, boarded the ship at Quarantine, warned Burenin of the danger, and proposed that, instead of Gorki's going with Andreyeva to the hotel where Wilshire had reserved rooms, he come to the *A Club* and let Andreyeva stay at first in the Staten Island home of John Martin, a liberal English friend of ours. To Gorki this proposal was made. In vain we declared our sense of outrage in the exposure being planned, but argued that the cause of Russian freedom was more important than any one man's private affairs. Gorki remained adamant. He would go with his wife to the hotel where Wilshire had reserved a suite. Then Leroy Scott talked with the press men on the cutter, and put up to them the real facts involved, explaining that the Greek Orthodox Church made divorce so difficult that thousands of Russians in good repute separated and remarried without a priest and yet were commonly regarded as man and wife, as they would be after a common law marriage over here. The Gorki campaign in itself, he argued, would be a big news story for weeks. What a pity to spoil it all by springing this sensation at the start! The reporters were sympathetic and said that, so far as they knew, no paper had planned to follow the Russian Embassy lead. And in the front page stories that night Andreyeva was alluded to simply as Gorki's "charming wife."

Believing, however, that soon or late the Embassy story was almost sure to be used, to make hay while the sun still shone we made the most of our dinner on April 11, the next night. Present with Gorki were Mark Twain, Arthur Brisbane, Robert Collier, David Graham Phillips, Peter Dunn, Robert Hunter, Abraham Cahan, Burenin, Chaikovski, Narodny, Walter Weyl, Scott, Brubaker, and myself. As for the meal itself, the less said the better; for our little Japanese butler and cook had brought in as helper another Jap and, just after serving the soup, the pair struck for higher pay. But this we gave, so the dinner went on. Our guests cared little about what they ate — for Gorki, lean and gigantic, dressed in blue blouse and black trousers tucked into high boots, held all of us spellbound by the stories which in his low deep voice he told through Narodny to old Mark Twain. Then, as toastmaster, Robert Hunter announced the names on our national committee and others on local committees formed in cities east and west. In New York Mark Twain and William Dean Howells were to give a great literary dinner soon, and in Boston Alice Stone Blackwell had planned a meeting in Faneuil Hall. Long telegrams from Jane Addams, Howells, and other noted people were read. Speeches were made. Reporters arrived, and flashlights were taken of our guests while Arthur Brisbane dictated to a secretary an editorial appeal to

be run in Hearst papers all over the country next day. In brief, the evening went off with a bang and when, long after midnight we went out and got morning papers just off the press, in front pages stories in them all we found nothing but promise for Gorki's big tour.

So far, so good. The Wilshire dinner a night or two later was another success; but he followed it next day by a large reception for Gorki and Andreyeva in their suite of rooms at the Hotel Belleclaire. She had carefully kept in the background till then, and had not wanted to appear. The reception, she told us later, was a complete • surprise to her, and she feared it was a mistake. So did we, and our first doubts soon increased. Gorki had unfortunately signed a contract to write only for Hearst papers while he was here. This was hard on Hearst's great rival, the *World*; rumors reached us of trouble brewing there; and from another source we heard that Gordon Bennett, then living in Paris with a young Russian countess of the Old Régime, had cabled his *New York Herald* to run an exposure of Gorki's "mistress" over here. Moreover, Gorki's socialist friends announced that he was soon to help the United Mine Workers then on strike, and they also gave out this telegram from him to William Haywood and Charles Moyer, I.W.W. leaders in jail out west, accused of the murder of the governor of Idaho: "Greetings to you, my brother socialists. Courage! The day of justice and deliverance for the oppressed of all the world is at hand!"

Later I came to know Haywood well, and was able to help in some of his strikes; but Gorki had come here to raise money for Russia, and his telegram just at that time was bound to make trouble. It did. Together with his other mistakes, it was too much for the New York press. On the morning of April 14, only five days after his landing, the *World* ran on the front page two photographs, one of Gorki and Andreyeva, the other of his wife and child; and with it was printed a story of the affair, on the surface not brutally unjust, but deadly in the effect it had on the puritanical New York of those times. On that same day, Gorki and Andreyeva were asked to leave the Hotel Belleclaire. They moved down to the old Lafayette-Brevoort, only half a block from our house, were put out from there early that evening, and moved to the little Hotel Rhinelander across the street. Then they went to a small socialist meeting and, on returning toward midnight, found their luggage piled out on the sidewalk in the rain!

On learning of this, we at once invited them into our house, and there they spent the rest of the night. Next day the full implications of the outrage came in brutal newspaper accounts of their plight and in messages from groups in New York and elsewhere cancelling meet-

ings and dinners that had been arranged to boost the campaign. In Boston Alice Stone Blackwell called off her meeting in Faneuil Hall. What could be done to quiet the storm? Since at our Club we had only one single bedroom available, our English friend John Martin again invited Maria Andreyeva out to his Staten Island home, and there she went, but in the next days she often returned to help in our vain efforts to soothe Gorki down. For Maxim the Bitter was surely a bitter man at that time! I remember our talks and how, through her, we pleaded with him to help us save for Russian Freedom what we could of his big mission here. For this we still placed hopes in Mark Twain. Howells had already dropped off our committee but, if only old Clemens would remain as chairman and come out strong in a public appeal, we felt that his great reputation might even then turn back the tide. He would think it over, he said, and this he would do only on condition that, in order to keep Gorki from more blunders in talks to the press, for the present we keep his whereabouts an absolute secret. This we agreed to do.

How thoroughly we detested our role! We had gladly welcomed Gorki and his wife, yet now we were forced, as though ashamed, to deny his presence with us, not only to reporters but to other friends and visitors, warmly sympathetic to Gorki, who came to offer their aid. I remember the night when H. G. Wells came in and told me: "I've been hunting this whole city to find Maxim Gorki and tell him what I think of this outrage. I have heard that he is with you here." I drew a deep breath and lied once more.

"Sorry. He isn't here," I said. Wells looked at me keenly and perhaps he caught some meaning in the look that I gave him in reply. "We are trying hard," I added, "to keep Mark Twain as chairman of the committee and so save the campaign." Wells answered: "Then let me just say this. When you see Gorki, please tell him from me that, when this silly fuss is over and he comes to England, I do so hope that both he and his wife will come and stay with me in my home."

The very next morning we heard from Mark Twain. He felt that any effort now to go on with our plan was hopeless and therefore he resigned. The big dinner arranged by William Dean Howells and himself was called off. Bitterly disappointed, we still searched for some way to salvage Gorki's mission here. When informed of his trouble by cable, Gorki's first wife promptly cabled her protest against the "desertion" story. They had parted by mutual consent and she was now happily remarried, she said. This cable was sent to the papers, but by most of them it was ignored. Next, with no longer

any need for the detested secrecy, Gorki in press interviews made strong appeals both for the woman he loved and for the great cause he had come here to aid. They did no good. More stories and editorials were run in newspapers and magazines about Gorki and his relations with "the woman Andreyeva." One of our club members put it all neatly when he said that our campaign was "busted higher than a kite."

Then Gorki went out to join his wife in John Martin's Staten Island home; and in that hospitable house, with many Americans like ourselves, both liberals and socialists, coming to see him or sending messages of sympathy and protest against the great wrong done, his first bitterness slowly began to subside. The process was helped by an article which he wrote and published about "monstrous New York" for having given full expression to his bitterness, his feelings eased and he realized that, despite all the puritanism on earth, the Russian Revolution would grind inexorably on to fulfilment.

Well I remember one evening in May when a group of us met with him on South Beach. It was empty at that time of year, so we built a big driftwood fire and cooked our supper there. The clusters of lights by tens of thousands twinkling at us from the great harbor of New York made a spacious background for our guest. At that time only thirty-eight years old, gaunt and gigantic, he knelt on the sand, with an old slouch hat pulled down over his blunt Slav face and his eyes and, with his wife translating, told us stories of the Russia he knew. And then, toward the end of the evening, he recited a Russian translation of Poe's *Raven*, I can still hear his deep musical voice, so dramatic with all its quiet, sounding after each verse the fatal refrain — *Nikogda*.

I have never seen Gorki since that night, but perhaps his friendship for our group helped to cause him years later, when asked by the Soviet Government to edit and publish in Russian a World Series of significant books of all countries through the ages, to give my American novel, *The Harbor*, a place on that list. Of all translations of my novels that is the one I treasure most.

ENDRE ADY, HUNGARY'S APOCALYPTIC POET (1877-1919)

By JOSEPH REMENYI

I

IN ORDER to understand the poetic and prophetic significance of Endre Ady, the Hungarian poet, it is not enough to point out the pure poetic aspects of his work. No doubt, his supreme contribution is that of a poet; but he pursued political dreams, he was influenced by social events, he knew the kind of despair and possessed the kind of discriminating intelligence which should make him interesting to the non-Hungarian world as the symbol of twentieth-century Hungarian psychology. However, to take cognizance of a poet whose references are often definitely local and whose subtle implications, though moving towards the ideal of universality, are primarily explorations of the problems of his own nation affecting his own person, makes it necessary to show him in relationship to the politics, literary trends and social structure of the time that preceded his writings and activities and in relationship to his own time.

Ady's progressive spirit was misunderstood by many of his contemporaries. In the "gilded age" of Hungary, from 1867 till the first decade of the twentieth century, there was a bewildering confusion or dilettante complacency about poetic and patriotic values. The moral will of the nation, strongly attached to the interests of the "historical classes," the aristocracy and the gentry, stepped between those poets who abhorred the jargon of transitory slogans, and those who were affected by expediency or by nationalistic sentimentalism. The evaluations of critics as well as the organized sentiments of smooth or bombastic versifiers were, as a rule, in harmony about the need of glorifying Hungarian destiny. Industry, commerce, and the peculiar attributes of Hungarian feudalism were staunchly defended even by those who themselves were either vehicles of academic norms or poor in an economic sense, despite their thriftiness and diligence. This paradoxical psychology exemplifies the naiveté of second rate poets, their undifferentiating admiration for "national greatness," though then "national greatness" approached rather the rhythm of western capitalism, than the habits of historically conceived nobility.

This was the era of Francis Joseph, the Habsburg ruler, who was probably a first-rate emperor and king according to seventeenth-century concepts, but certainly out of place according to the postulates of the twentieth century. He subscribed to views which made him intransigent in a reactionary sense. His spirit was interwoven

with family traditions which resented the responsibilities of an analytical intelligence. It is doubtful that he ever comprehended the substance of modern life. It is said that he had an aversion for telephones and automobiles. With age he acquired a certain benevolence, and some former citizens of Austria and Hungary, who like to look back to the era of Francis Joseph, do not seem aware of the anomaly and parody of their nostalgia. The various nationalities of the Dual Monarchy, accustomed to a policy of persecution or appeasement, were more or less conscious of the disintegration of the monarchy.

- Mistrust characterized the mixed emotions and vague judgments of many citizens. In his splendid essay on Mikhail Yurevich Lermontov, Samuel H. Cross refers to the unenviable achievement of Tsar Nicholas I, who indirectly, but perhaps directly, hastened the death of Pushkin and Lermontov, these two exceptionally gifted Russian bards. One should not associate Francis Joseph's name with such atrocities directed against poets; but the charge is justified that his insensitiveness to art and literature suggested hostile indifference to ideas and ideals of genuine social and aesthetic perspective.

Certain strata of Hungarian society were, unquestionably, accessories to the rôle that the Habsburgs played in the life of the country. Nevertheless, the general mood of the nation represented an attitude that, in a dramatic fashion, echoed the democratic ideology of Lajos Kossuth, the leader of the 1848-49 revolution. Notwithstanding the fact that, with some exception, the conservative Liberal Party, adhering to the pattern of the agreement of 1867 between Austria and Hungary, occupied the majority of the chairs in the Hungarian parliament, a very large number of the people, many of them with no voting power whatever, subscribed to a conception of badly or ambiguously understood democratic nationalism which refused to accept the rule of the Habsburgs in Hungary as logical and final. In direct ratio to the growth of Hungarian industrialism and commercialism, awareness through class-consciousness entered into the reasoning intelligence of many skilled workers and white-collar proletarians; and in the first decade of the twentieth century a section of Hungarian public opinion was molded by a half-hearted or full acceptance of Marxian principles.

Such were the times into which Endre Ady was born. The effect of the system of society and of his reaction to the prejudices of the times upon the development of his private and creative character should not be minimized. The kind of poetry that he produced is, of course, an organic fulfillment of his being, but it is also centered in incompatibilities that surrounded the poet in the sphere of political,

social, and economic conditions; the kind of life that he lived is the psychological, physiological, and ethical articulation of a personality whose freshness and originality, though deeply rooted in linguistic and ethnic traditions, was considered either queer or downright undesirable by those who discovered in the millennium of Hungary passionate reasons for believing in the indestructibility of Hungarian historical concepts. Not every Hungarian nobleman or Hungarianized plutocrat, with the mannerisms of a nobleman, enjoyed consciously the pretentiousness of his social position; but it is correct to say that much of Hungarian pride in this transitory age of industrialization and commercialization of the nation was dictated by a profound ignorance of a full and rich and fair life.

Naturally one must realize that there were many Hungarians who were frightened or saddened by the self-contained attitude of their "fortunate" countrymen. In the emphatically personal poetry of Janos Vajda, in the pessimistic poetry of Gyula Reviczky, in the aesthetic dissertations of Jenő Peterfy, in the aggressive unhappiness of Lajos Tolnai, the novelist, in the deliberately sophisticated stories of Zoltan Ambrus (to mention a few names), one discerns certain, though rather nebulous, predecessors of Endre Ady. But these writers and poets, independent spirits, to be sure, despite their expressiveness, had a conventional manner of presentation compared with that of many western European writers and poets. In a cultural retrospect they impress one as creative personalities disposed to be occidental in a somewhat semi-oriental Hungarian world. Their place in Hungarian literature may be compared with that of Turgenyev in Russian literature. In fact, Zsigmond Justh, a novelist, who spent much of his time in the upper society of Paris, is sometimes overrated by critics when they call him the Hungarian Turgenyev. Evidently in the late nineteenth and in the first decade of the twentieth century the spirit of certain creative Hungarians was moving towards a goal, which was either ignored by their politically and socially influential countrymen, or it was considered unreachable.

II

There are historians who like to compare monarchistic Hungary with monarchistic Spain. In the past, both countries were objectives of political cartoons which recalled their anachronistic similarities of baroque culture and the consequences of a ruling principle that was called divine. The Spanish literary generation of 1898, that is, the generation of Miguel de Unamuno and Jose Ortega y Gasset,

accentuated the need of basic changes in Spain. Literature and politics became inseparable.

A similar phenomena was observable in Hungary in the first decade of the twentieth century. In Budapest as well as in the provinces, chiefly in the city of Nagyvarad, young men and women gathered and demanded psychological and institutional change in Hungarian life. Characteristically the poetic group of Nagyvarad adopted the name *Holnap* (Tomorrow). Courage, faith, modern sense of values, vital resistance to social and spiritual immobility, a collaboration with forces opposed to retrograde principles, a respect for creative integrity, were the specific postulates of this group. As it always happens in connection with organized efforts to improve humanity, there was also much immaturity and gesticulation in this group. Next to Endre Ady, Mihaly Babits and Gyula Juhasz expressed the new voice of Hungarian sensitiveness and sensibilities. Either ideologically or in a hitherto unknown poetic manner, these poets rejected the legendary prejudice that political, social and economic conservatism is the inevitable traditional blood that flows through the veins of Hungarian life.

But whereas Spain is homogeneously Catholic, Hungary has a large population of Calvinists, and there are other Protestant denominations represented in the religious life of the country. As a matter of fact, among the political leaders of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, some of the most resourceful men were associated with Protestantism. Consequently certain psychological and sociological factors in Ady's life and poetry were conditioned by these circumstances. In other words, in the development of his own character and his own art, he had to cross roads which he would not have faced in a purely Catholic country. As he himself was a Calvinist, his deviation from inherited values and from the accepted design of contemporariness was unpleasing, often repugnant to the people to whom he belonged by tradition and upbringing.

As a student of law in Debrecen and as a reporter in Nagyvarad, his aesthetic taste was in accord with the problematical romantic effusion of his older poetic confreres. In his first collection of poems, entitled *Versek* (Poems), he succumbed to the falsehood of sentimental platitudes; in their nationalistic implications his poems did not differ from the glibly expressed patriotic impulses of other popular poets. He produced articles and verses with the quickness of his lyrical temperament, utterly unaware of its own possibilities.

Meanwhile Hungary, "the gateway and defender of Christian

civilization," was facing problems which pointed to the need of moral and social judgments that the ruling classes flatly rejected or did not understand. The multitude of the nation, troubled by poverty, sensed a chasm between its own being and that of its masters; but because of inertia or lack of organization, was unable to do much about it. A proletarian poet by the name of Sandor Csizmadia was rather an owl of social justice than a nightingale of pure songs. Aesthetically and intellectually it was easy to make him look ridiculous.

A substantial part of the Hungarian intelligentsia was unwilling to suppress its convictions in regard to the acuteness of the social, political and economic conflict of the nation. Literary publications, like *Nyugat* (West), sociological and political publications, like *Huszadik Szazad* (Twentieth Century), intellectual societies, like the *Galilei Kor* (The Galilei Circle), and political movements under the leadership of Count Mihaly Karolyi, defied the bureaucracy of their country and attacked the defenses of those who, in the name of historical traditions, were the arbiters of important issues. Like the Decembrists of nineteenth-century Russia, these progressive Hungarians should be considered midway between static conservatism and mobile radicalism. In the month of October, 1918, they achieved power; for this reason they called themselves Octobrists. They believed in a humane agrarian policy, in universal franchise, in a westernized Hungary, unshackling itself from its feudal chains. There were various degrees of "radicalism" among the representatives of this political ideology; it is reasonable to say that those who believed in the method of revolutionary expansion rapidly acquired a more expressive voice than those whose insight into the complexities of human nature at a time of upheaval made them cautious. The reactionary or conservative opponents of the Octobrists maintained that their leaders were inclined to be doctrinaires, and that their policy signified an indifference to the inherent pattern of the Hungarian psyche. This was the unrealistic or defeatist point of view of those who needed noble words for the concealment of their fear that their class interests will be crushed by the ascending new political and social forces. But there were also mature intellects or average citizens (not necessarily philistines), who were conscious of the organic nature of a nation's spiritual form and who had no dogmatic illusions about the magic of the historical moment; they were eager to seek the establishment of order, but evidenced anxiety because it seemed that Hungarian national interests were not sufficiently underscored in this struggle for a better world. National unity, no doubt, suffered because of the preponderance of rumors which affected people who were apt to be

well-meaning. The collapse of the power of the Octobrists was followed by the communistic regime of Bela Kun.

After the publication of his second volume, entitled *Meg egyszer* (Once more), Endre Ady showed signs of political orientation which was not his primary interest, but was sufficiently strong to center much of his attention upon the activities of those political and social forces which fought reactionarism or conservative nationalism. Though his political intuition was keen, Ady's relationship to civic problems was first of all that of a humane poet whose sense of form would have felt alien to its purpose without an awareness of social injustice. Like Schiller or Shelley, his idealism assumed the realization of human values which from the standpoint of pragmatic politics seemed too complex to be too easily solved. His wisdom was humane; but it was also creative, transcending the horizon of those whose mental and moral range was solely political.

The background of his activities and the development of his character give insight into Hungarian life which only the ingeniousness of fate could invent. The intellectual and moral frontiers of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century in regard to his native land demanded his assent to their necessity, but he believed in a transformation of Hungarian life, and his imagination and judgment were fixed upon arguments and relations which his intuitive knowledge of form considered more important than the well mannered or aggressive evasion of truth in the name of national traditions. He did not have an extraordinary discursive intelligence, but rather a stimulating one, singling out the lot of his nation and that of his own person as a symbol of ontological and pragmatic inquiries.

III

Endre Ady was primarily a lyric poet. Insofar as he was a genuine creator, he must be considered a universalist. But to write in a language rarely read or spoken by foreigners was a great disadvantage. It intensified his power of verbal and emotional resistance, but it could not be really effective from an international point of view, because translations of lyric poems, with some exceptions, seldom do justice to the original, despite good intentions. The translations of Watson Kirkconnell, the Canadian scholar, are fragmentary though understanding survivals of Ady's genius in English. In fairness to the Canadian translator it should be stated that there is such a difference between the *inner music* of the English and the Hungarian tongues that, by the very nature of the translator's task, certain obstacles seem insurmountable. The French, German,

Swedish, Finnish, Polish, Roumanian, Serbian, Croatian, Czech, Slovak, etc., translations should be considered experiments. The context of poetry is a small part of a poet's work, and most translations lack the *total tone* of Ady's poems.

If Ady were but the embodiment of western European poetic symbolism transplanted into Hungary, he would only signify newness in relationship to Hungarian literature. Hungary had great poets in the past, but previous to Ady there was no poet who found and suggested so much delight in verbal shades as this descendant of small landowners and Calvinistic ministers. He was a challenge to the poetic conservatism of his predecessors. He had qualities which overcame the limits of an isolated tongue and showed in proper perspective the paradox of a somewhat belated poetic symbolism.

In examining Ady's personality and poetry, of course, one cannot and should not ignore the fact that much of his weariness as a source of poetry had its counterpart in the poetic temper of western Europe. This kinship of poetic sensibility ought not to be criticized as it might confuse the issue of the poet's uniqueness. Though Alexander Pushkin wrote in Russian, his relationship to western European romanticism did not detract from his stature as a poet. Giacomo Leopardi's pessimism offered parallel counterparts in other European countries; it was the depth of his poetry and his sense of form that placed him into the first rank of Italian poets. Whatever is obvious in Ady's creative manner is indicative that Hungarian poetic expression can take certain forms of the west against traditional poetic conventionalities. But Ady was much more than an imitator of western European symbolists. He was an indigenous poet in his own right.

For a long time in his native land his status as a poet was ambiguous. The views of his countrymen varied. Ignotus, the courageous literary editor, emphasized the originality of his imagination, rich in unexpected associative references. Aladar Schopflin, the critic and personal friend of the poet, saw in him a powerful expression of Hungary's tragic fate. Sandor Makkai, professor at the University of Debrecen and a writer of historical novels and religious tracts, ascertained that Ady was Hungary's most outstanding metaphysical poet. Dezso Kosztolanyi, a noted Hungarian poet and critic, accused Ady of exhibitionism, although he valued his ability. Geza Feja, a writer interested in peasant problems, considered Ady Hungary's paramount ethical poet. Ady's "moral" enemies said that he was not a true citizen of the nation, but a dissipated poetic agent of unethical moods. Eventually he was acclaimed as an authentic poet. His former enemies, not necessarily competent critics of poetry, are

either dead or, if living, have silenced their prejudices. Ady died at the time of the Karolyi revolution.

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (p. 207) has the following brief outline of the Hungarian poet: "Ady, Endre, (1877-1919) was born November 21, 1877, at Ermszent, Transylvania. He was the leader of the modern school and one of the greatest lyrical poets of Hungary. During his youth he became intimate with the publicists and politicians of the Radical and Socialist parties. When he settled down in Budapest, he turned his attention towards revolutionary politics and contributed to several Radical papers. He also made prolonged visits to Paris, and the Riviera, but returned to Hungary owing to ill health and lived there quietly until his death on January 27, 1919. During the World War he adopted a pacifist attitude and prophesied the Karolyi revolution of 1918."

These facts are true, except the reference to the peacefulness of his last year. Ady had no aptitude for tranquillity. His sharp sadness followed him throughout his life. He was a prophet in a Biblical way and he gave poetic dignity to the political ideology of his time. This was only a part of his experiences. Frequently the poet of "class struggle" is emphasized at the expense of his whole work. His poems were not confined to one type of experience. The ultimate result of his spiritual and emotional struggle was the release of his entire personality through poetry. Much of his poetry is fascinating in its suggestiveness and connotations, in its contours, in its courage, from which a human being emerges who had progressive aesthetic, social, and political standards.

Ady saw the anachronism of many Hungarian views and institutions. He himself was apt to dramatize his own "gentlemanliness." He was obsessed with inordinate pride, viewing the world through the nervous temperament of a poet. But he also had deep sympathies. His amour with a married woman whom he named Leda, and later his marriage to a considerably younger woman, were as much a part of his intense conflict with fate as his opposition to the interests of the Hungarian ruling class, or his awareness of the plight of the underprivileged in the framework of Hungarian society. His knowledge of history made him anxious about the future of his nation; his political consciousness plus fair play, burdened with the sense of tragic Hungarianism, convinced him that cooperation between the various nationalities in Hungary and between his country and the neighboring countries was necessary. Despite political differences, Ady was on friendly terms with Octavian Goga and Emil Isac, two Roumanian poets. Between the first and second World Wars, literary

critics in the Little Entente countries, surely not favoring the Hungarian *status quo*, found valid material and poetic wealth in Ady's work. Ady's eroticism, narcissistic sensitiveness, and occasional pointedness are proofs of the contradictory components of his character; his yearning for God shows a stormy soul in search for peace.

In his majestic poem, "Os Kajan" (The Old Malign), Ady fought his ancient tempter and seducer. But there is also a gay, pagan melodiousness in this arch enemy. In comparison with the decadent poets of the *fin de siècle*, Ady's personality seems more vital than theirs. His nation was not spared his indictments. His symbolism transcended the expression of the complicated ego of a highly impressionable individual; it unfolded the image of Hungary, victimized by outer and inner forces. This explains why Ady should be called the apocalyptic poet of modern Hungary. He rose above most of his contemporaries not through learning (Mihaly Babits, the classicist, had more erudition and intellectual keenness); not through a balanced orientation in the wilderness of political, social, and economic problems (others were better equipped for scientific thinking and pragmatic understanding); he rose above most of his contemporaries because his utterances took the form of concentrated imagination and emotion and turned the pathos of his national and personal destiny into a constructive symbol. While the "sober"-minded rationalized the position of Hungary in the Danubian valley with the practice of experienced politicians ("the little men of the moment"), Ady sometimes seemed possessed in a Dostoyevskyan sense.

IV

In discussing Ady as a poet it should be stressed that his expression records music and color. His words have a provoking magic. One can read much into them because of their intrinsic imaginative value. His ravaged spirit sometimes abandoned the desire to outsmart perilous traps; sometimes it induced him to renounce his own world and the world at large. But as a poet he had always enough stamina to remain loyal to the integrity of words. In his most enervated and enervating moods he had sufficient energy to translate the condition of his spirit into poetry. There is a peculiar Hungarianism in his cadence and blazing unhappiness which suggests a *Magyar* hearth turned to ashes. His poetic diction is Hungarian and western European; it also shows reminiscences of the Hungarian-Calvinistic edition of the Scriptures and of folksongs. Here and there, mainly when he excels in *tour de force*, he aims to discover a remedy for his "modern ills" in Hungarian mythology. Some of these poems seem fabricated, suggesting an

arbitrary escape from the occident. Generally, however, his spontaneity or careful articulation is symbolized by the vocabulary of a sincere poet, whose mainspring of expression was the cleavage between his sense of values and between the sense of values of those in power.

It is a well known fact that the national mission of poetry in small countries is very important. Emma Nagy, a contemporary Hungarian poetess, aptly expressed this by saying that she could not be exclusively a poet because she was a Hungarian. The homocentric force of nationalism, probably as an accompaniment of a small nation's instinct for self-preservation, deterred Hungarian poets from consistently applying the doctrine of art for art's sake. The reappearing motive in the work of every Hungarian poet is the acceptance of a line of conduct that connects the poet with the rhythm of his nation. Even an innovator like Ady, an innovator who as a patriot and as a poet exasperated many people, echoes the overtones of nationalism with a voice that would sound incongruous in the poetry of "pure poets" who live and create in the west under more favorable circumstances. A unifying provincialism is imposed upon these poets; it seems like a refuge from a formless world into the intimacy of the herd.

There is austerity in the admission of Ady that it would be deceptive for a Hungarian poet to emphasize solely his personal problems. When one studies his volumes in a chronological order, the landscape of his spirit changes, except in one respect: the spirit always indicates a return to Hungarian roots. The familiar theme of patriotism, sometimes forced to rhetorical expressions, shows effects of a tradition which is stronger than the attributes of pure art. Ady rarely knew real peace for any length of time, but when he found it his wrestling spirit rested on the strength that arose from his village-past. His complex character made him different from his ancestors, yet he found comfort in memories related to his birthplace. Nevertheless, he could not forget the lack of understanding and the sad fact that so many Hungarian values were destroyed in the material poverty and depressing aesthetic insensitiveness of life. A poem, entitled "A Magyar Messiasok," (The Magyar Messiahs) is a revealing example of his fatal Hungarianism.*

Our weeping is more bitter,
More piercing torments try us.
A thousandfold Messiahs
Are Hungary's Messiahs.

* All translations of Ady's poems are by Watson Kirkconnell.

A thousandfold they perish,
Unblest their crucifixion.
For vain is their affliction,
Ah, vain is their affliction!

This romantic voice and prophetic fervor, this frightening uneasiness, characterizes much of Ady's work. Even in translation one senses that the subject-matter of tragic despair urges the poet to examine and castigate himself and through himself his own nation, while creating poetry. Such anxiety might be perplexing to foreigners; much of it is caused by the geographical position and uncertain future of the nation and by the fear that in the past too much energy was squandered and that not enough energy remained for the future.

The ideological and emotional components of his poetry show the contrast between the need of salvation and nihilistic indifference, sensuality and restraint, faith and lack of faith, vitality and aridity, a spiritual nostalgia for Catholicism and an adherence to Calvinistic dignity, a childlike need of God and a pagan separation from Christianity, a baffling simplicity and a phraseological artificiality. He sang with the voice of an accuser and a confessor. It is no wonder that his admonitions and his wrestling with the spirit of life confused his enemies and stirred his friends. He himself said: "I claim no relative." In the same poem he declared: "I yearn for the love of others." He experienced brutal or hypersensitive sensations with a sensuous imagery. But one must draw a line between unconcealed revelations of an almost fierce emphasis upon pleasures, and the expression of real love that knew humbleness and gratitude. How well he understood the varied moods of nature; the greyness of the Hungarian dawn and the softness of twilight; the loveliness of a Parisian autumn; the colors of the Mediterranean Sea. The boundaries of his excitements were limitless; the ardor of his manner was that of a man standing at the precipice of destiny. When the *dies irae* seemed inevitable, when the day of punishment seemed to threaten Hungary with annihilation, he turned to God with a singleness of devotion, thus bracing himself against the death of his nation and his own death.

Throughout the years of his poetic evolution and maturity, constantly seeking escape from the burdensome stupidities and unfairness of his environment, there were two symbols that followed Ady with fantastic consistency. With a cursing madness he at times turned to sensuality and alcohol, or sang about the pursuit of money of which he never had enough; then, with a brave fervency, he discovered nobility in the lot of a small nation, and the position that the poets of a small nation occupy. There was logic in Ady's seeming

inconsistencies; it was the logic of a conscience struggling with dejection and with a will to live. It is apparent that his sentiments and his thoughts were human, all too human. The memory of a Hungarian Atlantis, confronted by the somber and careless reality of modern times, compelled his imagination to yield to the urge of expression, making of his perception and images the poetic protagonists of truth and justice. His weird lamentations, his desolateness, his shadowy and vital passions, his manners and mannerisms, have their parallels in western poets. Ernest Dowson's desire for "madder music and stronger wine," or Charles Baudelaire's "accentuation of vice with horror" were experiences that also motivated Ady's spirit. But whatever is supreme in Ady's poetry, whatever expresses his total personality, defies the sick magnitude of his symbolist confreres. His humanitarian Hungarianism rebelled against the nightmarish symbolism of mere poetic self-centeredness.

V

In his fine study on *Shakespeare and The Nature of Man*, referring to Iago, Theodore Spencer speaks about the difference between outer show and inner fact. It is undoubtedly true that in every human life this difference is an inescapable psychological reality. But Iago was an extreme case of representative evil in human nature; in the average person the contrast between seemingness and substance is much less sharp or more blurred. Endre Ady, the symbolist poet, is again an extreme case of human nature; however, in this instance *representative frankness* is the paramount design of the psyche. Appearance and reality are identical, as they happen to be on the same psychological level. Without this identity it would be difficult to understand the poet's intensity. Seen against the background of the time in which he lived and placing him against the conventions of these times, what defines him especially is his powerful urge to give an account of his whole being, regardless of the consequences caused by the hypocrisy or ignorance of popular taste.

Ady's symbolism was not the technique of a clever versifier, trained in the particular poetic vanities, ennui or intricacies of the west. It was the natural expression of a poet's experience who interpreted life in tragic terms, and to whom in relation to truth and justice, images and subtle phrases, the freedom of verbs and adjectives and nouns, were as necessary, as good taste is necessary to those whose attitude resents vulgarity but whose intelligence and candidness cannot ignore its recognition in the scheme of things. In other words, the "outer show and the inner fact" in Ady is not separated by a curtain of

pretense. Had he been only a poet of faultless composition, or of a spiritual underworld poetically hypnotizing the inferno of the outer world, he would have been a minor poet endowed with a major sensibility; but his private and poetic life was organically one. It was also one with the heroism, grief, and helplessness of his nation. He consecrated his life to poetry, but poetry, life, and his native land were inextricable parts of his being, equal in value and importance. Some of his poetry is outlived; more of it may be outlived in the future. Nevertheless, whatever is good and great in his work is perfection attained by means of an honest, uncompromising expression. One discerns this absolute identification between experience and expression in John Donne and William Blake. Ady more than any other poet in modern Hungary exercised the gift of human and poetic responsibilities, on an identical plane.

In a critical and narrative interpretation of his work it is almost impossible to give an adequate picture of the identity of Ady's human self and poetic genius. An attempt can be made. His first significant book, *Új Versek* (New Poems), contains a poem in which he apostrophizes himself as the son of Gog and Magog, stressing his singing mission at the foothills of the Carpathian mountains. It is defiant in tone, imbued with strength and vision; a yes saying poem, vindicating its newness, its Hungarianism and its victorious spirit. In his last volume, published while he was still living, entitled *A Halottak Elen* (In the Vanguard of the Dead), there is a pulsing, deep poem, "Ifju szivekben elek" (I live in the heart of the young), in which he tells of his eternal life that will find sanctuary in the heart of young people. Between the self-assertion of the first poem, conditioned by pride, and the latter, conditioned by humility, there is a vista of mental and emotional voyages, the beginning and the end. But the vatic voice remained true to itself. It was inherent in the character and temperament of Ady to comment upon things and events with a romantic intonation. His emotional intensity did not change, though it found release in wonders and beauties, in irony and in despising the mean.

The restless symbolism of his first volume was followed by the stubborn materialism of *Ver es Arany* (Blood and Gold). Ady was always terribly in earnest. His absorption with sensual materialism, his biting disgust with and derision for the ruling class that did not wish to alter its way of life, was balanced with his vision of rural loveliness, and with his sense of Hungarian solitude finding sustenance in brave dreams. He could write with a Coleridge-like imaginative sensitiveness as for instance his poem, "Jo Csond-Herceg Elott" (In Front of the Silence-Prince) indicates.

Under the moon, I walk the forest ways.
My teeth are chattering and I whistle shrill.
Behind my back, ten fathoms tall, there stalks
The Silence-Prince;
And' woe is me, if e'er I turn my head!

Ah, woe is me, if I were to be mute,
Or if I pause to gaze up at the Moon.
Only one moan, only one snap there'd be;
The Silence-Prince
Would take one step and trample me to death.

In the volume *Illes Szekeren* (In the Chariot of Elijah), Ady's religious nostalgia produced unexpected images, visualizing enduring values. He did not set himself apart from the rest of humanity, in fact, he expressed a noble view about man's place in the universe. Yet in the midst of his awakened religiousness he was unable to forswear his Hungarian bitterness. In a tender poem, "A teli Magyarország" (Hungary in winter), he envisions the nearing sleep of his soul beneath the snow, and he tells about dreamless Hungarian homesteads; as dreamless as the world expects him to be. One is reminded of Gogol's words about nineteenth-century Russia. In this same volume Ady has his testament. He leaves the anger of his poor heart and the wealth of his love to someone who will be a good Hungarian precisely because his environment did not consider him a good one. Ady's personal worries, all his neurotic outbursts seemed unable to overcome his permanent awareness of Hungary's tragic fate. This was the *leitmotif* of his poetry; this signified his uniqueness. He withheld nothing when his sorrow challenged the maniacal senselessness of wrong policies and conditions. He did not hate mankind like Swift, but he hated inhuman thoughts and actions.

Some poems foreshadowed the centrifugal force of his later work, that is, the tendency to develop in the direction of God. He needed God as a comrade in arms, reassuring the poet in his just fight with his enemies. "Adam, hol vagy?" (Adam, where are thou?) is a manifestly successful expression of this state of mind.

My soul's dark mourning stills its grievous pleas,
For God draws near in vast white radiance
To conquer and subdue my enemies.

His face is hidden still, his powers appall,
And yet betimes on my devoted head
He lets His sunlight glance in pity fall.

And if sometimes I, too, am conqueror,
 'Tis only because God with flaming sword
 To clear my human path has marched before.

I hear his footsteps walking in my soul
 And his sad query: "Adam. where are thou?" —
 My breath replies in throbbings past control.

I have already found Him in my heart,
 I've found Him and have clasped Him in my arms,
 In death we'll be united, ne'er to part.

In each volume, regardless what the characteristic pattern is, the poet's allegiance to death is recognizable. It is a magic attachment, a reverence for the mysterious, a courtesy towards the unknown. His images have primeval quality; they are serene and subtle, poetic and dramatic. The poem "A Halal lovai" (The horses of Death) exemplifies that trait of Ady's spirit which shows a self-conscious artistic coordination with an intuitiveness which can produce suggestive meaning.

Swift on the white, moonlit road,
 Whene'er the sky-shepherd's chill breath
 Is chasing the cloud-herds along,
 Towards us, still towards us, unshod
 There gallop the horses of Death.

Steeds mute and murderous bear
 Shadowy horsemen astride,
 Sad, silent horsemen of shadow.
 Even the Moon is afraid
 When the white highway they ride.

Who knows from whence they have come?
 All of the world is asleep:
 Slack'ning the stirrup they stop,
 But ever one riderless horse,
 One ownerless saddle they keep.

And he, at whose doorstep they stay,
 Grows pallid, and mounts in a breath,
 And with him along the white road
 In the moonlight, in search of new riders,
 There gallop the horses of Death.

In the volume *Szeretnem ha Szeretnenek* (I Wish to Be Loved), all that has passed in his life, all that rhymed with pain and longing, with hope and disillusionment, with love and a shivering loneliness,

returned with a sense of impending doom and with a demand for the triumph of affection. The poet mastered his medium of symbolist expression; in some of his poems he rivaled the best of western European poets. The hazy or sunny suggestiveness of his poems were expressions of lyric beauty, faithful to his ecstasy and emotional pensiveness. Ady sings about his lonely countrymen, meeting in small groups, tasting bitter tears. He sings about the old whom he envies and dreams about final silence. In "Seta bolcsó-helyem körül" (Walk around my birthplace) he remembers his birthplace in this manner:

Here's Bennett's hillock, do you see? —
A swelling mound, a pensive slope;
Perhaps a cloister held this site,
Whose misty towers, gleaming white,
Peal'd forth their vesper-bells of hope.

Here's our old river, here's our stream,
This glorious Kraszna-ditch of ours.
'Tis now dry land, all rent and sick,
Go down, my wife, I pray, and pick
From out its bed those faded flowers!

Here's Koto now, a hamlet once,
By Turkish hordes engulf'd. Today
A few vague marks, some legends too,
Are all that's left for me and you,
As towards the town we take our way.

Here is my village, my own town,
From which I came, and now return.
On All Saint's Day in vain they bow,
All evil is upon them now;
Here life is curs'd; men choke and burn.

Yet this, perhaps, am I myself,
The blacken'd embers of old fires
And overhead the wind of fate
That howls out: Shun me! Curse and hate!
Be fiercely proud in your desires!

In the next volume, *Minden Titkok Verseibol* (From the Verses of All Mysteries), he faces a stern eternity. He wants to believe in God, though he somehow lost this faith. Again his Hungarian consciousness returns. Sometimes we hear the high pitched voice of Jeremiah; to be sure, of a very complicated Jeremiah. In this volume, and in the following one, *A Menekulo Elet* (Fugitive Life), there is strife and turmoil, but there are also gentle, *clair-obscur* poems, and meditative

poems, bidding farewell to life, expressing great sorrow and an attempt to make peace with the inevitable.

The volume, *A Magunk Szerelme* (Our Love), shows Ady as a poetic figure, hesitating and dreaming about the purpose of his pilgrimage. In a poem, "Fekete viragot lattal" (You saw a black flower), he cries out with a sadness that comes from the depth of a despondent spirit. He sees his heart as a black flower on the market place; he sings about his exhausted heart, plucked by purity. In his volume, *Ki Latott Engem?* (Has Anyone Seen Me?), he sighs with the burden of centuries, yet loves his people with a gentle acceptance of their lapses and defects. The poem, "Ad az Isten" (The Lord gives), is a direct expression of this feeling and state of mind. In the volume, *A Halottak Elen* (In the Vanguard of the Dead), much of his sorrow lies unburied, much of his plight is the prey of hopelessness. But he knows it is his appointed task to safeguard beauty. The poem, "Intes az orzokhoz" (A reminder to the watchers), shows the purpose of his suffering; he asks those who have placed their faith in him not to abandon their convictions. The most extraordinary poem in this volume is "Emlékezés egy nyarejszakara" (The memory of a summer-night). It is a strong, profound, feverish poem, inspired by pacifism. The symbol of war is made analogous with a fantastic night, whose blackness devoured the universe. As if destiny did not know what to do; the poet sings, wide awake and restless; he sings of this strange night, when everything deeply alive was sleepless. Indeed, a strange night. The volume reveals an irreconcilable attitude with trifles and with quests that are meaningless; the poet is seen marching at the head of the dead, reaffirming his need of faith. He wants Christ, he wants love and life, he wants every experience that a human being is able to have. Finally, like a person acquitted after a long and uncertain cosmic trial, he consciously and unconsciously communicates with a symbol that one might designate as the mastery of mystery. He cannot be absorbed by the multitude; he must be alone, but there is humbleness in his declaration, reticence about icy superiority, a tried soul's anguish and submissiveness in the presence of the incomprehensible, a consciousness of eternal realities. In his posthumous volume, *Az Utolsó Hajók* (The Last Ships), this vision is completed.

VI

As a rule, Ady refused influences that tended to abuse or destroy his integrity. Economic necessities drove him into unforeseen circumstances, but even when he wrote ephemeral sketches or short stories

for daily newspapers, he tried to maintain the freedom of his creative courage. However, under economic pressure he could not help but write a number of hackneyed stories and articles. They reflected his honesty, but were not on the level of his creative ability. Some of them were written abroad, mostly in Paris. Ady once attempted to write a novel, but gave it up; he wrote a narrative poem, entitled *Margita elni akar* (Margaret wants to live), in which Byron's influence is observable. It is a secondary work compared with his lyrics.

Though his writings are definitely lyrical and display love and contempt for the world in a manner that mixes iconoclastic views with troubled innocence, in his study on Ady, Aladar Schopflin, the well known Hungarian critic, pointed out that there is also intense drama and ballad-like quality in certain poems of Ady. Other critics recognized the same characteristics. In a magnificent poem, "Harc a Nagyurral" (Fight with the Great One), the poet records his gigantic struggle with the "boar-headed Mighty," the dreamless monster. There is tension and action in the ten stanzas of this poem, sustained concentration. The momentum of the poem carries one in the direction of a pure heart, in fear of Moloch who expects every human sacrifice for the pleasure of his own power. The poem signifies Ady's insistence of his conviction that the materialistic demands of modern society make one's ego violent, shrewd and ugly, and pursue the human conscience with the tenacity of a slimy adventurer. Notwithstanding these dramatic and ballad-like qualities of Ady's poems, the majority of them should be considered lyrical in a concrete and in an elusive sense. He either used the rhythmical structure of traditional Hungarian lyrics, or the iambic metre, often in combination with other metres. He was apt to make use of irregular measures. His resourcefulness was metrically expressive.

Ady, Daedalus-like, imprisoned in the labyrinth of the confused values of modern times, escaped on the wings of his imagination; but Icarus-like, he sometimes flew too near the sun and singed his soul. The pageant of Hungarian feudalism, its splendor that affected the assimilated elements of the country, its unreasonableness, (yet, evidently, an integral part of the nation's historical organism), provoked him to an unmistakable opposition. But he also rejected the commercialization of the spirit, the tendency to look at life as an objective of economic privileges. His schism from vested interests showed signs of schizophrenia, disciplined, however, by his creative intuition. The lyricist, the master of instinct and choice, knew how to silence neurotic words that otherwise might have been vehicles of a declamatory or pseudo-political intelligence.

He was searching for far more than self-knowledge. He wished to raise the symbol of his own being to that of his nation. The enigma of human life compelled him to express himself in a manner that in its tenseness and terseness reflected an eclectic disposition with a homogeneous direction. Externally the rhythm of the nation was glamorously historical; internally forces were arguing, plotting, striking against the sentimental and direct misapplication of historical prerogatives. Of course, there was fun and delight in Hungary. The gypsies played their fiddles, the newspapers published their "sensational" stories, there were athletic and football games; professional patriots liked to quote Horace's *laudator temporis acti* and imagined that they were making the present tolerable by glorifying the past, while the crucifixion of the nation was imminent. Mistakes and defects were not exclusively local. In the nineteenth century William Morris and John Ruskin were aware of the crisis of the spirit in England because of the industrial revolution. Gustave Flaubert's aesthetic views were a protest against the habit of a French acquisitive society to cripple the artistic spirit. In the twentieth century the monk Rasputin was the Russian personification of an incredible retrograde influence. The murder of King Alexander Obrenović in 1903 indicated the melancholic fate of rulers in the Balkans. Panslavism, pangermanism were tendencies inviting domestic and international troubles. Not only Hungary but the rest of Europe was in dire need of redemption. Ady was the poet who recognized and expressed this need of redemption in his native country.

He had no desire to sermonize, so he sang. In an age of disintegration he himself, as poet and as citizen, showed manifestations of disintegration. Sometimes his spirit walked on crutches, often it had wings. His contradictions were the mysteries of unhappiness; not the unhappiness of a weak person, but of a strong man pursued by weakness that overpowered him. In retrospect so much of his sorrow and suffering seem the expression of a man purposefully driven into neurosis. From these chaotic conditions he emerged with a reputation of a true poet; so much so, that for several years it was actually embarrassing to criticize anything he wrote, as his followers considered this almost sacrilegious. Time, however, is a judge unwilling to accept unfair rejections and eccentric approvals.

Ady's singular contributions to Hungarian literature are undeniable. His significance, as the poetic incarnation of twentieth-century Hungary and that country's relationship to her neighbors, is now admitted even by those who otherwise ignore poetry. Ady was not "modern" according to postwar "isms." The exponents of various

"isms" and the younger poets adhering to the theory of "neo-classical" equilibrium, were somewhat irritated by Ady's haunted and haunting symbolism. A Central European nation, at the border-line of the Balkans, is epitomized by Ady with such anxiety and courage that it makes one uncomfortable. But Ady also epitomizes the darkness of a civilization and culture that was in great need of a poet's love, integrity and light. Much of his poetry and his journalistic and hectic prose is only biographically important; much of his work is apparently a versified erratic culmination of honest dissatisfaction and righteousness. Nonetheless, the sum total of Ady's poetry implies uniqueness, passion, delicacy, devotion, beauty, in many instances creative greatness.

VII

The catastrophe of today is universal. There are differences in degree as to the tragic effectiveness of this catastrophe. No country is insignificant in relationship to the whole. The study of Ady's personality and poetry should not be merely the concern of those who are interested in creative imagination, but also of those who see in the form of poetry and in the harassed soul of the poet a significant expression of the fatal discord of the times. Ady rejected his times by keenly sensing their dangerous unfairness, leading to cataclysm. The political and social ignorance of certain interests and cliques had much in common with similar interests in other countries, words and ideas differed, but the character of selfishness, of wishful thinking and scheming, remained identical. Ady was a Hungarian poet and as such he was naturally faithful to his own country. But the broader meaning of his poetry is this: it symbolizes the struggle between good and evil on a scale that transcends the boundaries of Hungary and invades the illogical or psychopathic, individual, and social conditions of the entire Danubian valley. In fact, Ady was waging a war for the victory of universal truth and justice. In one of his poems he sang about the unity of Magyars, Slovaks, Roumanians; his voice had a mystical strength, expressing the very much needed democratization of the oppressors and the oppressed.

In the course of his life Ady rarely found favor with the conservatives of his nation, though several of them recognized his unusual ability. As a political writer he fought Count Istvan Tisza, who was the Hungarian premier at the time of the first World War. This was, one might say, a personal feud, as both men, like characters in a Greek tragedy, were dominated by vital convictions and both men, in their own fashion, carried in their hearts the responsibility of Hungarian

fate. Ady advocated social progress; Tisza advocated the privileges of the *mores*. Both men had integrity, both came from gentry stock, both perceived the need of Hungarian regeneration. Both men were solid proofs of the energies and failings of Hungarian life. Tisza was assassinated on October 31, 1918, as a consequence of a revolutionary upheaval. Ady died in the revolt of January, 1919. In a sense the death of both men symbolized the end of that "liberal" era in which the antics of historical prerogatives and the growing social mindedness of the intelligentsia found no living pattern for the workable expression of their own purpose.

Ady was immune to self-deception. The texture of his poetry was blended with pure art as well as with ideological freshness. The mirage of Hungarian destiny provided him with expressions which were injurious to those who liked self-deception, but these expressions were liberating to those who refused the empty nobility of revived or perseverant shibboleths. Since 1918-19 Hungarian life went through a process of consequential and inconsequential changes, but certain interests, opposed to social and economic change, remained stubborn and immobile. Ady's fame increased, but his views in regard to the need of social progress remained objectives of suspicion in the minds of those who stood for "traditional rights." Whatever the outcome of the global war will be as to the future of Hungary and the Danubian countries, the extermination of prejudices would be hastened by the Hungarians and by the neighboring nations if their spirit should find the right avenue to the significant aesthetic, political, and social symbols of Endre Ady.

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WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

ENDRE ADY: SELECTED VERSE

TRANSLATED BY WATSON KIRKCONNELL

1

THE KINSMAN OF DEATH

I am the kinsman of all-conquering Death;
I love the love that dies in human hearts;
I love in his dejection to embrace
Him who departs.

I love the sickly roses as they droop,
Voluptuous women withering in amaze;
I love the radiant, melancholy dawn
Of autumn days.

I love the dark mysterious appeal
And warning of the hours men hold their breath;
I love the pensive sister of this great
And holy Death.

Those who depart I love, and those who weep,
And those who wake with every passion lost,
I love the stricken fields in winter dawns
And killing frost.

I love the heart resigned, the tearless sobs,
The calm succeeding all the grief before,
The refuge of the poets and the sick
And sages hoar.

I love the man in whom all dreams are dead,
The weak and the defeated and the blind,
I love the unbelieving and the sad:
I love Mankind.

I am the kinsman of all-conquering Death;
I love the love that dies in human hearts;
I love in his dejection to embrace
Him who departs.

2

ALONE WITH THE SEA

Dusk. By the Sea. Our room in a hotel.
She is gone forever! That I know right well.
She is gone forever! That I know right well.

She has left a single flower on our couch.
And I embrace the now familiar couch.
And I embrace the now familiar couch.

Like kisses spreads its scent that cannot cloy.
Below, the dark Sea growls, it growls with joy.
Below, the dark Sea growls, it growls with joy.

Somewhere, far off, a lighthouse lamp's aglow.
"Come, O my dear!" the dark Sea sings below.
"Come, O my dear!" the dark Sea sings below.

I hear the hoarse, deep chanting of the Sea.
On the old couch I lie here dreamily.
On the old couch I lie here dreamily.

Here once she lay, here kissed and held me fast.
Below, the dark Sea sings, it sings the Past.
Below, the dark Sea sings, it sings the Past.

3

WHITE LOTUSES

In my senescent heart, guilty and deep,
An ardor rises, ever stronger, dearer,
Like tears of sad fiancées shed by night.
And suddenly there seem to open out
White lotuses on their distorted mirror.

Fleet birds of faéry with golden wing
Beat the still water into foam of fire.
I feel my soul come budding into flower,
I feel myself once more a blessed child,
I fervently forget, believe, desire. . . .

As if my miry soul were crystal clear,
I see a fair, sweet land in apparition,
As magic castle for a child's delight,
And its interior is all of white, —
A fairy spell, a charming superstition.

White dreams, like snowy flowers, open wide.
The muddy foam of passion alters slowly
To streams of molten silver, fair and bright.
And I am ardent, breathing sacred breath,
Yea, I am love and life, am pure and holy.

The strange white lotuses, in all their grace,
Bow to the summer moonlight in surrender;
It is the hour of dusk, and in my soul
The fairest projects of my spirit bathe —
Women with shining bodies, white and slender.

Out in the street a gust comes suddenly.
My hair stands up. I know anew bleak hours;
The marsh is frozen deep with ice that groans
And all my cherished blossoms are no more,
White lotuses, my spirit's holy flowers.

THE KHAZAR ORIGIN OF ANCIENT KIEV

By J. BRUTZKUS¹

AMONG the riddles of which the early history of Kievan Russia is full, the origin of the name of its capital city occupies a prominent place. Ever since Tatishchev's day, scholars for nearly two centuries have continued to propound all sorts of hypotheses regarding the names *Kiev* and *Sambat*, but up to the present not one has been so convincing or authoritative as to command the support of even a small group of specialists.

Most recently, in a *Festschrift* honoring the distinguished Ukrainian historian Hrushevski, two articles were devoted to this vexing problem, the first by G. Ilinski on the topic "The Sambatas of Constantine Porphyrogenitus" and the second by M. Tershakovetz entitled "The Legend of Kii, Shchek, Khoriv, and their Sister Lybed."² Ilinski reviews all previous suggestions in explanation of the name *Sambatas* as used by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the famous passage from *The Administration of the Empire* where the author, referring to the caravan of small cargo-boats assembled annually before the capital city on the Dnieper, writes, "They come down the river Dnieper and assemble at the strong-point *Kioava*, also called *Sambatas*."³ Like the whole passage about the Russes, the latter place-name used by the Emperor derives from reliable official sources, and has given historians and philologists ample food for thought.

It is desirable to note in passing that practically the same name in the form *Zānbat* is used for the chief city of the Russes by three tenth-century Arabic geographical texts: Ibn Rusteh, Gardezi, and the *Hudud-al-Ulum* discovered by Tumanski.⁴ This fact gives even more significance to any explanation of the name *Sambatas*, though it was not sufficiently noted by Ilinski, who summarizes all previous suggestions in chronological order.

We may here limit ourselves to a brief survey of the explanations analyzed by Ilinski, whose first group comprises suggestions of possible Slavic origins. Potocki derived *Sambatas* from *v sam bot* (in the boat itself).⁵ Karamzin took it from *sama mat'* (the mother herself),

¹ This essay has been revised by S. H. Cross.

² G. Ilinski, "Sambatas Konstantina Porfirorodnoho", M. Tershakovetz, "Perekaz pro Kija, Ščeka, Choriva ta ich sestru Lybed," *Jubileiny Sbornik na počanu Akademika Hrushevskogo* (Kiev, 1929).

³ *De adm. imp.*, ix διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατέρχονται Δανάπρεως καὶ ἐπισυνάγονται ἐπὶ τὸ κάστρον Κιοάβα, τὸ ἐπωνομάζομενον Σάμβατας.

⁴ Cf. J. Marquart (Markwart), *Osteur. u. ostasiat Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 509.

⁵ J. Potocki, *Fragments hist. et géograph.*, I, 21; IV, 90.

in the sense of Kiev, "mother of Russian cities."⁶ Lambin presented a variation from this theme with *sam batia* (the father himself).⁷ The French scholar Parizot took *Sambatas* from the phrase *za vodoi* (after water),⁸ while Lelewel, the Polish historian, derived it from *sovet* (council),⁹ Muka found its origin in Czech *zombatý* (scalloped),¹⁰ but Westberg referred it to **svent-*, **svjat-* (holy).¹¹

Suggestions for non-Slavic derivations are equally numerous and unconvincing. The first to propose a Scandinavian derivation, Doubrovsky suggested the Swedish *samabaet* (instead of boats)¹² which was regarded as impossible by W. Thomsen, the most authoritative Swedish specialist in this field, who preferred *sandbakki* (sandbank).¹³ Bugge, however, thought of *sandvat* (sand-ford),¹⁴ while Vigfusson boldly took *Sambatas* from *Danapar stadir* (Dnieper City) through the highly conjectural intermediates *Danparstad* > *Tambastas*.¹⁵

A similar flight of imagination was undertaken by Brunn with his theory that an unknown Armenian named Sambat, "in all probability a relative of the Emperor Leo the Armenian," built the fortress of Kiev just as Petronas in 833 constructed Sarkel for the Khan of the Khazars, and that from this circumstance Kiev supposedly received its name.¹⁶ Other Lithuanian, French, and Jewish origins scarcely deserve the reader's attention. But the most serious explanation hitherto offered is actually that of Gedeonov, who suggests that *Sambatas* consists of a Greek termination added to the Hungarian *szombat*, a component meaning "fortress" often found in Hungarian place-names.¹⁷ Ilinski rejected this suggestion because of Thomsen's objection that *szombat* in Hungarian means not "fortress" but "Saturday," but he failed to consider that the meaning "fortress" was current in the Middle Ages. He accordingly proposed a new derivation from **sovod* (confluence), suggested by a Slovak word of similar composition and meaning, on the ground that Kiev is situated

⁶ *Ist. gosud. rossisk*, I, n. 72.

⁷ "Istočnik letopisnogo skazaniia o proischozhenii Rusi," *ŽMNP*, CLXXII (June, 1873), 225 ff.

⁸ *Notes et Extraits*, xvii², 283.

⁹ *Géographie du Moyen-Age*, III, 70.

¹⁰ *Časopis Mat. Serb*, 1916, p. 184.

¹¹ *ŽMNP*, 1908.

¹² "Berechtigung einer versuchten Erklärung des Wortes Sambatas," *Slovanka* (Prague, 1814).

¹³ *Der Ursprung des russischen Staates* (Leipzig, 1879).

¹⁴ *Archiv. f. nord. Philol.*, II (1884), 170.

¹⁵ *Grimm's Centenary* (Oxford, 1886), p. 37 ff.

¹⁶ *Trudy III Archeol. Sjezda*, I (Kiev, 1878), 289.

¹⁷ *Otryvki po issledovaniju varjažskogo voprosa* (St. Petersburg, 1862), *Varjagi i Rus'* (St. Petersburg, 1876).

at the confluence of the Dnieper and the Desna. Ilinski, however, was not merely dissatisfied with the previous explanations but also unconvinced by his own, and his doubts were shared by W. Thomsen, who remarked, "One must admit that there is no satisfactory explanation of the name, nor can I explain it with confidence."

I myself regret that Ilinski failed to consider my own hypothesis that not only *Sambatas* but *Kiev* itself are Khazar words, meaning respectively "high fortress" and "lower settlement." This theory I developed in my *Letter of a Khazar Jew* (Berlin, 1924), as well as in the Leningrad periodical *Jewish Thought* (1922) and the *Naukovî Vîstnik* of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (1928).

Since this question is related to a series of my studies dealing with the influence of the Khazars in building up the mediaeval principality of Kiev, I once more take the liberty of discussing the etymology of the words *Sambatas* and *Kiev*. First of all, it is necessary to make some preliminary remarks as to whether it is at all possible to explain old Russian expressions on the basis of the Khazar language, which is a dialect of the Turkish group. Ilinski rejects this theory and says, "History has kept no data that Kiev belonged to the Khazars" (page 663). To support such an opinion it would be necessary in the first place to reject all original Russian chronicles as historical sources. If we reread the first pages of these chronicles and eliminate the many Greek and other foreign references, we will note that practically all original entries deal with the mutual relations of the Slavs and the Khazars. With reference to the founding of the town, the natives of Kiev recounted to Askold, "There were three brothers, Kii, Shchek, and Khoriv. They founded this town and died, and now we are staying and paying taxes to their relatives the Khazars." The strength of various ethnic groups in the ninth century up to the victories of Oleg, is characteristically shown by the following sentence: "The Varangians, coming from overseas, received tribute from the Chuds, the Slavs, the Merians, the Ves, and Krivichians, but the Khazars received tribute from the Polyanians, the Severians, and the Vyatichians." We also read of Oleg's subjugation of the Severians and the Radimiči: in each instance it is repeated that they left off paying tribute to the Khazars and started to pay tribute to Oleg. Whoever compiled the Russian chronicles at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century (whether Nestor, Silvester, Nikon or anyone else), they could not invent such subordination of their own people to the foreign Khazars without some basis in popular tradition.

In the letter of Joseph, king of the Khazars, the authenticity of

which is now established, Khazar domination is mentioned over three Slavic tribes named as the Ventit, the Sever, and the Slaviun.¹⁸ Ibn Fadlan states in 922 that the Khazars reigned over the Slavonic peoples who humbly submitted to the Khazar king. The money and ample treasures which have been found in Kiev and in its vicinity testify to the fact that, beginning with 755, Eastern coins from Persia, Turkestan, and Iraq were in circulation. Not only archeological works of our most authoritative scientists, e.g., Kondakov, Tolstoi, Spitzyn, and Sizov, but also all numismatic explorations, as well as the principal works on art history, e.g., those of Kondakov and Strzygowsky, note the intimate connection between ancient Russia and Central Asia through the Khazars.

The city which was the center of river communications and lay on the border between the steppes and the forests began to play an important part in these international exchanges. Up to the beginning of the tenth century we find no coins or other objects of Greek origin in the excavations, so that we must suppose that in the early epoch Kiev traded with the Khazars and not with the Byzantines. The mighty state of the Khazars at that time reigned over the Northern Caucasus, the Crimea, the basins of the Don, the lower and middle Volga, and the Oka, and the South Russian steppe country. In all probability, they built a fortress on the border of the forests and subjected the small tribe of the Polyanians. In the old Scandinavian *Atlakviða* and *Hervararsaga*, the great town on the Dnieper (Danaparstaðir) belongs to the Huns, the kinsmen of the Khazars. Later, when the Khazar mercenaries, the Russo-Varangians, seized control of Kiev about 890 after the invasion of the Pechinegs, they also named their chiefs Kagan and Ilel, and imitated many Khazar customs and terms in their legal, military, and administrative organizations, besides adopting a series of Khazar names for clothing, utensils, transport, and trade. In the tenth century the Russians gradually evicted their old sovereigns and teachers from the whole of Southern Russia. It is thus historically possible and even quite probable that the city on the Dnieper received its name from the Khazars, who reigned in Southern Russia and controlled all communication between the cultured East on one side and the half-wild tribes of Russia and Scandinavia on the other. I shall try to prove philologically that this was the case.

The name *Sambatas* given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the *Zanbat* of the Arabic geographers corresponds to the Turkish

¹⁸ A. Harkavy, *Evreiskaja Biblioteka* (St. Petersburg, 1878), vol. VIII, P. Kokovtsov, *Evreiskaya-chazarskaja Perepiska* (St. Petersburg, 1932), p. 31.

word *Sambat*. The ending *-as*, as correctly stated by Thomsen and others, is a Greek accretion. In the Khazar language, as in many other Turkish dialects, the word *sam* means "top," "high," or "main," and was used as a name for many towns. Thus *Samender* (or, better still, according to the rules of Turkish phonetics, *Semender*) was the capital of the Khazar State in the Caucasus, and this name was used for it instead of the more ancient name *Balandžar* or *Belendžer*,¹⁹ where *Bala* means great and *Endžer* a certain Khazar tribe in Daghestan which is also remembered by many Arab authors as well as by King Joseph. Another large town, *Karč*, the capital of the Khazars in the Crimea, also had another name, *Samkarč* (cf. Ibn-Fakich, ed. De Goeje, p. 115, also the letter of King Joseph and the letter of the Khazarian Jew). Furthermore, the towns founded by the Khazars, after conquering Transcaucasia, received the names of *Samiran*, *Samsakhy*, *Sambalut*, *Samakha*, *Samkalako*, and others. When, in 854, the Khazar general Buga, who served the Caliph, founded a town for the Mohammedan refugees from the Khazar State on the river Kur, he named the town *Samkur*. In all probability, the names of the present *Simbirsk* (from *Sem-Burtes*), *Samara* (*Sam-Arsa*), *Sandžar* (*Sam-Čor*), *Samarkand*, and others are of similar origin.

The word *Sam* was also used by other Turkish peoples besides the Khazars. It was often employed to name the head of a tribe or state. For instance, the Khakan of the Avars who conquered Pannonia in the sixth century was called *Samur* (*Sam-Ör*). The head of the Omirits, a Hunnic tribe in Daghestan, was *Santurk* (*Santurkis* in Greek).²⁰ The ruler of the Alans subjugated by the Khazars was *Sančopan*.²¹ The king of the Bolgars (the Uturgurs) was *Sabergan* (*Saborchan*),²² while the ruler of the Kuturgur branch was *Sandilch* (*Sanilk*).²³ When half-caste Avaro-Slavs rebelled against the Avar Khan in the year 623 they called themselves *Sam-Ynak*, "the higher youth," and their chief after the victory received the title of *Sam* or *Samo*. The Latin chronicler (Fredegarius Scholasticus, M.G.H., II) calls him "Samo de pago Senonago." These names have caused the historians of Bohemia nearly as much trouble as our *Sambat*. Miklosich finds that the present Russian words *san* and *sanovnik*, which we also meet in the most ancient annals, are derived from the same Turkish root. The

¹⁹ In the Turkish language, words are pronounced with the hard vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, *y*, or with the soft, *e*, *i*, *eu*, *oe*. Rare exceptions are made only in the case of assimilated foreign words.

²⁰ Theophanes Byz., *Fragmenta*, ed. Dindorf, p. 446

²¹ Jordanes, *Getica*, ch. 37 "Sangibanus, rex Alanorum."

²² Menander Prot., frag. 3.

²³ Procopius, *De bello gothico*, iv, 19.

adjective form of the word is found in the old Slavonic word *saměi* (leader), in *semetz* used by Vladimir Monomach, and probably in the word *sametz* (male). But on leaving the thick forests of philology, we shall return to the name *Sambat*, and conclude that the first half of *Sambat(as)* is the word *sam*, the characteristic term for a Khazar town, and practically as specific as the German *burg*, the Greek *polis*, or the Slavonic *grad*.

What then is the meaning of the second half of the word, *-bat*? In many Turkish dialects *bat* means "strong." Therefore the names **Baty*, *Baibayan*, *Kurumbat*, *Kurbat*, *Arpad*, for the mighty dukes, and *batman* for the definition of a large weight.²⁴ *Sambat*, therefore, in the Khazar language, meant "high fortress" and corresponded to the name *Vyshgorod*²⁵ used in the chronicles for the higher part of Kiev, where later on the ruler of the town, the ducal *Tiun*, lived. The name "fortress" also corresponds with the text (*Kastron*) of Constantin Porphyrogenitus cited above. We find also another text of the same author which proves that in the tenth century Kiev was known under the Slavic name Vyšegrad. In the *De adm imper.*, chap. IX, we read the following item: ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑξω Ῥωσίας μονόξυλα κατερχόμενα ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει εἰσι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Νεμογάρδας, ἐν ᾧ Σφεντοσλάβος ὁ υἱὸς Ἰγγωρ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ῥωσίας ἐκαθέζετο εἰσι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν κάστρον τὴν Μιλινίσκαν, καὶ ἀπο Γελιούτζαν καὶ Τσερνιγώγαν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουσεγραδέ. *Vousegrade* is here a town lying to the south of Lyubech and Chernigov on the route of the boats from Russia to Constantinople. We know from the first text cited above that the caravan of boats gathered at Kiev (*Sambatas*), therefore we can conclude that Vyšegrad is the Slavonic translation of the Khazar name *Sambat*.

From nearly the same period as the work of the Emperor (955) we have another important document, the letter of the Khazar King Joseph. Describing the borders of his realm, Joseph says, "And from there [from the Crimea] the frontier goes northwards to the town Bezurah on the river Vogaz." *Bogaz* or *Vogaz* in Turkish means "bay," "sea-channel," or "a wide river." The important town which lies north of the river is called *Bezurah* in the king's letter. In Hebrew (the language of this letter) this means a fortress. As the king or his secretary doubtless knew both languages, there is no doubt that they have made a correct translation, and that *Sambat* in Khazar really

²⁴ H Vambéry, *Etym Wtb der türkischen Sprachen*, p 195. *batur*, a strong, presentable person, *batuk* or *batiz*, high, tall, *batmak*, to empower.

²⁵ In the tenth and eleventh centuries, *Vyshgorod* was a suburb of Kiev (*PSRL*, I², 1926, 60 (*ad* 946), 80 (*ad* 980), 132 (*ad* 1015), 161 (*ad* 1054), 182 (*ad* 1072)

meant a fortress. Thus all theories regarding the Jewish origin of the name *Sambat* from the legendary river *Sambation* or from *Sabbath*, as advanced by Veselovski and Westberg, are finally refuted. The Khazar king who could count in his genealogical tree ten ancestors of the Jewish faith (or his Jewish secretary) would not translate one Hebrew word with a totally different one which has a different meaning.

Gedeonov was moving in the right direction by his explanation of the word *Sambat*. It is true that he started with the wrong theory of the Hungarian origin of ancient Kiev and its dynasties but, taking into consideration that the Khazars were the ruling class among the Hungarians, that their language from the beginning played an important role, and had only gradually blended with the language of the Finnish Madjars,²⁶ the word *Sambat* in reality had the same meaning in Hungary in the Middle Ages as it had for the Khazars. Gedeonov found a document of the fourteenth century in which it said that *Tyrnow* was once called *Sambat Constantiae* and it is explained there that it means the town of the Queen Konstanzia. To confirm the opinion of Gedeonov, I can point out that at Buda as late as the seventeenth century the ruins of the gates which were called *Sambat Kapu* were preserved. In Turkish this name means "fortress gates."²⁷

True, some philologists have wanted to derive the word as coming from *Sabbath*, and explained that on Saturdays the Jews used to gather there from the neighboring Ghetto. But in Europe there were hundreds of Ghettos with hundreds of gates next to them and nowhere, with the exception of Budapest, do we find a similar name. Such an explanation is, therefore, artificial, and it is much simpler to see in *Szambat Kapu* the meaning "fortress gates."

In Hungary and Transylvania Roesler²⁸ has counted nineteen towns named Szambat in different combinations: *Szambathely* (place), *Nady Szambat* (new), *Rima Szambat* (maiden), *Murai Szambat* (on the river Mura), *Porszombat* (peasants), *Szombat Fa* (wooden), and others. Many of them have in the last centuries changed the ancient name *Szombat* to *Vasar*, i.e., town. And so we have *Vasar-Hely* and *Nagy-Vasar*. The Germans also call *Szombathely* Stein am Anger, i.e., "fortress on the river Anger." Thus popular usage indicates that *Szombat* in former days meant a fort and not a day of the week, as was thought by Roesler and Thomsen. The place-name *Pentek* may mean not Friday, but a junction of five roads. In many

²⁶ Const. Porph., *De adm. imp.*, chs. 39, 40

²⁷ S. Kohn, *A Zsidók Toertenei Magyarországon* (Budapest, 1894), pp. 336, 397 ff.

²⁸ *Rumanische Studien* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 134.

other towns the Madjars have supplanted the word *Bat* with the word *Var* (fort), and thus we find many fortresses called *Sambar* scattered all over Hungary. After all, Gedeonov was quite right when he maintained that *Szombat* in Hungary also meant "fortress" as it did in the case of *Sambat* at Kiev. The coincidence is a result of the mixed structure of the Hungarian nation, which is composed of Finnish Madjars and Turkish Khazars, and because the Hungarian language is also a mixture of two tongues.

The possibility of a Khazar origin for the word *Sambat* was also pointed out not long ago by Parkhomenko.²⁹ He takes the origin of the word from *Sambarai*, which is supposed to be used in the letter of the Khazar Jew to designate a Khazar town in the Crimea. Parkhomenko has, by the way, not without predecessors, brought forward a strange and complicated theory about the migration of the Russians from the district of the middle Volga into the district of the Don and then on through Tmutarakan, the Black Sea, and the Dnieper to the district of Kiev. Even should the possibility of such a complicated route be acknowledged, the hypothesis of Parkhomenko regarding *Sambarai* would still be unsound, since I have proved that, in the letter of the Khazar Jew, the name Samkarz is mentioned twice, and not Sambarai.³⁰ The scholar M. Schechter, who published this text but was blind in the last years of his life, believed in the erroneous reading, which is refuted even by the photostat copy by which the article is accompanied. In the Khazar names *Sambat* and *Samkarč* only the first halves are identical.

And so we can summarize:

1. The name of the town *Sambat* must be considered of Khazar origin because of its first part *Sam*, which means "high," and is characteristic of a whole line of Khazar towns.
2. *Sambat* means "high fortress" in the Khazar language, which is a Turkish dialect, and is equivalent to the Slavic name *Vyshgorod*.
3. The letter of the Khazar king Joseph calls the north town on the Dnieper *Bezurah*, i.e., "fortress", by Constantine Porphyrogenitus it is also termed "Kastron."
4. The word *Szombat* in the Middle Ages also meant a "fortress" in the Hungarian language, which is a mixture of Khazar and Finnish.

When Kiev was rebuilt after being destroyed by Baty, it received the name *Mankerman* from the Tartars (or, rightly, *Menkermen*) which, like the old name, also consists of two words: *man*, "high," and *kermen*, "fortress." At the time, the Russians and the Lithuani-

²⁹ *U istoikov russkoi gosudarstvennosti* (Kiev, 1924), pp. 37-39.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

ans also called it Vyshgorod as well as Kiev.³¹ The descendents of the Khazars in the Crimea (the Crimean Tartars and the Crimean Jews) had also forgotten the old word *Sambat*, and in the fifteenth century constantly called Kiev *Menkermen*.³² This name was also found by the Western travellers of the fifteenth century (Barbaro, Contarini, Clavigo, and others). The ancient word *Sambat* was thus already forgotten in the fifteenth century, but its spirit has long hovered over Kiev, and is reflected in the other names of Menkermen and Vyshgorod, with the meaning applied by the first Khazar occupants of the town.

We now come to the fundamental name of Kiev or Kyeve, as the Russian chronicles call the capital of the Polyane. Tatishchev, the first modern Russian historian, noticed that such a name is not found anywhere else, with the exception of Kievetz on the Danube, a city which might have been built by emigrants from Kiev. Tatishchev proposes that the word "Kiev" comes from the Sarmatian word *kiwi*, "stone." He believed that the Sarmatians used to speak Finnish. J. Reineggs, a famous traveller of the eighteenth century, proposed the Persian word *kief*, "rest." He was of the opinion that the Goths used to speak a language which was related to Persian and had so named the town.³³ Fraehn, the Russian scholar, found the Čuvash word *kiwe*, "old," "feeble," "infirm," and for lack of anything better connected it with Kiev.³⁴ In the same Finno-Čuvash tracks went Potocky, Dombrovsky, and Karamzin.³⁵ Prof. M. Tershakovetz, in his essay "Perekaz pro Kia, Ščeka i Khoriva ta ich sestru Lybed," also tried to explain the origin of the name Kiev, and finally proved the incorrectness of the previous theories. He decided to return to the language of the Celts. There he found a word which was the mother of the mediaeval *cajum*, from which originated the French *quai*, i.e., "strand," "harbor." This word, in the opinion of Tarshakovetz, explains the name *Kyi* who, according to the Chronicles, was a ferryman ("U Kieva bo perevoz bjashe togda s onoja strany Dnepra").³⁶

This risky recourse to the Celts, whose presence in Eastern Europe is doubtful, becomes altogether unnecessary if we make a closer inspec-

³¹ V Lyaskoronskij, "Kievski Vyšgorod," *ZMNP*, April, 1913, pp. 64–100; A Pogodin, "Kievski Vyšgorod i Gardanki," *Izv. Otd. Russk. Jaz. IAN*, XIX (1914), 1–33.

³² The root *kerim*, whence are also formed *kermen* (fort), *kermencik* (small fortress), *keremli* (fort) is characteristic not only for the Tartar but also for the other Turkish dialects, and is discernible in the Cimmerian town *Kremnoi* (Crimea), and in the Russian *kremli*.

³³ J. Reineggs, "*Allgem. hist.-topogr. Beschreibung d. Kaukasus* (Berlin, 1796), II, 200.

³⁴ Fraehn, *Excepta de Chazaris* (St. Petersburg, 1822), p. 152.

³⁵ *Ist. gosud. rossisk.*, I, 245.

³⁶ *PSRL*, I² (1926), 9–10.

tion of the real neighbors of Kiev and the inhabitants of the Dnieper river-system. Kiev was on the boundary between the Slavic northwest of the great plain and the Turkish southeast. Until the thirteenth century, a whole line of Turkish tribes remained on both sides of the river not far from Kiev, e.g., the Torki-Guzy, Čornye Klobuki (*Karakalpak*), Berendiči (*Berienči*, i.e., "southern"), etc. One of these tribes, which is often mentioned in the twelfth century had a similar name to Kiev, viz., *Koui*.³⁷ In the Laurentian, Suprasl, and Semeonovskaya Chronicles we read that the three brothers, founders of Kiev, were Khazars.³⁸ The geographical legend about Kii and his brothers to explain the different parts of the town quite definitely indicates which of the Turkish tribes were present at its foundation. Only in the Hypatian redaction is there no mention of the Khazar origin of the brothers. As regards the different parts of the town we read in the same Chronicles: "sědjaše Kii na gorě gděže nyně uvoz Boričev, a Šček sědjaše na gorě gděže nyně zovetsja Ščekovica, a Choriv na tret'ei gorě ot negože prozvasja Chorivica, i sotvoriša grad vo imja brata svojego starějšago, i narekoša imja emu Kiev" (*PSRL*, I² [1926], 9). Further, the Hypatian redaction deliberately rejects the legend that Kii was a ferry man (waterman) as an unsuitable occupation for such a hero.

Evidently the town was formed of three separate settlements which in time merged into one. The position of Schekovitza arouses no doubts — this is, down to the present, the name of the northern side of the hill. As to *Khoriv*, the philologists connect this name with the Slavonic word *Khorv* (from which springs the Russian word *gorb*) and are of the opinion that it means a mountain. Thence comes also the name *Khorvaty* applied to many Slavonic tribes. Through the Arabian geographers Ibn-Rusteh and Gardezi, whose information dates from the beginning of the tenth century, we find besides the name *Zanbat* also the name *Khorvat*, which is similar to *Khorevitza*. Ibn-Rusteh (chapter 123) says: "the town where he (the King) lives is called *Khorvat* and there is a market held three times every month when they conclude deals and sell." Gardezi calls the capital by the name *Khorvat*. In the geography *Hudud-al-Ulum* of 984 we read *Khordat*. Markwart cannot explain this name, and tries to save himself by the arbitrary reading *Krakov*.³⁹ The third part of the town (Kiev), according to the legend, is connected with the ferry over the

³⁷ The frequent references to the *Koui* in the Chronicles have been gathered by M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukrainy*, II, 548.

³⁸ E.g., *PSRL*, I² (1926), 21. "Byla sut' g brat'ja Ku Šček Choriv iže sdelaša gorodoko-s', i izgiboša i my sedim platjače dan' rodom ich Kozarom"

³⁹ *Op cit*, p. 472

river. This part was on the bank of the river. If we agree with the Russian Chronicles that the town was founded by Khazars, then we get the explanation of the word *Kiev* without any trouble and without recourse to the languages of the Celts or the Čuvash. The word *Kii*, in all Turkish dialects from Yakutsk to Stambul, means a low place, a bank of a river, or a wharf, the word *ev* means "settlement," and consequently *Kuiev* is a harbor-settlement or the lower part of the town, in contrast to *Sambat*, i.e., a "high fortress" in Turkish, or *Khorv* and *Vyshgorod* in Slavonic.

The same method of forming a name of a town by way of adding the word *ev* is found in many other parts of the Khazar State. Thus the town of Karč, to which I referred earlier, which was the capital of Crimean Khazaria, had a longer name of *Karč-ev*. From this we have on the Tmutarakan stone, in the Russian Chronicles, and in the life-story of Stefan of Surozh, the name of *Korčev*. In the Crimea we find also *Güsl-ev*, which means "a beautiful settlement," equivalent to the Greek name of the town, *Eupatoria* or *Kalos Limen* (beautiful bay). The old Khazar center *Sarkel* (*Belaya Vezha*), later on was called simply *As-ev*, "ferry town." In Caucasian Khazaria we find the town *Tetčik-ev* (Tetiakov, later Kiafir), where the Tartars killed the Grand Duke Michael of Chernigov. It was natural for the Khazars, who built a fortress on the hill, to call the low quay-side of the town *Kuiev*. Along with Kiev on the banks of the Dnieper, a second settlement existed called *Borichev*, which is also mentioned in the Russian Chronicles from the most ancient times. The Slavonic etymology of this word is also complicated. It was proposed to connect it with the name of the boyar Sinko Borič, one of the ambassadors of the Kievan prince who signed the Treaty of 911 with the Greeks. But it is far simpler also in this case to take the origin of the word from the Turkish word *Berči-ev*, i.e., "Dnieper-settlement," as *Bar* (*Var*) is the Khazar name for "Dnieper," and in the form of an adjective it becomes *Berči*. Such a hypothesis can also be advanced regarding the Shchekovitza. To explain the word as coming from the Russian word *shcheka*, (cheek) is difficult. The Turkish word *čekik*, "chopper" or "hammer," is more suitable, as the hill may have had the form of a shopper, or have served as a center for the local smithies, for which ancient Kiev was famous.

To conclude with the ancient names of the different parts of Kiev, I discuss only the places *Kozare* and *Pasyncha Beseda*, which are mentioned at the signing of the Treaty between Igor and the Greeks in 944.⁴⁰ About the origin of the word *Kozare* there is no necessity to

⁴⁰ There is some doubt about the date of the treaty. The Laurentian redaction (*PSRL*,

guess: this was a part of the town which was inhabited by the Khazars in the time of Igor. It was situated down at the Pochaina creek near the wharfs. Here, probably, lived the merchants who used to arrive from *Khazaria*. The expression *Pasyncha Beseda* used to baffle the Russian investigators, but for Turkologists it presents no difficulties. *Baş-Ynak* means a young leader, and in the year 727 we find the same name for a Khazar prince. Later on, the word was taken up by the Russian princes for the younger leaders of the troops who for a long time were called *Pasynki*.⁴¹ Whether *Pasyncha Beseda* received its name from the leader of the Khazars or from the *Pasynki* of the Prince's troops, the fact remains that the Turkish language serves here also as a key to the historical riddle.

I think it necessary to mention here one more place, though it has not a Turkish name. It is the *Ugorskaya* mountain near Kiev. Gedeonov suggests connecting this name with the black *Ugry*, i.e., Hungarians who, according to tradition, passed Kiev on their way to the Carpathian mountains in 892. It is, however, better to suggest that the name comes from the *White Ugry*, by which name the Russian Chronicles always knew the Khazars in the more ancient documents. The Caucasian mountains are also called *Ugorskie Gory* in the Chronicles. As we can see, the Khazars are more closely involved in the history of Kiev than the Magyars or even their leading tribe consisting of nomadic Khazars,⁴² and probably it is from the Khazars that the name of the *Ugorskaya* mountain, which is often mentioned in the times of Oleg and Igor, should be derived.

Considering that the names *Borichev*, *Pasyncha Beseda*, *Shchekovitza* and *Ugorskaya* mountain very probably derive from the Khazar language, we cannot nevertheless disregard all other theories. But the suggestions regarding the Khazar origin of the names *Sambat* and *Kiev* are, I think, practically incontestable, as two hundred years of exploring in many other directions has resulted in not much beside multiple *curiosa* and untenable theories.

The reason that the Turkish language up to the present has been little used in studying the history of Eastern and Middle Europe lies

⁴² 1926, 46) enters it as of 945, and Tatishchev placed it in the fourth indiction. But the fourth indiction would be 946, though Romanus Lecapenus, who signed the treaty, had been deposed in 944. It would therefore seem preferable to redate the treaty as of 931 (also fourth indiction), since in that year the Byzantines sought allies against the Khazars (J. Brutzkus, *Letter*, p. 25).

⁴¹ Laur red., *PSRL*, I (1849), 161. "Mstislav sovokupiv Rostovci i boljare, grid'bu i pasynky i vsju družinu."

⁴² The name given the Hungarian Khazars by Const. Porphy., *De adm. imp.*, ch. 39, is *Kabar*, and means "nomads" in Turkish. We may perhaps connect this name with a suburb of Kiev, the *Kopyrev konetz*, mentioned in the twelfth century.

not only in the fact that Europeans are little acquainted with Turkish, but also in the fact that European prejudices against the Turks and the Tartars have always been very strong.

What was the fate of Khazar *Kiev* or *Sambat*? We know from excavations that in the eighth and ninth centuries it was the center of exchange between the East and Northwest, and also continued in that role under the rule of the Russian princes or kagans down to the time when the Khazar State was destroyed and the roads to the East were cut off. When did the change of power take place? The majority of Russian historians suppose that the conquest of Kiev was made by the sudden attack of Askold with his Varangians about 850. The attack of the Russians with 320 boats on Constantinople in 860 serves as proof. But it is quite possible that the Russians of Askold were hirelings of the Khazars, and were purposely let through the Don and the strait of Kerč or the estuary of the Dnieper. The name Askold we can find among the Khazars as early as the sixth century, when it appears as Eš-Kölki, i.e., "sea-duke." In 860, the Khazars were hostile to the Byzantine Empire on account of the Greek occupation of Kherson in 834 and the aggressive policy of the Empire in the Crimea and Abkhazia.

As the excavations have shown, the Russians appeared on the Volga much earlier than on the Dnieper. Here they early founded in the domain of the half-Turkish *Čeremis* (Maru-Meri) their fortified camp on lake Rostov (*Rostau*, "Russian mountain"), and the fortresses *Kotorosl* and *Jar-Rosly* (*Kata Rosly*, "Russian fortress"). From these points they used to go as pirates, as traders in fur and slaves, and as hired soldiers to Bulgar and Itil, where they were found in greater numbers at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century (Ibn-Rusteh, Gardezi, Ibn-Fadlan, Masudi, and others). The Khazars often let fleets of boats of Volga-Russian pirates pass to the Caspian Sea, as in 880, 909, 911, and 943.⁴³ All the vagabond mercenaries, their own as well as foreign, the Khazars used to call *Varang*,⁴⁴ which is the participle of the verb *varmak*, "to march, to roam." The chiefs of these wandering merchants and pirates were called *Saekomungar* (Kings of the Sea), which the Khazars correctly translated as *Kol-Begi* (*Kolbjagi*). Hired Varangs the Khazars kept as their guards not only in Itil (*Urus*, known by the Arabs as *Al-Arysié*), but also in Kiev. Therefore the legendary chief of these Va-

⁴³ Dorn, *Caspia, Die Ueberfalle der alten Russen auf Tabaristan* (*Zapiski IAN* (St. Petersburg, 1877).

⁴⁴ Leaving for separate consideration the question whether the Varangians were of Khazar as well as of Swedish origin, I desire merely to point out that in Hungarian the word *barang* means "a nomad" to this day. The Greeks used to translate it by *δρομῖτης* (runner)

rangians, Askold, fought with different nations but not with the vassals of the Khazars — Severians, Radimichi and Vyatichi, who were near Kiev, nor did he visit Crimean Khazaria. Frightened by the strange attack of the Russians on Constantinople in 860, the Emperor, to prevent further invasions, sent a delegation to the Khazars with the philosopher Cyril.

Only toward the end of the ninth century, when the Pechenegs seriously menaced the Khazars and had driven back their allies the Hungarians, did Kiev break away from Khazaria. According to the legend, the town was taken by a new Russian chief, Oleg, who came from the north. But to penetrate to the town he also had to take recourse to deception and pretend that he was a "podugorsky" guest (merchant),⁴⁵ i.e., a subject of the Khazars on the same footing as Askold. After the seizure of Kiev, the Russes began to take over the rest of the tribes subjected to the Khazars (Severians, Radimichians, Vyatichians) and then penetrated into the domain of the independent Derevlans and Tivertians. The Russes took a whole line of fortifications which were built by the Khazars, probably for their garrisons.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus calls them *Gūra*. The princes used to set off from them in winter when they went *na poludie*, i.e., to collect taxes. We can convince ourselves that the name *Gūra* is given here quite accurately from the text of Ibn-Rusteh, where it is said that the Russian Duke used to exile criminals in the places called *Gūra* which were on the borders. The explanation of the word, the accuracy of which is evident from the comparison of the two texts, can also be found in the Turkish language, where the word *gur* or *kur* means a circle, a ring, a circular fortification. The Avars used to build such fortifications on their frontiers. The Germans used to call them *Ringe*, the Hungarians *Gyoer*, and to this day the frontier-town *Raab* is still called *Gyoer* by the Magyars. From these fortresses ran ramparts which were later called *Trojanovie*, probably from the Turkish word *tarhan*, "chief." The new Russian state which was formed by the Slavs and Swedish mercenaries toward the beginning of the 10th century is called by Masudi the kingdom of *Al-Pharange*. But after seizing power, the new governors preserved the old order of things in every detail. The prince was called *Kagan* (*Khakan*). Another Khazar name, *Olgu* ("great"), was turned into the names Oleg; Ilge ("princess"), into Olga, Inek-Ör ("young man"), into Ingor. The costume and coiffure even of the later Prince Svyatoslav are pure Khazar. The whole of the administration preserves Turkish names: *boliar* (*boily-är*), *tiun* (*tuyun*), *yemetz* (*jamči*), *jambetnik* (*jam-*

⁴⁵ *PSRL, Nrk. red.*, ix (1872), 15 "Gost' esm' Podugorski, i idu v Greki ot Olga knjazia."

bilči, "clerk of the court"), *metelnik* (*meteli*, "controller"). They went to war with *khörungvi* (flags, "*khorong*"), and *bunčuk* (*muncuk*), they wear *šelomi* (*šalma*) with *shyshaks* (*čiček*), they were armed with *palash* and *sablia*, organize *tovary* ("camps"), they divide into *bogatyri* (*bogatur*), *gridi* (*güridi*, "fort warrior"), *kmeti* (*kum-idi*), *pasynki* (*basynak*). The troops are transported on *loshadi* (*alas-at*, "horse"), *komoni* ("steeds") and *telegi* (*talyga*, "wagons"), spend the night under *čater* ("canvas") etc. Even more Turkish terms are preserved in the *Russkaya Pravda*, where the old laws *zakony* and *pokony* (from the Turkish *konu*, "just") are collected. Apart from the above-mentioned *boliar*, *tiun*, *yambednik*, *gridi*, *metelnik*, we may point out *vira* (*vire*, in Turkish "settlement," "reconciliation"), *veru* (*ver-evi*, "tribe town"), *kopa* ("a fenced-in place"), *otara* ("herd"), *tovar* ("camp"). The money system in the *Pravda* consisted of *nogat* ("silver"), *kun* ("skin"), *čiat* ("corner") and *procha* (*parča*). The whole system of punishment is founded on fines of forty (*vira*) or twenty (half-*vira*) or eighty (double *vira*), which testifies to Turkish influence. The Turks believed forty to be a holy number (compare the *velikaya yassa Chingiskhana*) as opposed to the Normans, whose system of fines was duodecimal.

While not pressing further these questions of old Russian culture, I wish merely to point out that the Khazar element did not vanish immediately after the separation from Itil, but, on the contrary, remained for a long time in the organization of the new state, at the head of which appeared the old Khazar mercenaries and the newcomers, the warriors from Ladoga and Sweden. Culture in Sweden was still so weak that it made practically no impression on the new state. The new conquerors of Slav soil took over the old culture from the hands of the Khazars who, for a period of 400 years, controlled large areas in Southern Russia and managed to adopt the material culture of the Caliphate and the religious culture of the Jews.

In the near neighborhood of Kiev, on the right and left banks of the Dnieper, we find a whole series of Turkish tribes: *Berendiči*, *Torki*, *Chernye Klobuki*, and *Kouï*. The latter still played an important role in the principality of Chernigov during the twelfth century. In the famous expedition of Prince Igor against the Polovtzy, for instance, these elements outnumbered the Russian soldiery. The name *Kouï*, *Kouevi*, or *Koueviči* probably comes from the fact that they inhabited the low banks of the Dnieper and the Desna, and it was no doubt conceived simultaneously with the name *Kiev*. Perhaps they were the original inhabitants of Kiev. For the Slavs, the language of the *Kouevi* (*Til Kuievi*) was the nominal name for the Turkish language,

as the Polovtzy were called the "cursed Tolkovini." As regards the Tivercian inhabitants of the Dniester region, the chronicler calls them *Tolkovini* to distinguish them from the Slavic tribes.

The neighboring territory of Chernigov long retained its semi-alien character. Such was the situation from ancient times, long before the connection of the Chernigov princes with the Polovtzy. The very name of the Severians, which we do not meet in any other Slavic country, is connected by many scholars (Safařík, Pitch, Markwardt) with the conquest of this domain by the Turkish tribe of *Sever* which, since the time of Attila, is constantly mentioned by the historians and was afterward assimilated by the Bulgars and the Khazars. Many old place-names like *Chernigov*, *Boldizh*, *Vargol*, *Biakhan*, *Belovezha*, *Orgustch*, *Voronezh*, *Bakhmach*, *Oryol*, *Kazar*, *Pereyasavl*, and others are Turkish in character. The Černigov princes were at first closely connected with the Khazars of Tmutarakan, and afterwards with the Polovtzy. Mstislav in 1023 conquered his brother Yaroslav the Wise with the help of his Khazar army, and took for himself the domains of Chernigov. The population of these places remained Turkish to a great extent right up to the invasion of the Tartars. Yet in 1185 Prince Igor with his brothers, marching to the Don, took with them about 5,000 Russians and 5,000 *Kouevi*. In the troops of Yaroslav, Igor's father, the chiefs are called *Shelbir* (*Ės-Alp-Or*), *Olober* (*Alp-Or*), *Mogut* (*Bagut*), *Tatran*, *Topčak* (*Tačgak*), *Revugi* (*Ör-Evgi*), and *Černigov Balii* (*boila*). The soldier-poet, who sings the praises of the princes and of the *kagan* Igor, uses Turkish words in abundance. As a model he took his predecessor Bayan, whose name ("singer" in Turkish) indicates the connection with the Turks. We can see that the bank of the Dnieper opposite Kiev was not pure Slavic country. The same can be said about the southern region near Kiev where, thirty kilometers south of the town, began the Torki, the Berendichi, and the Chernye Klobuki (*Karakalpak*). Still more important, of course, was the role of the Turkish nation in the time of the flourishing Khazar state which ruled over the whole South Russian plain from 375 up to the revolution of the prince Oleg in 900. The Turkish peoples generally prevailed on the boundaries of the steppes. This can be proved also by the character of the skulls in the ancient tumuli. The Russian Chronicles still recall the advance of the Slavic tribes Radimiči and Vyatiči from Poland to the eastern frontier of the forests.

The geographical names *Kiev*, *Sambat*, *Gira*, *Pasyncha Beseda*, and perhaps also *Shchekovitza* and *Borichev*, are a part of the many remains of Khazar influence, which continued for a long time after

the appearance of an independent Russian Kingdom with its own *Kagan* or *Ileg*. The Turkish elements in Russian history and in the Russian language have till now been generally neglected. In my opinion, this neglected Cinderella of Russian historiography might still flourish, if it were approached without historical prejudices.⁴⁶

I am leaving the exploration of many Turkish elements in the Russian culture of the pre-Mongol period for a special work. I hope to prove that not only administration, army, and laws were founded on Khazar tradition, but even religion, agriculture, handicrafts, and arts came from the East through the hands of the Khazars.

Kiev and *Sambat* are only two of the many traces of a long historical process which preceded the appearance in Eastern Europe in the tenth century of a well-organized state which then stood at a much higher level of culture than its neighbors the Poles, the Hungarians, and the Scandinavians.

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⁴⁶ J. Brutzkus, "Varjagi i Kolbjagi," *Sem Kondakov.*, vol. VII.

THE ILL-FATED COACH

By YAKOV BORISOVICH KNYAZHNIN

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN BY JEANNETTE EYRE¹

Presented for the first time in the presence of her Imperial Majesty and their Imperial Highnesses, in the Hermitage.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Mr. Firyulin
Mme. Firyulin
Anyuta, daughter to Trofim
Lukyan, her lover
Trofim, her father
Afanasi, buffoon
Klementi, overseer
Crowd of peasants

The action takes place in the village of Mr. Firyulin, not far from St. Petersburg.

* * * *

ACT I

SCENE I

The scene represents a valley, surrounded by hills, on one side, peasant huts are seen at a distance.

Lukyan (with a bundle in his hands): Ooff! How tired I am, hurrying all the way from the city! I only left here yesterday, but it seems a whole year since I've seen my Anyuta. I can't stop to rest! . . . But there wasn't any need of hurrying so. The sun is still high. This is the day when I am to be made happy. In an hour . . . yes! an hour — you will be with me forever . . . in an hour you will be my wife — Anyutusha will be mine —

¹ Yakov Borisovich Knyazhnin (1742–1791) was a distinguished dramatist of the reign of Catherine II. After several ineffectual starts in the government service, he married the dramatist Sumarokov's daughter, and was appointed a captain in the Army. In 1773, as a consequence of heavy gambling losses, Knyazhnin was found guilty of embezzlement and condemned to serve as a common soldier. Pardoned in 1777, he first went into retirement for a year or two, then was appointed secretary to the President of the Academy of Sciences. His first tragedy, *Dido*, had been written in 1769, and he produced one other tragedy before his disgrace. He used his retirement for the preparation of a translation of Corneille, and resumed original composition with the present play. His other classic plays reveal him as imitating Racine, Voltaire, and Metastasio, though they are rich in patriotic sentiment and embody the ideas of liberal philosophy. His last tragedy, *Vadim*, Knyazhnin would not allow to be presented while he was alive, and its treatment of a mediaeval rebellion at Novgorod was believed at the time to contain references to the French Revolution.

In lighter vein, the present play (*Neschastie ot Karety*) is a libretto for a comic opera presented in 1779 with music by Pashkevich (unfortunately lost). It is one of the most original of Knyazhnin's compositions and was a favorite of Catherine II herself.

what bliss! Anyuta, here are the gifts that I bought in the city for you.

Aria

Here's a rosy scarf for you;
When you kiss, with blushing grace,
That's the color of your face!
These snow-white beads can't touch the hue
Of dear Anyuta's lovely skin;
O city-dwellers, where I've been
This very hour, I swear you've not
One hundredth part as gay a lot.

I go, I go to sweet Anyuta — Ah! but there she is.

* * * *

SCENE II

Lukyan, Anyuta

Anyuta: I have been waiting for you in vain.

Lukyan: Hello, Anyutushka darling!

Anyuta: How could you have tarried so long in the city?

Lukyan: I would be to blame if you yourself were not the cause of it.
I bought everything that you and I need.

Anyuta: And so today I am to be completely yours?

Lukyan: Today! I love you so much that I can hardly believe my own happiness.

Anyuta: What is there to doubt? My father saw you hurrying into the village, and he's gone already to the priest, and I think he'll soon tell us that the priest is in the church. And after that not only the overseer, but the master himself can't separate us.

Lukyan: How happy I am!

Anyuta: Tell me, what did you see in the city?

Lukyan: Noise and splendor. Gold flows in rivers, but happiness in drops. In a word: I saw just what we both saw when we lived with the old master who educated us as if we were his own children, and when he died we were cast out. But I love you and you love me; I don't need the rest of the world. Anyuta, do you love me as I love you?

Anyuta: Do I love you? Aren't you ashamed? I'm going to marry you today, but you doubt my love! you vex me by saying that I would be angry with you if there were the time for it.

With your doubting, I confess,
You annoy my tender heart;
And you cloud the blissfulness
Of this day, when joy should start.
If you, as you now maintain,

Love me with a passion true,
If I all your bliss contain,
None is happier than you.

Lukyan: Don't be angry, Anyutushka! I am to blame . . . but of what am I guilty? My whole-hearted love has provoked you. It seems to me that no one should love so much as I love you.

Duet

Lukyan Please love me
As I love thee
As I love thee from my heart.

Anyuta: I only live
My love to give
As I gave it from the start.
(together)

Lukyan: I even fear to see in dreams
That I am left without thee.

Anyuta: To love thee is my joy, it seems,
The world is dead without thee.

Lukyan: Here is your father. Why is he so doleful?

* * * *

SCENE III

Trofim, Lukyan, Anyuta

Anyuta: What has happened to you, father?

Lukyan: Is the priest in the church?

Trofim: Not yet.

Lukyan: Then why are you so sorrowful?

Trofim: Oh, my dear Lukyanushka — woe!

Anyuta: What in the world, papa — tell us.

Trofim: Woe! and most of all to you — woe!

Anyuta: What, doesn't the priest want to marry us?

Trofim: That isn't it.

Lukyan: Have pity and tell us what it is.

Trofim: Now don't be afraid — the overseer has come.

Lukyan: But what kind of misfortune is that?

Trofim: It's not a misfortune that he's come, but that he's stopped in the priest's yard.

Anyuta: And what kind of calamity is that?

Trofim: And it's not a calamity that he stopped at the priest's — but the calamity, Anyuta, is that he's angry. And he is never angry without someone's paying for it.

Lukyan: Well, let's pay him so he will stop being angry.

Trofim: I'm afraid it will be too much for us to pay. I've never seen him so angry. I came up to the priest, and saluted them both,

and said "Father, will you please come to the church? Lukyan has already come back from the city. And we beg the pleasure of your company, master overseer, at the wedding feast." But he looked at me like a wild beast and cried out: "Wait, this won't take place, there won't be a wedding today!"

Lukyan: There won't be a wedding?

Trofim: That's it, Lukyanushka.

Anyuta: But why not?

Trofim: I don't know, Anyutushka.

Lukyan: I shall go this wretch who is taking away my happiness; I'll go to him, let him take what he wants, I'll give him everything if only he doesn't prevent me from being happy today. Good Lord, how unfortunate we are! we have to eat and drink and get married according to the will of those who revel in tormenting us — and who would die of hunger without us. Let's go, Trofim, and you, too, Anyuta. Help me entreat him.

Anyuta: But there is the overseer. Why are there so many people with him?

Trofim: Alas! he seems to be even angrier.

* * * *

SCENE IV

Trofim, Lukyan, Anyuta, the Overseer Klementy, and peasants

Overseer: Take him.

Trofim: Mr. Overseer!

Overseer: What?

Trofim: Have mercy, I salute your mercy humbly like a lamb.

Overseer: Excellent. Now take him.

Trofim: Have mercy on a poor lamb.

Overseer: Very good. Why are you standing there? Yes — take him.

Trofim: And I'd really thought that, even if it still weren't much, I'd give up a whole cow.

Lukyan: But why take me?

Overseer: I know why.

Lukyan: You know, but I don't.

Trofim: Don't quarrel, Lukyanushka — you know he's the overseer. He knows what he's doing.

Lukyan: He's the overseer, but we have a master too.

Overseer: But how am I doing this if not in accordance with the master's orders? He sent a decree to me, I'll read it to you.

(the overseer reads)

"Oh thou, who hitherto hast been dishonored by the foolish and barbarous name of Klementy, by my especial grace to you because you have dressed a great number of peasants in the French style, I grant you the name of Clement."

(at this the overseer looks at everyone, and the peasants bow)

Trofim and the peasants: May God grant you happiness in your new rank!

Overseer (continues reading): "And further, I command everyone not to offend . . . (stops reading) Not to offend. That's not a rank, it seems; however, I don't understand. (reads) Not to offend you with the word Klementy, but to call you Clement. (looks at them hastily)

But to call you Clement! Do you hear that?

Trofim: We hear, God be praised, we are all glad!

Overseer (continues to read): "Meanwhile you must know that I have the greatest need of money. I absolutely need a new carriage for the holiday. Of course I have many of them; but this one has been brought from Paris. Imagine, Mr. Clement, what dishonor, not only to me but to all of you that your master is not to travel in this beautiful carriage. And your mistress will not buy herself those beautiful head ornaments which have also been brought direct from Paris. An honorable man ought to strangle himself on account of such a shame. You wrote me that the grain is not flourishing. That's not my affair, it's not my fault that even our soil is worse than the French. I order and beg you not to ruin me; find money where you will. Now already, Clement, by my seignorial graciousness you wear the dress of a French bailiff. And thus you must be cleverer and quicker. Are there so few means of obtaining money? For example, haven't you any suitable peasants to sell as recruits? Thus seize them and sell them. Firyulin."

Well! now do you see that I am not to blame, and that I'm carrying out the master's order. I congratulate you, soldier Lukyan.

Anyuta: I'm ready to go anywhere with you. Anywhere you are will be fine for me.

Trofim: And I want to stay with him — everyone wants to leave me.

Overseer: Don't be anxious, Trofim. You know he's not married yet. We need your Anyuta too. There are people who love her no less than Lukyan does.

Anyuta: Yes, but I cannot love them.

Overseer: What, you cannot love an overseer? you cannot love Clement?

Anyuta: I can't love not only the overseer, but even the master, or anyone. Lukyan is dearer to me than anybody else.

Overseer: We shall see, we shall see.

Lukyan: But what are you going to do?

Overseer: What am I going to do? Anyuta is going to be mine at once.

Lukyan (taking Anyuta by the hand, with a thunderous look):

Aria

So long as I'm alive
This business shall not thrive!

When soul and body parted be
 Then, only then, I'll part from thee;
 But not before, it cannot be!
 And if you venture to deprive
 Me of her, you must deal with me.
 You'll see the world seems very small
 And cheap to him who's lost his all.

* * * *

SCENE V

Overseer, Trofim, Anyuta, Lukyan, Buffoon

Overseer: Why are you here, Afanasy?

Buffoon: And why not? The master and mistress are hunting, and will soon be here. Greetings, Trofim, greetings, . . . Lukyan, why have the peasants seized and held you?

Overseer: Because he's been taken as a recruit, and the master needs a new carriage.

Buffoon: Oh, he's to blame.

Lukyan: He's forgotten to tell one more fault.

Buffoon: What's that?

Lukyan: That he wants to take Anyuta away from me.

Buffoon: He's right.

Lukyan: But I can't live without her.

Buffoon: But what's that to the overseer? It would be fine for him. I, too, if I weren't married, would be tempted to send not only you but all overseers away as soldiers in order to possess Anyuta.

Overseer: Afanasy has hit the nail on the head.

Aria

Like some fresh floweret in the trees
 Untouched by even the gentlest breeze,
 Her leaves she opens to the sun,
 And yearns to pluck it everyone —
 Just so is our Anyuta here,
 To all of us is sweet and dear.

(to the peasants): I am going to meet the master, but you look after *him*.

* * * *

SCENE VI

Anyuta, Lukyan, Trofim, Buffoon

Lukyan: I thought that you would take our part, but you take the side of the inhuman overseer

Buffoon: What do I care? I'm to blame myself. You've grown so big,

one could buy about three carriages off you; it was too expensive not to grow.

Lukyan: You are joking — but I don't feel in a humorous mood. It's all right for you, even if you don't understand French, the master loves you, and it's only we who are unfortunate.

Trofim: We poor unfortunates!

Buffoon: And it wouldn't be hard for you if you knew how to make jokes.

Aria

What's worse than to be of worth
On the earth?
Who's a clown or rogue at best
Is not oppressed.
But who works
And never shirks
Oh moan him and deplore him;
All here on earth abhor him.
To dance to each man's piping, that's the stuff.
To be a clown or scoundrel is enough.

Trofim Have mercy, and take our part before the master.

Anyuta Take pity on us, dear Afanasy!

Buffoon I would take pity, if I could: but our master is such that his pity cannot be roused by anything Russian.

Trofim: How strange!

Buffoon He hates even Russian names, when he dressed me in the festive clothes of my father, he even rebaptized me from Afanasy to Buffoon.

Trofim Why does he need to do it?

Buffoon: Oh, he needs it very much!

Trofim. Will he get richer from it?

Buffoon. Why should he be richer? He's satisfied with that: now he only wants to play the fool

Lukyan Enough of this nonsense Afanasy, help us — you have great influence with the master, and I'll make it worthy your while.

Buffoon There, Lukyan speaks as one should to a clever man.

Anyuta (offers Lukyan's presents): Take everything I have, I only have what Lukyan has given me. Take them, I don't need anything but to set him free

Buffoon (taking them): She speaks even more touchingly than Lukyan.

Trofim (taking out money). Here's mine, and later . . .

Buffoon More.

Lukyan (showing him money): When you help us, here's my last money for you — it shall all be yours.

Buffoon The deuce, what people! — you can't get rid of them. Lukyan, you can give me the money now, I assure you I'll give it

back to you. (Lukyan gives him the money) Wait, calm down!
I hear the hunting-horn. Our master is riding near here.

* * * *

SCENE VII

The Overseer and the Former

Overseer: Take him, put him in chains.

Trofim: Why? Of what am I guilty?

Overseer (to Trofim): Not you, your future son-in-law. You are too old,
and so you're innocent.

(to the peasants): Chain Lukyan; yes, him.

Buffoon and *Lukyan*, together: They chain rogues; order yourself to be
chained!

Overseer: And you have no rank before me. I command you to be polite
in my presence, or I'll take you with my own hands.

{ *Lukyan*: Of what am I guilty, why this torture?

{ *Trofim*: Of what am I guilty, why this torture?

{ *Anyuta*: Order me to share all his terrible tortures.

Anyuta: Order me to be put in chains with him: I'm ready to suffer and
die with him.

(falling at the overseer's feet): Have mercy, take pity on me.

Lukyan: Don't weep, control yourself.

Stop your suffering and to-do.

If I'm not guilty, what can he do?

Peasants, *Trofim*, *Anyuta*, *Lukyan*: The main thing is that he's an over-
seer!

Buffoon: The main thing is that he's an overseer!

ACT II

SCENE I

Lukyan, alone, in chains:

'Twixt hope and fear

I waver and veer . . .

Akh, if she be taken from

Me, what a hell the world's become!

I tremble, I complain,

Yet it may be I grieve in vain,

Perhaps I'll see a changing in my fate,

And if no other means await,

In death I'll seek a refuge from my pain.

* * * *

SCENE II

Trofim, Lukyan

Lukyan: What do you say, Trofim?

Trofim: What? Nothing. Poor Lukyanushka, poor Lukyan!
Lukyan: Of course, Afanasy could do nothing.
Trofim: He interceded for us, but he didn't get anything. The overseer has conquered. And the master has given Anyuta to him.
Lukyan: Well, everything is ended for me.
Trofim: How sorry I am for you!
Lukyan: Then no hope remains?
Trofim: It seems as if there were none. Afanasy has already left to give back everything he took from us. Don't grieve, he's bringing your money too.
Lukyan: Away with him! I don't need anything.

* * * *

SCENE III

Trofim, Lukyan, Anyuta

Anyuta (enters in haste): Alas, what are we going to do?

Terzet

Lukyan: Oh insufferable lot!
Anyuta: Oh our fatal love, God wot!
Trofim: The overseer's confounded plot!
 We are ruined, both together,
 I am losing you forever,
 Ah, forevermore adieu,
 Ah, how can I part from you?

* * * *

SCENE IV

Trofim, Lukyan, Anyuta, Buffoon

Buffoon: I am going to bring you what I took away from you right away.
Trofim: But I thought you had already brought it.
Buffoon: Not yet. You know, it's not so easy to give as to receive. You know that all people have the habit of taking what they have hold of, but it's hard to give. And to give money to you, Lukyan? You now want to die . . . ah, it's not necessary . . . I agree. See, the whole world is revolting to him. To the Devil with it, die, that's the best way. You can't believe how bad the world is. Really, it's not worth while living in it. See, a calamity on account of such trifles. You are in love with Anyuta, Anyuta with you, the overseer with Anyuta, the master with the carriage — but the carriage won't love anyone without money. And in all this there's nothing worth a thing. As a friend, I advise you to die.

Aria

Give the whole world to the Devil,
Where there's so much evil;
From the carriage
And your marriage,
And the scoundrel overseer!

However, I still don't despair; the master himself is coming here soon. You entreat him yourself, and I'll you; perhaps . . . Lukyan! don't you know French?

Lukyan: But why?

Buffoon: That would be a good thing,

Lukyan: I learned a few French words when I lived with the old master, and Anyuta knows them too.

Buffoon: That's fine! Now permit yourself not to die; your money will surely be mine.

* * * *

SCENE V

Firyulin, Mme. Firyulin, Overseer, Buffoon; and, at a distance,
Trofim, Anyuta, Lukyan

Firyulin: Barbarous people! savage country! What ignorance! what harsh names! How they injure my delicate sense of hearing. It is clear that for economy I'll undertake to change all appellations which disturb the ears; this will be my first business

Mme. Firyulin: I marvel, my soul! Our village is so near to the capital, but no one here speaks French, but in France, a hundred versts from the capital, they all speak French.

Buffoon: That's something to be surprised at! I think you and your husband will soon begin to be surprised that dogs bark, and don't speak.

Firyulin: Ha ha ha! how well that's put! On my honor, people talk here as if they were barking. What babblers, aren't they?

Buffoon: That's so, compared to you.

Firyulin: There's a great difference compared to us, isn't there? And we — even we — ah, we are nothing compared to the French.

Buffoon: Travelling has counted only to bring back scorn not only for your fellow-countrymen, but even for yourselves.

Firyulin: Truly, that would have been enough, but my wife and I brought back many rarities to educate a rough nation. I brought red heels, and she little caps . . .

Mme. Firyulin: Which have almost all come apart, and now I have to buy some more . . . but the money . . .

Firyulin (to the overseer): Clement, dear Clement will help us.

- Overseer.* Permit yourselves to hope, there will be money.
- Firyulin.* And the girl you asked for shall be yours.
- Buffoon:* You have brought back many wonders, but no pity for your servants; that is to say, there is none there.
- Firyulin:* Pity for Russians? You've lost your senses, Buffoon! My pity has remained in France, and now, when I remember, I cannot restrain my tears . . . oh, Paris!
- Buffoon* That's fine! weep that you're not there, but torture your servants pitilessly — and why? to buy a French carriage
- Firyulin.* Stop talking about that! Only one consolation has remained to us unfortunates who have come back from France to this savage country: that it would be possible for us to find something truly French in Russian trash, if it has taken a good turn. But we are to be deprived even of this pleasure
- Buffoon* Now you can live as you like: I tell you that I am leaving you. Can one live with you? Never fear, you can exchange me for a red French heel
- Firyulin* No, no, I won't give you up
- Buffoon* But aren't you selling someone better than me? (pointing at Lukyan) Look at this young man, who even knows French.
- Firyulin* Knows French? *mon Dieu!* what do I hear?
- Mme. Firyulin* Akh! *mon coeur!* He knows French, and is in chains! That will never do.
- Firyulin* This is frightful, horrible! Take off his chains. *Mon ami!* I have committed a fault toward you.
- Overseer* But the French carriage —
- Buffoon* Shut up, rascal.
- Firyulin* And what kind of girl is this? She's not bad-looking.
- Lukyan.* Ah, sir, it is she whom I love more than myself, who loves me, and whom you are giving to the overseer
- Firyulin* What can I do: I've given my word
- Anyuta:* Your father loved, his son torments us. Cruel man, You take away my life in taking my Lukyan.
- Lukyan.* Command my death straitway the instant that you give Anyuta to another: I've no wish to live
Together: Gaze on your subjects'
Flowing tears;
Shorten our suffering,
Allay our fears.
- Firyulin:* Parbleu! I never would have believed that Russian folk could love so tenderly. I am beside myself with astonishment. Can it be that I am not in France? I am not surprised that he feels love — he speaks French. But how about you, my girl?
- Buffoon.* She understands it, too.
- Firyulin.* She too? Now I am less surprised
- Lukyan* (on his knees): *Monseigneur!* have pity on us!

Anyuta (on her knees): Madame! Take our part!

Firyulin Monseigneur, Madame! arise. You have moved me to such a state of pity by these words, that I cannot refrain from tears.

Buffoon: Two French words have dragged forth the pity that was left in France. Do you see what a treasure the rascal overseer was depriving you of?

Firyulin (menacing the overseer): Monsieur Clement, you are a rogue.

Mme Firyulin: Mon cher! let us unite them; they are worthy of each other, and worthy of living with us.

Overseer: Have you really changed your mind about buying the carriage?

Firyulin: No, only I still have many people even without him, whereas I have need of a lackey who knows French to ride behind me.
(to Lukyan): Do you agree never to speak Russian?

Lukyan: I swear these are my last Russian words.

Buffoon (To Lukyan): Take care you don't make a mistake.

(to Firyulin): Do you see what a useful person he is to you?

Aria

Oh what fun

Has now begun!

No Russian word you'll hear,

Never fear!

Instead of simple Russian talk

In French he'll squawk!

Oh what fun

Has now begun! And when his noisy racket's
heard,

No one will understand a word.

Firyulin (to Lukyan): Well, mon ami! Marry her, mariez-vous, now I give you my permission.

Mme. Firyulin: I am very glad of it. They love each other so much that, on my honor, I felt sick on their account.

Trofim (bowing to Firyulin): Father . . .

Firyulin: What sort of creature is this who dares to call me Father? Maybe my father was your father, but I don't want to be in any such relation with such an animal. Don't dare to do it in the future.

Buffoon: You are getting in a rage because he doesn't know a word of French.

Trofim: Not I, the blood in me speaks, Afanasi.

Firyulin (to Lukyan and Anyuta): Well, you are happy now, I am glad of it. We are leaving, and you shall come to us in the city once you are married.

(Firyulin and Mme. Firyulin go off)

Buffoon (to overseer): Overseer — why don't you invite us to your wedding?

(the overseer goes off angrily)

* * * *

LAST SCENE

Buffoon, Lukyan, Anyuta, Trofim, and peasants

Buffoon: Now you see that when I want something, it gets done!

Lukyan: You have given me my life; be assured that I shall never forget your good act.

Anyuta: Nor I.

Trofim: Nor I.

Buffoon: What are you crying for? You should smile when the clown Afanasy is present. You know, on earth there is no need to grieve about anything, and never to die before one's time.

Tell me, why should life afflict us,
Though it's evil, through and through?
'Twas a trifle, true, that tricked us,
But a trifle saved us too.

Lukyan: What you've done for me shall never,
Nevermore forgotten be;
I shall realize forever
You gave back my life to me.

Anyuta (to Buffoon): I am in your debt, moreover,
That our misery is through,
(to Lukyan): Now I have my dearest lover
Back, and I belong to you.

Trofim: Afanasy, we are grateful
That Anyutshka still lives
Thanks to you, our master fateful
(Frenchman!) spares us and forgives.

Chorus: Tell me, why should life afflict us
Though it's evil, through and through?
'Twas a trifle, true, that tricked us,
But a trifle saved us too.

THE END

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THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

VOLUME TWENTY-TWO

AUGUST, 1944

THE SHAPE OF UNITED STATES-SOVIET TRADE, PAST AND FUTURE

, BY ERNEST C ROPES

WHEN IN 1918 the Soviet government established the first complete State monopoly of foreign trade, whereby that government should become the purchaser of all goods imported into the vast territories of former Tsarist Russia, and the distributor of all materials and products grown or manufactured within those territories, the outside world hesitated for several years to reopen trade dealings with the new State. It feared and distrusted this new commercial colossus, which on the one hand could become, in theory at least, the largest single buyer in the world of the goods it needed, and on the other, a seller that could, again in theory, break any competitor in the world market, by the mere process of offering at any price the materials it could produce in such abundance.

The history of Soviet foreign trade during the years 1918 to 1938 has often been written, by Russians and foreigners, and that history well deserves study. For it has been a laboratory in which new vessels, new instruments, new agencies and new methods were fashioned and tried, were discarded or modified, until the second World War forced a final adaptation of all foreign trade instrumentalities and principles, as it did of domestic manufacture and production, to one purpose — that of waging war on a thousand-mile front, against a ruthless enemy. It is a matter of general knowledge that the mechanism created by the Soviet government has stood the test and has functioned smoothly, and that its war-time practices have become a model for those of the other industrialized United Nations, notably England and the United States, for many years the bitter enemies of the system of government-controlled foreign trade.

This mechanism, this network of interlocking agencies, did not develop quickly. In fact, it was only after 20 years of experimentation that the final structure of the Soviet foreign trade monopoly was completed, years of "learning to trade," as Lenin instructed, and finding the way by which a Socialist government in business could satisfy its needs and meet its obligations in its dealings with the individual buyers and sellers in capitalist countries. It is unnecessary here to describe the steps by which, over the years, the "trade front" was planned, manned, deployed and established, or to list the so-called capitalistic devices that were adapted to the service of the socialist U.S.S.R. It is enough to name the agencies and their functions, their operation is simple to understand.

As is known to all students of international affairs, the Soviet Union manages a planned economy, by which all the economic operations of the country are designed, coordinated, regulated and executed. Part of the plan governs foreign trade, which is regarded as an instrument for the furthering of the economic development of the country. The administration of foreign trade is entrusted to the Commissariat for Foreign Trade, the "Vneshtorg," which, in close cooperation with the planning and financial authorities, buys abroad the goods designated for importation, and sells abroad the products set aside for exportation in sufficient quantity to cover the cost of the imports. Since, however, the handling of some hundred of millions of dollars worth of heterogeneous goods traversing the Soviet boundaries each way in an average year is a complicated process, involving many foreign markets, varying prices, shipping and railroad, even automobile and camel transport, and also basic changes of plan, because of modifications of needs or supplies of goods during the year, — a network of subordinate agencies has been created, on a functional basis, to carry on the actual operations of export and import transactions required to satisfy the needs of the Soviet economy, and to distribute the goods shipped to balance foreign accounts.

These agencies, called "export and import combines," are:

EXPORT COMBINES

Eksportilen Exports flax and hemp fibers, yarn, thread and linen, including handicraft linen.

Eksportiles Exports sawn timber, round and trimmed wood, hard and valuable wood and veneer.

Raznoeksport Exports casings, leather, wastes, and miscellaneous raw materials, minerals, silicates, rugs, tennis strings, leather, haberdashery, medicinal and technical herbs, licorice, chemicals, patent medicines, tobacco, tobacco products, and cotton waste and linters.

- Soyuznefteeksport* Exports petroleum and petroleum products.
- Soyuzpromeksport* Exports textiles, industrial chemicals, metals, fats, potassium and fertilizers, coal, apatite and its concentrates, iron and manganese ores, asbestos, magnesite, and platinum
- Soyuzpushnina* Exports furs and skins (raw, dressed, and dyed), and live animals.
- Tekhnooksport* Exports agricultural machinery and implements, sewing machines, bicycles, metals and metal articles, machine tools, automobiles, tractors and parts thereof, et cetera.

IMPORT COMBINES

- Mashinoimport* Imports heavy machinery, mining, metallurgical and transport equipment, ships, diesel engines, and power equipment.
- Raznoimport* Imports consumers' goods and miscellaneous articles.
- Stankoimport* Imports turning machines, milling machines, grinders, automatic and turret lathes, drilling and boring machines, and tools.
- Tekhnopromimport* Imports machinery for the chemical, food, and light industries, road machinery, precision instruments and apparatus, laboratory equipment, ball and roller bearings, automobiles, tractors, and parts thereof.

EXPORT-IMPORT COMBINES

- Eksportkholeb* Exports grains, oil seed cultures, food products, and general agricultural products, fish, fruits, and canned goods.
Imports rice, meats, and other agricultural products
- Soyuzkino* Exports and imports motion-picture films, photo-chemicals, and motion-picture equipment.
- Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga-Antikvariat* Exports new and old publications, printed music, office supplies, school accessories, and antiques.
Imports books, periodicals, office supplies, typewriters, accounting machines, handicraft articles, and precious stones.
Accepts foreign advertisements for insertion in Soviet periodicals.
- Promsyrrieimport* Exports cotton, chemicals, dyestuffs, essential oils, medicaments, et cetera.
Imports non-ferrous metals, fibers, rubber and cotton.
- Vostokintorg* (Combine for Trade with Afghanistan).
- Sovmongolvtorg* (Combine for Trade with Mongolia and Tana Tuva).
- Sovsintorg* (Combine for Trade with Sinkiang)
- Soyuzfoto* Exports and imports photographs and photo-illustrations.
- Note: This organization is an independent trust, and not under the supervision of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.
- Soviranturktorg* (Combine for Trade with Iran and Turkey).

To facilitate the work of these operating agencies, special freight and shipping agencies have also been created: the "Lenvneshttrans" to handle cargoes at Leningrad, the "Yuzhvneshtrans" to service boats

entering Black Sea ports, and the "Soyuzfrakht," which charters foreign bottoms to carry cargoes to or from Soviet ports. Marine insurance on Soviet cargoes in or out is a monopoly of the Black Sea and Baltic General Insurance Company, Ltd., domiciled in London.

How the Soviets Trade in the United States

The usual method by which the Commissariat for Foreign Trade obtains representation abroad is through a Trade Delegation (*Torgpred*), located in a foreign trading center, and possessing a status defined by treaty between the Soviet Union and the country concerned. Before the date of recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the United States, however, such representation was impossible. Hence a substitute was found in the creation of an American corporation, chartered in New York, which gradually, after 1924, absorbed all the activities of a number of smaller or specialized firms, such as the organs of the co-operatives, the cotton-buying syndicate, etc., and as the Amtorg Trading Corporation became the one official buying and selling agency of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade in Moscow. Legally, the Amtorg is the agent of the import and export combines, and as such immune from suit brought against the Soviet government. It is also, however, an American corporation, and is subject to suit and taxation in that capacity. Its stock is mostly held in escrow in Moscow, and its officers are always Soviet citizens, sent by Moscow to direct the operations of the corporation. It is manned by a selected personnel of Soviet technicians, familiar with Soviet requirements in their fields, and able, with the assistance of American engineers or salesmen, to satisfy the needs that are, in the opinion of the Moscow agencies, best covered by United States products. Specialists in Soviet products, similarly, study and develop markets for Russian goods in the United States, and have in the past 20 years sold large quantities of manganese and chrome ores, furs, sausage casings, pigs' bristles, medicinal herbs, and many other standard goods for which Russia has for many years been an important source.

In the early years of the Amtorg, it had to proceed slowly, first as the monopolistic agency of a foreign government, and second as a buyer whose credit standing had not been established. From the beginning it proved impossible to cover Soviet purchases in the United States by sales of Soviet products in American markets; these purchases, mostly of cotton, semi-manufactured steels, and factory equipment, first for reconstruction and later for new plants and for the expansion of those previously rebuilt, rose from year to year, reaching well over \$100,000,000 in 1930 and 1931. In the beginning

terms of cash before shipment were demanded by American sellers, and were obtained. But, as the first Five-Year Plan of industrial development of the U.S.S.R. progressed, and the dependence of the Soviet builders and manufacturers on foreign countries for materials, machines and equipment, and technical assistance increased, Soviet buyers were obliged to ask for credit on their foreign purchases.

This credit they readily obtained in European countries, beginning with Germany, and eventually including 16 countries. American sellers, however (with one exception, the General Electric Company) held out for credits of a maximum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, and adopted the habit of discounting Amtorg acceptances through non-banking channels, which were available, at a high rate of discount, in New York, London, and on the European continent. The new firms engaged in this discounting business, as it turned out, ran no risks, for all Amtorg bills were met promptly, and in some cases dates were anticipated. But Russian orders continued to be considered speculative, though decreasingly so, and when Soviet business dropped off in the early '30s, the discount rates likewise fell. By 1933, Amtorg credit was so securely established that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation felt justified in assuming the risk of financing the sale of \$4,500,000 worth of cotton out of the large stocks in the country; this sum was duly repaid as agreed. Moreover, the Soviet government, by forcing exports, succeeded in clearing off its large unfavorable trade balance, and was able for a number of years to maintain an excess of goods exports, while at the same time steadily increasing its gold production and reserves. In 1933, also, the United States government recognized that of the Soviet Union, and established formal diplomatic relations.

By this time many American firms had become regular purveyors of machines and equipment to Soviet manufacturing agencies, and had provided technical assistance to many new and growing branches of Soviet industry. A glance at the list below of American companies undertaking such contract work, as published by the Amtorg in April, 1930, will show a few of the major industrial undertakings in the Soviet Union that benefited by American technical knowledge, patents, and methods. There were also contracts with several thousand individual engineers and specialists, who worked in the U.S.S.R. for periods of 1 to 10 years, and introduced American methods and machines into mining, railroad transport, irrigation, plant construction, hydroelectric installations, and the petroleum, glass, rubber, paper and other industries. It is not too much to say that the keynote of Soviet industrial development from 1930 on, was Americanization, or as the Russians sometimes put it, "Fordization." Quantity and

mass production, in huge plants, has remained a Soviet goal ever since.

LIST OF AMERICAN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CONTRACTS WITH SOVIET ORGANIZATIONS

Akron Rubber Reclaiming Company, Akron, Ohio — Technical assistance to the Soviet Rubber Trust in the construction of a reclamation plant.

Allen and Garcia Company, Chicago, Illinois — Technical assistance to the Donets Coal Trust

Austin Company, Cleveland, Ohio — Technical assistance in construction of the Nizhni Novgorod (Gorki) Automobile Plant.

Arthur J Brandt, Detroit, Michigan — Expansion of the Amo (Moscow) automobile plant for the Avtotrest (Automobile Trust).

Brown Lipe Gear Company, Syracuse, New York — Technical Assistance to Avtotrest.

Burrell-Mase Engineering Company, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania — Rationalization and expansion of the gas and gasoline industry for Grozneft (Grozny Oil Trust).

Hugh L. Cooper and Company, New York City — Consulting engineers on the construction of the Dnieper River hydro-electric power plant in the Ukraine

Arthur P. Davis, Lyman Bishop and Associates — Consulting engineers on the irrigation projects of the Sredazvodkhov (Central Asiatic Water Economy).

Frank E. Dickie, Technical Assistance for Aluminstroi (Bureau for Construction of Aluminum plants).

DuPont de Nemours and Company, New York City — Technical assistance in erecting fertilizer plants.

Electric Auto-lite Company, Toledo, Ohio — Technical assistance to United Electrical Industries in production of electrical equipment for automobiles and tractors.

Hardy S. Ferguson and Company, New York City — Technical assistance to Severoles (Northern Lumber Trust) for construction of the paper mill near Archangel.

Ford Motor Company, Detroit, Michigan — Technical assistance in the construction and operation of the Nizhni Novgorod automobile factory.

Frey Engineering Company, Chicago, Illinois — Consulting engineers for the Gipromez (State Institute for the Designing of Steel Mills) for plants to be reorganized or constructed in various parts of the country.

Harry D. Gibbs — Technical assistance in the Soviet aniline industry.

Goodman Manufacturing Company, Chicago, Illinois — Technical assistance in the construction of a factory to produce coal cutters.

Hercules Motor Company, Canton, Ohio — Assistance in the production of engines for trucks in the Amo automobile plant.

John J. Higgins, Technical assistance to the G.E.T. (State Electro-Technical Trust).

International General Electric Company, New York — Technical assistance in the Soviet Electrical Industry and exchange of patents with the State Electro-Technical Trust.

Irving Air Chute Company, Incorporated — Buffalo, New York — Technical assistance in aviation industry.

Albert Kahn, Incorporated, Detroit, Michigan — Designing of buildings for the Stalingrad tractor factory, also contract to render general consultation services to Supreme Economic Council as architects on industrial construction.

Lockwood-Green and Company, New York City — Technical assistance in the reorganization and reconstruction of existing textile mills and in the design and construction of new plants.

Arthur G. McKee and Company, Cleveland, Ohio — Technical assistance to Magnitostroi (Bureau of Construction of Magnitogorsk Steel Mill) in the construction of the Magnitogorsk mill in the Urals.

McDonald Engineering Company, Chicago, Illinois — Construction of industrial plants.

Mechanical Manufacturing Company, Chicago, Illinois — Technical assistance in the meat-packing industry.

Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, Newport News, Virginia — Technical assistance in the construction of turbines

Nitrogen Engineering Company, New York City — Technical Assistance in constructing and operating a large ammonia fertilizer factory.

Oglebay Norton Company, Cleveland, Ohio — Technical assistance to Yurt (Southern Ore Trust) in the design, construction and operation of iron mines.

Radio Corporation of America — Exchange of patents and technical information with the Soviet Weak Current Trust.

Radiore Company, Los Angeles, California — Technical assistance to the United Non-Ferrous Metals Industries of the U.S.S.R. in location of ore deposits.

Roberts and Schaefer Company, Chicago, Illinois — Technical assistance to the Donets Coal Trust.

C. F. Seabrook Company, New York City — Technical advisors for road-building in the Moscow district.

Seiberling Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio — Designing and assistance in construction of a rubber tire plant at Yaroslavl for Rezintrest (Soviet Rubber Trust).

Southwestern Engineering Corporation, Los Angeles, California — Assistance to the United Non-Ferrous Metals Industries in the design, construction and operation of concentration plants.

Sperry Gyroscope Company, Brooklyn, New York — Technical assistance in the manufacture of marine instruments.

Stuart, James and Cooke, Incorporated, New York City — Technical assistance in the coal industry.

Timken-Detroit Axle Company, Detroit, Michigan — Technical assistance to Avtotrest.

Westvaco Chlorine Products, Incorporated, Charleston, West Virginia — Aid in the production of chlorine for United Chemical Industries of the U S S R.

Archer E. Wheeler and Associates, New York City — Technical aid to United Non-Ferrous Metals Industries.

J. C. White Engineering Company, New York City — Consulting services to Svir hydroelectric plant, near Leningrad.

Norman D. Wimpler, Technical Assistance to the United Non-Ferrous Metals Industries.

W. A. Wood, Technical assistance to non-ferrous metals industry.

As has been mentioned previously, American exports to the U S S.R., after the peak years of 1930 and 1931, dropped sharply in one year below the imports of Russian goods into the United States. But this state of affairs did not last long, and Amtorg orders soon began to climb again. American products had established themselves in the Soviet Union, and Soviet imports from the United States gradually came to exceed those from any other country, even Germany and Great Britain, which had been the largest suppliers of the Soviet market, and the best markets for Soviet products. Imports of Russian products into the United States remained low, however, and the old problem of payment for American goods bought arose again. But Soviet credit was now prime, and Soviet foreign exchange resources, including gold, of which the Soviet Union had become a large producer, were ample to defray the cost of the goods the Amtorg was instructed to purchase in the American market. These included a duplication and expansion of lines in which Russian buyers regarded the United States as the best source, after years of experience, and instruction by American experts working in the Soviet Union. In many Soviet industries American models and practices had become standard, and Soviet engineers often cabled orders to "Duplicate Order No. _____," or specified "50 more machine-tools as ordered _____." Some 2,000 American firms were now accustomed to dealing with Soviet buyers, whom they now found very different from those of earlier years, and better acquainted both with the needs of Russian industries and the capacity of American manufacturers to meet these needs.

Nor was the matter of payment difficult of adjustment, for the Amtorg very soon relaxed its pressure for credits, and adopted a uniform procedure of payment of an invoice 45 days after shipment of

the goods. The Soviet mechanism for financing their purchases abroad, in itself a complicated but efficient machine, functioned in such a way that the funds to cover a particular invoice were cabled, usually from London, to the Chase National Bank in New York in ample time to meet a date of payment; and, as before, no defaults were recorded. Conditions imposed were sometimes considered onerous by American sellers, especially one requiring arbitration of any disputes that might arise, after delivery of goods, by a commission set up for the purpose in Moscow. But this point was usually covered by inspection and acceptance of goods by the Amtorg or its agent at the factory or at dockside: in this way serious disputes were mostly avoided. American firms found Soviet buyers scrupulously exact in demanding and themselves offering execution of a contract as finally negotiated; and with good will on both sides the trade proceeded with few difficulties.

The establishment of diplomatic relations made it possible for the United States government to negotiate in 1935 a commercial agreement with the U.S.S.R. similar to the trade agreements previously made with a number of other countries. The first agreement, for one year, was followed by others, each of the same term, until the latest, negotiated in 1942, which runs for an indefinite term. These agreements have reduced duties on a number of items of Soviet export to this country, but have had little effect on the total volume of Soviet goods sold in the United States.

The year 1938 marked a break in the even flow of United States-U.S.S.R. trade, in that it was the last year when exports still represented the peaceful expansion of Soviet industry; thereafter they reflect the Soviet preparation for defense, and in many respects a change in character. The table on the following page indicates the development of this inter-wars trade.

The trade between the United States and the U.S.S.R. in 1939 did not show in the commodity classifications any great change from peacetime. This condition is probably due in part to the Soviet-German trade treaty, which led to a temporary increase of Soviet orders in Germany. But it was also a consequence, as has become plain since, of the Soviet policy to continue to develop the industries for the equipment of which they were dependent on foreign countries; only from that time on these industries were pointed toward the manufacture of munitions, tanks, armored cars, artillery and explosives. The same American machine-tools could work for war as were necessary for the production of automobiles, tractors and combines. The oil-well drilling and petroleum-refining machinery was necessary in

war or peace Actual American exports dropped slightly in value, from \$69,600,000 in 1938 to \$51,800,000 in 1939, imports from the U.S.S.R., however, rose by \$1,000,000, from \$23,500,000 to \$24,500,000.

With 1940 exports from the United States took a sudden jump, to be repeated in 1941, and every year since. In spite of the Soviet-Finish war, which caused several "unofficial embargos" to be imposed,

UNITED STATES IMPORTS FROM AND EXPORTS TO THE U S S R , 1920-38

(Values in millions of dollars)

	Imports for consumption ¹		Domestic exports		Excess of exports (+) excess of imports (-)
	Value	Percent of total U S imports	Value	Percent of total U S exports	
1920	12 5	2	28 6	4	+16.1
1921	1 0	— ²	15 1	3	+14 1
1922	5	— ²	19 9	5	+19 4
1923	1 4	— ²	4 5	1	+ 3 1
1924	8 1	2	40 9	9	+32 8
1925	13 2	3	68.9	1 4	+55 7
1926	14 1	.3	49 7	1 1	+35 6
1927	12 9	3	63 6	1 3	+50 7
1928	14 0	.3	72 5	1 4	+58 5
1929	22 6	.5	83 9	1 6	+61 3
1930	24 4	.8	113 4	3 0	+89 0
1931	13 2	6	103 3	4 3	+90 1
1932	9 7	7	12 5	8	+ 2 8
1933	12 1	.8	8 9	5	- 3 2
1934	12 0	.7	15 0	7	+ 3 0
1935	17 7	9	24 4	1 1	+ 6 7
1936	21 4	9	33.4	1 4	+12 0
1937	27 2	9	42 8	1 3	+15 6
1938	23 5	1 2	69 6	2 3	+46.1

¹ General imports prior to 1934.

² Less than 0 05 percent

exports to the U.S.S.R. rose to \$82,100,000, though imports fell to \$22,300,000. And this process continued through 1941, the latest year of published United States statistics, and the first year of actual war in the Soviet Union. A study of the trade in these two years, as presented in the next table, gives many indications of the emphasis on goods for war needs and supply. The successive reports of the Lend-Lease Administration, which took contro¹ over exports in November, 1941, carry the story further.

UNITED STATES EXPORTS TO THE U.S.S.R (1940 AND 1941)

(Value, thousand dollars)

	1940	1941
Total Domestic Exports	82,087	105,310
Lard	—	411
Sole leather	2,180	3,343
Boots and shoes.	—	488
Rubber and manufactures	95	600
Automobile tires	18	474
Other casings and tubes	(x)	106
Cotton, duck and tire fabric	—	75
Cordage, except of cotton or jute	—	14
Wool cloth and dress goods	—	168
Vulcanized fiber sheets	1	10
Petroleum and products	1,935	11,116
Anti-knock compounds	1	856
Aviation motor fuels	—	6,880
Other motor fuel	1,850	1,750
Abrasives .	196	737
Electrodes for furnaces	42	78
Tin plate and taggers tin .	509	698
Barbed wire	—	927
Ferro-alloys	276	18
Aluminum plates, sheets, bars	—	955
Copper, refined .	14,026	1,007
Copper wire and cable	7	1,106
Brass plates and sheets	5,005	744
Zinc slabs, plates, blocks . .	—	89
Molybdenum ore and concentrates	241	1,777
Electrical machinery and apparatus	3,143	6,201
Motors, starters, and controllers	1,210	1,476
Searchlights and airport beacons	52	2,708
Radio apparatus .	142	273
Telephone instruments	(x)	201
Excavators and power shovels	2,904	612
Mining, well, and pumping machinery	3,102	6,844
Metal-working machinery	23,879	6,377
Ball bearings.	9	61
Roller bearings .	101	232
Air compressors	331	848
Motor trucks and buses	145	11,901
Freight cars	343	1,296
Coal-tar products	10	394
Toluene	—	285
Phenol	—	91
Ethyl fluid	— ^a	376 ^a
Industrial chemicals	1	230
Military exports	271	28,131

(x) Less than 500

^a Classification established July 1, 1941.

UNITED STATES IMPORTS FROM THE U S S R (1940 AND 1941)

(Value, thousand dollars)

	1940	1941
Total Imports for Consumption	22,274	29,127
Sausage casings	50	253
Caviar	44	41
Crab meat .	300	416
Furs undressed	12,942	21,620
Fox, except silver or black	2,112	3,969
Persian lamb and caracul	5,004	5,686
Squirrel	1,800	4,050
Plates, mats, linings, of squirrel	932	1,501
Bristles	261	285
Licorice root.	209	654
Peppermint oil	94	205
Pine needle oil	103	61
Tobacco, cigarette leaf	859	696
Manganese ore	3,948	393
Santonin and salts	52	216
Hops	444	1,403
Animal hair	138	78

Lend-Lease Shipments

The 15th report of this Administration, covering the period from March 1941 through March 31, 1944, lists shipments of war material, by groups, to the Soviet Union from December 1941 through February, 1944. The total value of all shipments is \$4,739,000,000, less than 25 percent of all Lend-Lease allocations. Of this amount \$2,532,-155,000 is classed as "Munitions," including ordnance and ammunition, aircraft, tanks and motor vehicles, and watercraft. Industrial materials and products make up an additional \$1,341,449,000, and agricultural products account for the balance of \$865,795,000. Items mentioned include 8,800 airplanes, 4,500 tanks, 190,000 trucks and 66,000 other vehicles, 200,000 tons of explosives, 7,000,000 pairs of army boots, 840,000 tons of petroleum products, and 1,450,000 tons of steel. Rails, locomotives, flat-cars, and sets of engine and car wheels and axles have supplemented Soviet rolling-stock in keeping the railroads back of the front line functioning at war-time capacity. Field telephones (275,000) and telephone wire (850,000 miles) have helped maintain army communications. Steel and many thousands of tons of non-ferrous metals have added to the Soviet supply of these materials for their war industries; and besides boots, the Red Army has received almost 30,000,000 yards of woolen cloth and 60,000,000 yards of cotton goods. A final striking item is \$200,000,000 worth of ~~can~~ machine-tools, 48.8 percent of Lend-Lease shipments to all receiving countries

Lend-Lease has also supplied to the U.S.S.R. industrial equipment

of permanent as well as war-time value. In this group are a complete automobile tire factory, several electric stations ready to set up, and almost \$50,000,000 worth of petroleum refinery equipment. All this plant capacity was or is being erected or installed under the direction of American engineers, and Soviet engineers will be trained and ready to take over when the plants are ready. While, as the Report states, "By far the greater part of the equipment used by the Red Army has been produced in Soviet factories," the materials and products supplied by the United States have been "of important assistance," and in some respects and fields have been of decisive value.

The Future of Trade Between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

While the emphasis has been laid up to this point on the trade before and during the second World War, and it is not yet possible to document the postwar trade in any detail, it would seem within the limits of reasonable prediction to project into the future certain aspects of the trade as it has developed in peace and war, and draw conclusions that can be regarded as reasonable.

The first such conclusion is based on the direction taken in the past by Soviet planned industry, and on the close connection in certain branches with American manufacturers, engineers, technicians, and managers. It would be interesting to study the list of American technical aid contracts presented on pages 2 and 3, and to learn how many of these contracts have carried through to the outbreak of war, and are being discussed by Soviet planners for resumption when the war ends. As this course is impossible, recourse must be had to a survey of Soviet industries already well started and bound to expand when peace comes, in which American models have been used and American techniques, processes and equipment utilized.

The first of such industries was the automobile industry, which is all-American, from original designs and models to the latest pre-war cars and trucks. A second is the manufacture of tractors, again American in every detail. And a conspicuous third is the electrical industry where the Dneprostroi project, supervised by Americans and equipped with American turbines and machinery, is the model for the huge stations now building or planned along the Volga, in Central Asia, or near Lake Baikal. To these may be added coal-mining, now being prosecuted from the Moscow Basin south of Moscow, the recovered Donets Basin, the Ural fields, the two Caucasian mines, Karaganda in Kazakhstan, to Kuznetsk, and as far east as Bureya and the Suchan field near Vladivostok. Coal is where you find it, of course, but Soviet geologists seem to have a knack for finding deposits where they want to, and only in recent years have started to mine as far north as

Pechora and as far south as Tashkent. And wherever coal is mined regularly and in quantity, American methods, from the construction of the shafts to the mechanization of the underground workings, are in general use.

With the new war-time developments in radar, electronics, and television, American firms are practically certain to re-establish their relations of many pre-war years with the Soviet agencies in these fields, which presumably have also not been idle, and may have contributions of their own to these sciences to offer. American aid in the expansion of the Soviet telephone network has already been offered and accepted, and this cooperation may easily last for a number of years.

In railroad transport in the U.S.S.R., American methods, rolling stock, freight and car handling techniques, signal systems, and many other recommendations of American engineers have been adopted as standard for Soviet railroads; and locomotive and car-building plants in the U.S.S.R. use many American prototypes as models for their own products, though themselves pioneering in special fields.

From the early '20's on, the Soviet petroleum industry has drawn heavily on American scientific technical, and mechanical knowledge in the location, development and exploitation of the tremendous oil resources of the country. A volume could be written on this instance alone of cooperation between American and Soviet industries in the same field of activity, beginning in 1924, when the head of the Soviet oil industry spent a number of months in the United States, and later published a voluminous study of the whole American oil industry, from prospecting to production of high-octane gasoline; and ending with the erection in the U.S.S.R., as already noted, during the present war, of several of the latest American units for producing aviation gasoline for Soviet army planes.

In many chemical fields American engineers have supplemented and even replaced German or other foreign technicians in designing and constructing the large plants erected at Khibiny, Solikamsk, Berezniki and elsewhere in the last 15 years. Basic in the growing Soviet coke-chemical industry are the batteries of Koppers coke-ovens, built by American engineers.

Perhaps the foodstuffs industry in the Soviet Union is the best example of variety of the products in the manufacture of which American practice is followed and American equipment is used. Canning machinery for meats, vegetables and fish, packing house machinery, turning out meats and meat products; ice-cream machinery; machinery for handling dairy products; incubators for poultry-farms; even machines for corn-flakes manufacture: — these have all been adopted

in a country-wide program for improvement and greater supply and distribution of food products. And naturally, American packaging machinery has been called for to pack and preserve a constantly lengthening list of products.

Well before the war, relations were established between American steel mill designers and their Soviet opposite-numbers, and the two iron and steel plants most recently completed, at Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk, were built on American lines, and later equipped with American continuous sheet rolling mills of the most modern type. Thus the three foundation stones of modern industry, coal, oil, and steel, on which all Soviet industrial development in turn is based, are American in most characteristics and design. Soviet non-ferrous metal mines and smelters have also leaned heavily on American engineers and practice, particularly in the copper and gold industries.

And last but by no means of no importance, American construction methods, saving of time, labor and materials, have for 5 years been the goal of Soviet builders, who before the war had made great strides toward reaching that goal; the effort to reach it has continued during the war, and has produced new factories and housing in the districts where Soviet war industries are located to accommodate the millions of workers who were evacuated eastward with the equipment of the plants where they worked.

On the strength of the instances described of American-Soviet co-operation in the past, it does not seem unreasonable as a second conclusion to hope for, even expect, a revival after the war not only of shipments of machine-tools, oil well and refinery machinery, and factory equipment for many lines of industry, but also of the Soviet contracts for American technical aid, first in rebuilding the shattered Donets Basin industrial and electric power facilities, and later in the expansion of all Soviet production to reach the goals of the Fifteen Year Plan adopted in 1941. It must be remembered that the announced intention of the Soviet government is to "reach and overtake" the United States in the production of all goods and services that make up the sum total of a modern industrial economy. The Soviet designers and engineers are not imitators: rather they are adapters of the best in foreign technology to the needs of their own vast country and growing population. If they decide that their goals can best be reached by a renewal and strengthening of the pre-war ties with American industry, their model in so many respects, the common war effort may merge into a common peace effort, which will benefit both countries and through them the rest of the world.

BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE,
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

TOLSTOI'S UNIVERSITY YEARS¹

By ERNEST J. SIMMONS

WHEN Aunt Pelageya Yushkova finished appropriating "necessities" for the journey and the future existence of the Tolstoi children (Nikolai, Dmitri, Sergei, Lyovochka, and Masha) at Kazan, Yasnaya Polyana looked as though the Golden Horde had ravaged it. An immense amount of household equipment, and carpenters, tailors, mechanics, cooks, and upholsterers from among the skilled serfs were sent on ahead. The "complete orphans" with their various attendants and staples for the road set out, accompanied by a long train of carriages and carts. The brothers grieved at parting with Auntie Tatyana.² Their "second mother's" love and long service gave her a stronger moral claim to the children than that of their legal guardian, Aunt Pelageya, who always treated her with polite hostility. Aunt Pelageya could never forget that Auntie Tatyana had once received a proposal from her husband, who still spoke with enthusiasm of "Toinette," and indiscreetly recalled before his wife how "*elle était charmante!*"

For the children the trip to Kazan in September, 1841, was a prolonged picnic. They halted frequently in the woods and fields on the way, gathered mushrooms, and bathed in the streams and ponds. On one occasion Lyovochka's urge to be original got the better of him. When the coachman stopped to adjust the harness, Lyovochka leaped out of the carriage and dashed ahead at full speed. Every time they attempted to catch up with him, he strained himself to the utmost, and the carriage overtook him only when he was in a thoroughly exhausted condition.

The happy travelers finally reached Kazan and were all lodged in the spacious Yushkov house, on the site of which a Soviet school stands today. Kazan, a thriving old river port, rich in an ancient history of fierce Tatar-Russian strife, was at that time a town of less than a hundred thousand inhabitants. Mongol influences still waged an equal battle with Slavic, and a typically small-town society tried desperately to assume metropolitan airs and culture. Here Lyovochka was to spend the next five and a half years of his life.

Through their connections with the Yushkovs, the Tolstoi brothers had a clear title to membership in the ultra-aristocratic so-

¹ This article is based on material collected for a biography of Tolstoi to be published by Oxford University Press.

² Tatyana Alexandrovna Ergolskaya, a distant relative and the beloved foster-mother of the Tolstoi children.

ciety of Kazan. Aunt Pelageya had married V. I. Yushkov, a well-to-do landowner. Her vanity, dearth of brains, and excessive sentimentality were somewhat compensated by kindness and a deep but conventional religious feeling that eventually led her to retire to a nunnery. There was nothing religious about her husband. His dignified black moustache, whiskers, and spectacles gave an air of respectability to the satyr-like traits of his nature, but his weakness for the fair sex ultimately brought about a separation between him and his wife.

As the daughter of a former governor of the province — even though his memory was not exactly venerated by the local citizenry — Aunt Pelageya's house was one of the social centres of the town, and she cultivated only the "very best" people. With such an experienced preceptress, the Tolstoi boys would soon be much in demand in the *beau monde*, quite a new experience for them.

The immediate problem was the brothers' future education, one of the reasons for coming to Kazan. The town boasted an excellent university, not on a par with those of Petersburg and Moscow, but sufficiently reputable to attract scholars from Western Europe. Nikolai had failed promotion at the end of his second year at Moscow University, and he transferred to the Philosophy Faculty at Kazan. Two years later (1843), Sergei and Dmitri matriculated in the same field.

Meanwhile Lyovochka, too young to enter the university, had plenty of leisure to contemplate a career. His slight experience with formal education had not whetted his appetite for more. Conventional book knowledge seemed an unnecessary obstacle to his grandiose schemes for the future. Aunt Pelageya, who sincerely wished his happiness, offered him a variety of advice. He ought to plan his career, she said, so as to become an aide-de-camp, and preferably an aide-de-camp to the emperor. Her greatest joy, however, would be to see him married to an heiress and the owner of as many serfs as possible. Soon this religiously-minded but worldly lady — herself the purest of beings, Tolstoi declared — would strongly urge him to have relations with a married woman, on the principle that "Nothing so forms a young man as an intimacy with a woman of good breeding."

Not all of this well-intentioned counsel was wasted, but still the university inevitably loomed before him, like some desert through which he must pass in order to reach green fields beyond. For he accepted his aunt's final advice to enter the university with the notion of preparing for a diplomatic career. Perhaps his decision was partly influenced by the fact that he would have to attend the Faculty of Oriental Languages, one of the most difficult and distinguished fields in the university.

Lyovochka busily set to work under the general supervision of his tutor St. Thomas, who had come to Kazan with the family, to prepare himself for the entrance examinations. Special teachers were also employed, and he studied Arabic and Turko-Tatar languages in the Kazan gymnasium. Finally, in 1844, he was ready for the eventful May 29, when he would take his first test to prove his fitness to enter the University.

II

St. Thomas accompanied his tutee to the examination hall. They drove up in a phaeton behind a smart trotter, as befitted the occasion. The sixteen-year-old Lyovochka, arrayed in dazzling white linen and a dress coat that he wore for the first time, was a model of sartorial perfection. As he glanced around at the comparatively shabby appearance of most of his fellow candidates, he grew self-conscious and ashamed of his conspicuous attire, and quickly took refuge in a feeling of superiority.

The first examination was in religion. That very morning he had walked along the shore of the lake, alternately reading his catechism for this examination and praying to God to help him pass it. And the thought had suddenly flashed through his mind that everything in the catechism was a lie. Fortunately, the good Archimandrite Gabriel who questioned him knew nothing of this momentary apostasy. Besides, he had a reputation as an easy examiner, and Lyovochka experienced no difficulty in receiving a strong "four."³ The next day's tests, however, jarred his self-confidence badly. His average in universal and Russian history was a flat "one," but then history had always seemed a "most boresome and laborious subject" to the future writer of historical fiction. Nor did the "one" he earned in geography and statistics appear very auspicious in the light of his projected career. The future diplomat, when asked to name the ports of France, could not think of a single city. Yet in such difficult subjects as Arabic and Turko-Tatar he did brilliantly, and in French he distinguished himself with a "five plus." In German also, perhaps thanks to the persistent efforts of kind Fyodor Ivanovich, his old tutor in that language, he obtained a "five," and in English a "four." But his dismal work in history, geography, and statistics, along with a wretched "two" in Latin, proved to be fatal; the dreaded "refused" appeared on his final report.

Lyovochka did not allow failure to discourage him on this occasion,

³ Grading was on the basis of five to one, and would correspond roughly to our system of A to E. A=5, B=4; C=3, D=2; E=1.

for a hankering after the special privileges and gay social life of the university student had taken possession of him. He applied for re-examination in the subjects failed, and a little application enabled him to pass them. In the autumn of 1844 he matriculated at Kazan University.

At last a "man," no longer under the thumb of a tutor, Leo Tolstoi (for so he should now be called in his newly found maturity) eagerly looked forward to joining the great and noble company of scholars. With a feeling of elation he dressed in his new student uniform, with its glittering gilt buttons, cocked hat, and a sword on his left hip, he received his own allowance and a trap with a spirited brown trotter for his private use. No doubt, he also took up cigarette smoking, which was then the height of fashion for a young dandy. With money in his pocket and joy in his heart, he drove to his first class, hoping to meet a policeman on the way who would honor him with the customary salute to students.

Tolstoi's initial enthusiasm for the university quickly diminished as his interest in the social aspects of student life increased. Often he failed to attend lectures, and at the mid-term examinations he did so badly that permission to return was denied him. This failure was more of a shock than he cared to admit. The glamor of his new uniform had not worn off. Nikolai had graduated in 1844, and Sergei and Dmitri, although not brilliant, had been advanced to the third year. At the moment he wished to emulate his brothers. A happy alternative was suggested: he could forget his diplomatic career and transfer to the Faculty of Jurisprudence. Had not all his lazy aristocratic acquaintances entered this field? It was notoriously easy; "a man must be a fool who cannot be a jurist" was the way the students dismissed it. At the beginning of the next academic year (1845) Tolstoi was safely established in the Faculty of Jurisprudence.

This faculty was the scandal of the university and an ancient object of student ridicule. Its professors were mostly crotchety German pedants who mangled the Russian language and won for themselves that pitiful kind of academic fame acquired by practicing all manner of eccentricities. Students from various faculties went to their lectures simply to be amused by their queer behavior. They would uproariously applaud funny Professor Kambeck, who began his course every year by shouting in atrocious Russian: "Roman Law! A capital R! A capital L! And also a period!"

Despite the prevailing atmosphere of levity in his new faculty, Tolstoi admits that during this year he began for the first time to take a serious interest in his studies. A few of the subjects, especially crimi-

nal law, inspired him to make some effort, and he attended with regularity the lectures of one or two of the most brilliant professors. Although he did poorly in the mid-year examinations, he acquitted himself very well in the finals and was advanced to the second year. For one with his intellectual interests, however, the third-rate Faculty of Jurisprudence offered little mental stimulation, nor could it compete at this time with his passion for social activity.

III

The aristocratic society that Tolstoi frequented in Kazan was fabulous for its hospitality. Invitations were unnecessary in this closed circle. Friends visited each other freely, remained for dinner, chatted, and went home for a brief rest. In the evening they would be off to a ball, theatre, or concert, at the conclusion of which a Lucullan feast was sure to be served at some one's house. Guests rarely left before five or six in the morning, slept till noon, and began the whole procedure over again.

As an eligible titled young bachelor with the best of connections, Count Leo Tolstoi was much sought after in this society. The three brothers (Nikolai had entered the army in 1844) had by now taken an apartment of their own and lived in style. Each had a serving boy, a luxury that Aunt Pelageya had foolishly insisted upon. With characteristic aplomb, Tolstoi, now seventeen, had already classified society and determined his exact relation to each division. People fell into two broad groups: *comme il faut* and *comme il ne faut pas*. Inherent snobbery dictated the classification and his own preference. Like Sergei, he wished to belong to those who were *comme il faut*, for they spoke excellent French, always had clean nails, and knew how to bow, dance, and converse with ease. What he most admired in this social class was its indifference to everything and its constant expression of elegant and contemptuous ennui. All others were merely boors, *common*, and besides, they wore untidy boots, a fault he could not abide.⁴

Although to be *comme il faut* seemed to him the height of human perfection, young Tolstoi had a positive incapacity for it. His failure caused him endless grief at this time. Much of the effort that should have been expended on studies was devoted to acquiring those graces which would enable him to shine at the dinner parties and balls of Kazan aristocracy. One look in the mirror would upset all his hopes. The face of a simple peasant stared back at him, and his big hands

⁴ Tolstoi devotes Chapter XXXI of *Youth* to his adolescent fervor to be *comme il faut*

and feet seemed downright shameful. His muscular physique (he was practicing gymnastics daily in the hope of becoming the strongest man in the world) was not well-proportioned, and clothes somehow never set him off as neatly as they did Sergei.

Tolstoi tried to make a virtue of such handicaps, and when this failed, he took refuge in queer and original behavior, the customary retreat of the social misfit. To be outstanding was his aim, if he could not gain attention by natural graces, he would do it by calculated rudeness. When all talked, he was haughtily silent. If he elected to speak, he eschewed the usual empty compliments of fine society and endeavored to impress people by a certain impolite frankness. "Old inhabitants of Kazan," writes one of them, "remember him at all the balls, evening parties, and gatherings of fashionable society, invited everywhere, always dancing, but not in the least pleasing to these worldly ladies as were his rivals among the aristocratic students; they always observed in him a stiffness and self-consciousness." One of his rivals remarked: "We called him the 'bear,' the 'philosopher' Lyovochka, awkward and always embarrassed"⁵

The "bear" was a highly sensitive young animal, however, and his failure to achieve social success pained him deeply. As a participant in fashionable spectacles, where some talent rather than *politesse* was more in demand, Tolstoi appears to have done well. The local newspaper records that he and Sergei acted in amateur theatricals staged at the vice-governor's on behalf of the orphaned children of Kazan. On another charitable occasion, at the university auditorium, with all the town's notable people present, Tolstoi took an important part in one of a series of *tableaux-vivants*, entitled "The Suitor's Proposal." With the usual fondness of the small-town newspaper for unnecessary detail, the reporter describes the scene: "The old fisherman caught the young man in his net and presented him to his daughter. The sturdy simpleton (Count L. N. Tolstoi) respectfully stood erect, placing his hands behind his back. He posed. . . . The father chuckled him under the chin, and with a naïvely cunning smile exchanged glances with his daughter who in confusion lowered her eyes. The effect of this picture was extraordinary, — three times the audience demanded its repetition, and for a long time they thundered with applause. Best of all in the tableau was A. A. de Plani [lecturer in French]; extremely unaffected was also the suitor, Count L. N. Tolstoi."⁶

⁵ N. P. Zagoskin, "Graf L. N. Tolstoi i ego studenčeskie gody," *Istoricheski vestnik*, LV (1894), p. 100

⁶ *Kazanskije gubernskie vedomosti* (1846), No. 18

IV

Of course, success with fashionable ladies was one of the requisites of being truly *comme il faut*. Here again Tolstoi bungled. Marriageable girls in Kazan high society found him a rather boring cavalier and a poor dancer. His shyness, alternating with moments of boorish behavior and bursts of conversation that was intended to be strikingly original, bewildered and even frightened these young things. If he were inclined to put into practice his aunt's advice to form a liaison with a fashionable married woman, he would have been unable to survive the preliminaries of introduction. He ogled these ladies of quality from a safe distance, fell in love, and imagined scenes of delightful intimacies with them. But even the offer of an introduction to one of these imaginary victims terrified him, as though he were convinced that by mere acquaintance she would at once become aware of all his shameful thoughts. To his inordinately shy mind these fine ladies seemed clothed in impregnable triple bronze. How he wished to be like that Lovelace of a brother, Sergei, who seemed able to take with an easy grace all the good things that life offered him.

Yet Tolstoi's passions in his youth, as later, ran high. And the morals of young men of the gentry were, by prescription, singularly unconstrained. Wild oats were to be sown early under the common delusion that they would not have to be sown again. Had not parents served up to his father, at the age of sixteen, a pretty little serf girl for the good of his health? If Tolstoi's unattractive appearance and gauche manners could not win him success among Kazan's marriageable girls or women of quality, then he would take the other way out.

Not much is known about Tolstoi's relations with loose women during his Kazan existence, but bitter references to them later suggest that his experiences made a deep impression on him. In dividing the years of his life for biographical purposes, he described the first period of "innocent, joyous, poetic childhood up to fourteen; then the terrible twenty years that followed — a period of coarse dissoluteness, employed in the service of ambition, vanity, and above all of lust."⁷

Why did Tolstoi designate the age of fourteen as the end of his childhood and the beginning of a period of his life devoted chiefly to lust? The natural supposition, however incredible it may seem, is that he had his first sexual experience at this tender age. There is no positive proof for the assumption, although contributory evidence is not lacking. In the fragmentary *Memoirs of a Madman*, a work of undoubted autobiographical significance, Tolstoi has his hero declare:

⁷ P. I. Biryukov, *Biografiya Lva Nikolaeviča Tolstogo* (Moscow, 1923), I, xviii

"I was fourteen years old when I first learned the vice of the pleasures of the flesh, and it horrified me. All my being strained after it, and then all my being, it seemed, was opposed to it."⁸

N. N. Gusev once heard from Tolstoi's close friend, Mariya Alexandrovna Schmidt, an interesting account concerning his first sexual experience. When he was writing *Resurrection*, his wife sharply criticized him for the chapter in which he described the seduction of Katyusha. "Old man that you are," she scolded, "are you not ashamed to write such nastiness!" Tolstoi made no reply, but when his wife had left the room, he turned to M. A. Schmidt and said, almost in tears: "See how she attacks me, but when my brothers took me for the first time to a brothel and I accomplished this act, I then stood by the woman's bed and wept."⁹ In the 1880's he even confessed to a former inhabitant of Kazan that it was in the Kizicheski Monastery¹⁰ of the city that "I had my first downfall."¹¹

Fleshly desires were at once alluring and repulsive to the young Tolstoi, but his strong moral repugnance received no encouragement from the dissolute Kazan society that he frequented. Smoking, drinking, gambling, and debauchery were the loose dress and ornament of his dandified comrades, and he admits that much of his waywardness was in imitation of the corrupt behavior he found on every side. Apparently he paid dearly for it, and not merely in moral suffering. For his first diary in 1847 opens: "It is six days since I entered the clinic, and six days since I became almost contented. *Les petites causes produisent des grands effets*. I've had *gonorrhoea*, had it from that source whence it is customarily obtained."¹²

Immorality is a necessary test of the moral fiber, for the plain distinction between right and wrong has nothing but a theoretical validity unless put to the proof by actual experience. Young as he was, Tolstoi had a highly developed moral sense, and every violation of it caused him infinite heart searching. In his youthful meditations he had already dwelt upon the question of love, as though seeking some idealistic conception that would purify his debauched thought. With the pedantic precision of a young philosopher, he neatly divided love

⁸ "Zapiski sumashešego," *Polnoe sobranie sočineni*, pod obščei red. V. G. Čertkova (Moscow, 1928 ff.), xxvi, 467. All succeeding references to Tolstoi's writings are to this edition.

⁹ N. N. Gusev, *Žizn' Lva Nikolaeviča Tolstogo Molodoi Tolstoj* (Moscow, 1927), i, 106

¹⁰ The discrepancy in the locale of the act is puzzling. One cannot suppose that the Kizicheski Monastery and the brothel Tolstoi mentions were one and the same place, despite the amazing stories that have come out of Russia about the occasional debauchery in monasteries. Apparently Tolstoi has confused several experiences of this nature in his youth.

¹¹ I. I. Starin, "Okolo mudretsa," *Russkie vedomosti* (November 16, 1911)

¹² *Dnevnik*, March 17, 1847, XLVI, 3.

into three kinds: beautiful love, self-denying love, and active love.¹³ His own ideal for the moment partook of the best qualities of all three, and it gained substance in his dream of an imaginary woman. She had a bit of his childhood sweetheart Sonya Valakhina in her, a dash of the chambermaid Masha as he had seen her washing the linen, and the external charms of a lady with pearls round her white neck whom he had noticed long ago in a box at the theatre. The beautiful vision anchored in his mind and created an inexpressible longing. He sought *her* everywhere, and expectancy constantly titillated his hopes. But *she* appeared only in his imagination, usually when the mysterious light of the moon exalted him with a sense of beauty and a feeling of incomplete happiness. Then *she* stood before him, always sad and lovely, with her long plait of hair, full bosom, and beautiful bare arms, waiting for his embrace. As the moon rose higher and the shadows grew darker, something seemed to say to him that *she* was not the whole of happiness. The vision faded, leaving him with the ecstatic feeling that true happiness was nearer to Him, the source of all beauty and bliss. And tears of unsatisfied but agitating joy filled his eyes.

V

The shyness that made him uneasy in the company of women also stood in the way of friendship with his fellow students. Tolstoi carried his stuffy notions of *comme il faut* from the ballroom into the classroom. High School graduates and poor scholarship students he scorned. Their incorrect French, shabby clothes, untidy boots, and dirty nails condemned them. In his pride and affected indifference, he always refused to bow first. When the student who sat next to him evinced a tendency to become too familiar, Tolstoi would suddenly freeze the growing intimacy with an icy remark. Yet he really wanted this gay company to like him. He longed to take part in their escapades, and probably felt a secret admiration for the madcap prince from Siberia, who held the whole street in a state of siege by indiscriminately shooting at passersby from his attic window with an air rifle.

When Tolstoi made friends, and there were a few in this Kazan period, they always belonged to his aristocratic set. The best of them was Dmitri Alekseyevich Dyakov, a youth several years older than himself. He describes this friendship, with obvious idealizing touches, in the attachment of Nikolai Irtenev (Tolstoi) for Dmitri Nekhlyu-

¹³ These meditations on love are discussed in Chapter xxiv of *Youth*

dov (Dyakov) in *Boyhood* and *Youth*. There was more equality and less of the slave-like, hero-worshiping devotion that had characterized his earlier friendship for Musin-Pushkin. Unusually fervent attachments among young people of the same sex are a common enough experience, but in such friendships Tolstoi's intense emotional nature brought him to the dangerous edge of unnatural relationship. This was strikingly true of his youthful affection for Dyakov, which may properly be described as love. The fact takes on an added interest in the light of his wife's foolish charge against him, when he was a very old man, of homosexual relations.

Some four years after this period (November 1851), in a remarkably revelatory passage in a loose leaf of Tolstoi's diary that has only recently been published in Russia, he writes: "I was very often in love with men. . . . Of all these people I continue to love only Dyakov. For me the chief indication of love is the fear to offend or not to be liked by the person loved. It is simply fear. I was in love with men before I had any notion of the possibility of pederasty; but having learned about it, the thought of the possibility of such a union never entered my head. . . . Beauty always had much influence in my choice; however, there is the example of Dyakov; but I never shall forget the night when we came from Pirogovo, and, diving under the sleigh rug, I wanted to kiss him and weep. There was voluptuousness in this feeling, but why it occurred here it is impossible to decide."¹⁴

In writing about his friendship for Dyakov in *Boyhood*, Tolstoi credits him with having a definite salutary influence on his character. Utter frankness was the first condition of their friendship, and each vowed to tell the other his every thought, no matter how unpleasant. They were mutually responsive and their minds were tuned to the same philosophical key. Both worshiped an ideal of virtue and were convinced that man's mission in life was to perfect himself. The two perfectionists tried out their theory on a pretty girl whom they chanced to meet in Kazan. Her story of seduction moved them. Tolstoi offered to finance her until she got a job and could earn an honest living. She joyfully agreed and began to thank him. "Not at all," he magnanimously interrupted, "misfortune may happen to every one of us, and we must all help each other." When they met their attractive subject for reform a few days later, she freely confessed herself unable to lead any other existence than the sinful one she had grown used to. "So I could not convince her to return to an honest life,"¹⁵ the worshiper of virtue concluded.

¹⁴ *Dnevnik*, XLVI, 237-238.

¹⁵ *Vasnjaja Poljana o L. N. Tolstom* (Moscow, 1900), pp. 48-49.

Thus virtue went unrewarded, but the perfectionists, unlike Richardson's Pamela, believed that virtue was its own reward, and they serenely continued their theorizing. They would remain awake until almost dawn, arguing about abstract conceptions until words refused to yield their meaning and meaning ran all out of words. Then, if we may accept as autobiographical the exquisite ending of Chapter XXVII in *Youth*, Dyakov would finally say:

" 'Now, we'll sleep.'

" 'Yes,' I answered, 'but just one word.'

" 'Well?'

" 'It's fine to be alive!' I said.

" 'It's fine to be alive,' he answered in such a tone that I seemed to see in the darkness the expression of his bright, caressing eyes and childlike smiles."

These hours spent with Dyakov were among Tolstoi's happiest in Kazan. Their friendship brought out the finest qualities of his nature, and it is little wonder that the bond between them remained unbroken until Dyakov's death in 1891.

VI

Long before the end of his second year in the Faculty of Jurisprudence Tolstoi had lost what little interest he had in the professors and their lectures. What would be termed a "gentlemanly C" in our colleges today satisfied him perfectly as a grade. Although he had deliberately selected this faculty as a "snap," his intellectual honesty and developing critical powers would not allow him to tolerate for long a situation that seemed profitless and a waste of time. It was not that he lacked interest in Roman and criminal law, psychology, logic, and the several languages and literatures in his curriculum, but he felt that they were being presented in a dull, unoriginal, and stultifying manner.

A fellow student, V. N. Nazarev, tells of Tolstoi's reactions to the university and its teaching at this time. He had met Tolstoi even before he had entered the university, and had been repelled by his cold demeanor, the piercing expression of his half-closed eyes, and the incomprehensible air of importance and self-satisfaction that he affected. Although they saw each other frequently at classes, Tolstoi took care that they scarcely knew each other. For Nazarev was definitely *comme il ne faut pas*; after all, he came to class on foot.

One day Nazarev and Tolstoi were late for a lecture in history. The punishment for tardiness would have done credit to army discipline: the culprits were locked up in a lecture room for the night. Such treat-

ment was no anodyne for Tolstov's growing hostility towards the university. His anger at first took the form of an arraignment of all poetry, apropos of a discussion of Lermontov's *Demon*. Then observing his fellow-prisoner's copy of Karamzin's *History of Russia*, he at once fulminated: "History is nothing other than a collection of fables and useless trifles messed up with a mass of unnecessary dates and proper names. The death of Igor, the serpent, the stinging of Oleg¹⁶ — are these not folk tales? Why should any one have to know that the second marriage of Ivan the Terrible to the daughter of Temryuk took place on 21 August 1562, or the fourth to Anna Alekseyevna Koltovskaya in 1572? Yet they demand that I learn all this by heart, and if I do not know it, they give me a 'one.' And how is history written? All adjust themselves to a measure invented by the historians. The terrible tsar, about whom Professor Ivanov lectures at present, suddenly in 1560 is transformed from a virtuous and wise man into a senseless, ferocious tyrant. How and why this takes place you do not ask."¹⁷

Nazarev had no defense against such logic. He had heard of Tolstov as a "queer fellow" and a "philosopher" and now he had no doubt of it, but at the same time he felt a vague sense of something remarkable, exceptional, and inexplicable about this caustic youth. Before they went to sleep on the hard school benches, Tolstov indulged his spleen in another outburst, declaiming sarcastically about the "benefits" of this "Temple of Science" and ridiculing its professors so effectively that in spite of himself Nazarev was obliged to laugh. "Nevertheless," Tolstov concluded, "we have a right to expect that we shall go out of this Temple useful and informed people. But what do we get out of the university? Consider and answer conscientiously. What do we get out of this sanctuary to return home with to the country? Of what use will it be and for whom is it necessary?"¹⁸

Tolstov was only one of many great men who questioned in their youth the values of a traditional university education. Not merely chronic contradictoriness, of which he had his full share, accounts for his criticism of Kazan University, or his negative attitude towards any learning that failed to stir his intellectual curiosity. To these must now be added his growing tendency to question all manner of accepted institutions and conventions. The man-made ordering of civili-

¹⁶ Tolstov refers here to traditional stories in mediaeval Russian history

¹⁷ In this trade may be seen the future relentless critic of conventional history books in *War and Peace*.

¹⁸ V. N. Nazarev, "Ljudi bylogo vremeni," *Istoricheski vestnik* (November, 1890), pp. 438-440.

zation was not something to accept on faith. There must be for him a constant reference to cause and effect, an endless asking of the why, how, and wherefore of constituted society. No compromise would do. He must be convinced.

More than half a century after he left the university, a student asked him how he regarded the study of law. "I was once a student of jurisprudence," he replied, "and in the second year I remember how the theory of law interested me, and I began to study it, not merely for the examination, but because I thought to find in it an explanation of what seemed strange and unclear to me in the organization of peoples' lives. I recall that the more I looked into the theory of law, the more and more I became convinced that either there was something wrong with this science or I was not capable of understanding it. Putting it briefly, I began to be somewhat convinced that one of us must be very stupid: either Nevolin, the author of the *Encyclopaedia of Law* that I studied, or I was devoid of the ability to comprehend all the wisdom of this science. I was then eighteen, and I could not admit that I was stupid, and therefore I resolved that the study of jurisprudence was beyond my intellectual capacities, and abandoned it."¹⁹ From the gentle irony of this modest explanation emerges the student Tolstoi questioning the utility of the law and its fundamental relation to the needs of society. This problem never came up in the lectures.

VII

The deadening impact of stereotyped factual knowledge on a mind searching for ideas, first causes, and an understanding of life was the discouraging experience of Tolstoi's brief university career. He knew that factual knowledge was the beginning of wisdom, but he was being taught that factual knowledge was an end in itself. One of his more discriminating professors, D. I. Meier, who sensed the superior mind of his indifferent student, tried to arouse his intellectual interests by setting him the task of writing a comparison of Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* and Catherine the Great's *Nakaz*. His enthusiasm caught fire at once, for the task demanded the kind of independent intellectual effort that he had hitherto found no outlet for in his university studies.

Tolstoi read up everything he could obtain on the subject. About this time he first began to keep a diary (March 1847), for he felt that

¹⁹ "Pismo studentu o prave" (quoted by N. N. Gusev in *Žizn Lva Nikolaeviča Tolstogo*, I, 121).

it would help him judge the progress of his developing faculties²⁰ In the diary he set down the results of his analysis of Catherine's *Nakaz*.²¹ Each chapter is carefully summarized, occasional comparisons are made to the *Esprit des lois*, and frequently Tolstoi offers his own interpretations and comments. His critical remarks are often unusually penetrating and independent for a youth of eighteen Curiously enough, no suggestion of his future firm opposition to every form of governmental coercion is apparent in the analysis. He accepts the autocratic framework of the Russian State and the legal system that supports it. What is more surprising, he actually asserts that "positive law, to be perfect, should be identical with moral law,"²² a statement at utter variance with his ultimate position. Only in the matter of condemning capital punishment does he display consistency with his later views. At the end of the analysis, however, he delivers a thwacking indictment of the *Nakaz*. For he points out that Catherine is really making an unsuccessful attempt to justify her own conception of despotism by appealing to the republican ideas of Montesquieu, and that her "petty vanity" in this respect has resulted in deductions wholly illogical. The *Nakaz*, he concludes, "confers upon Catherine more fame than advantages to Russia."²³ For the most part, his tone towards the empress is highly respectful, but many years later, in his *Restoration of Hell*, he called her "a stupid, illiterate, and lewd wench."

In the end, this independent bit of scholarly investigation did nothing to soften Tolstoi's mounting antipathy to the university. On the contrary, he gave it as the reason for leaving. "The university with its demands not only did not assist in such a task," he wrote, "but actually hindered it."²⁴ The professors, he paradoxically maintained, obstructed his thirst for knowledge. The analysis of the *Nakaz* led him into reading an endless quantity of books, but all in one direction. "This reading," he wrote, "revealed to me limitless horizons. . . . I gave up the university precisely because I wished to occupy myself

²⁰ With some interruptions, Tolstoi continued the practice of keeping a diary, as well as various notebooks, containing observations, plans, projects, etc., throughout the remainder of his life. This material, of immense biographical importance, is so extensive that it will fill thirteen volumes (with notes) of the huge Soviet Academy Edition of Tolstoi's complete works.

²¹ The *Nakaz*, or "Injunction," was written by Catherine in 1766 as a guide to her Commission appointed to draw up a Code of Laws. In it she expounded her personal views on the rights of the State and on civil and criminal law. The *Nakaz* was heavily indebted to Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* and to C. B. Beccaria's *Dei Delitti e delle Pene*.

²² *Dnevnik*, March 22, 1847, XLVI, 15.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁴ P. I. Biryukov, *Biografiya Lva Nikolaeviča Tolstogo*, I, 56.

in this fashion. There I was obliged to work at and study things that did not interest me and were unnecessary."²⁵

Of course, this explanation is an oversimplification. A variety of reasons contributed to Tolstoi's decision. He had done badly in the mid-term examinations of the second year, and now with a string of unsuccessful performances behind him, he could not look forward to the final tests with equanimity. Sergei and Dmitri would finish their studies at Kazan that year (1846), and two more years in the university without their company did not appeal to him. Then in this same year a division of property among the brothers had taken place. Leo Tolstoi had received as his share Yasnaya Polyana and several smaller estates, amounting to about 5400 acres, along with 350 male serfs and their families. And at this time he began to express a real or imaginary sense of responsibility for all these human beings under his direct control. These factors, as well as a moral dissatisfaction with his loose life at Kazan, were no doubt part of the reason why he decided to sever his connections with the university. Yet his disillusion with the opportunities of so-called higher education was real and conclusive. In 1857, he wrote in his copybook: "Talented people are unsuited to learning in youth, for they unconsciously see that they must know something other than what the masses know."²⁶ On April 12, 1847, before the final examinations of the second year in the Faculty of Jurisprudence, he petitioned to be allowed to leave the university because of "ill-health and domestic circumstances." Two days later his petition was granted. The only *memento* that the most distinguished alumnus of Kazan University left behind him was his name scratched on a bench in one of the lecture halls.

VIII

In place of a grade in Russian history on Tolstoi's mid-term examination that last year his professor had written "extremely lazy," which was undoubtedly true in that much despised subject. In reality, however, he was anything but lazy. Intensive intellectual activity was part of his nature, and he read a great deal during this Kazan period, principally in the summer vacation months which he spent at Yasnaya Polyana. Most of this reading, apart from what he had done for his analysis of Catherine's *Nakaz*, had little relation to the prescribed work of his university courses. He gobbled a quantity of French novels by Sue, Dumas, and Paul de Kock. Their fictions seemed entirely real to him, and he discovered in himself a likeness to

²⁵ A. B. Goldenweiser, *Vblizi Tolstogo* (Moscow, 1922), I, 134.

²⁶ *Zapiski kniazki*, XLVII, 211.

their characters, both heroes and villains. Less adventurous fiction and some poetry that he read — Stern's *Sentimental Journey*, Dickens' *David Copperfield*, Gogol's *Dead Souls* and *Tales*, Turgenev's *Sportsman's Notes*, Druzhinin's *Polinka Saks*, Grigorovich's *Anton Goremyka*, Lermontov's *Hero of Our Times*, Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* and Schiller's *The Robbers* — he admitted had a marked influence on his artistic sensibilities. There was much else in *belles lettres*, but his questing mind favored sterner stuff — the New Testament, philosophy, and political science. He plunged into Hegel, who was then all the rage among the illuminati, and, like most youths of the time, he read Voltaire, whose scepticism, perhaps because it lacked high seriousness, had no pronounced effect on him.

The author who stirred Tolstoi most at this time and had a permanent influence on his thoughts was Rousseau. In 1905 he wrote: "Rousseau has been my teacher since I was fifteen. Rousseau and the New Testament have been the two great and beneficent influences of my life."²⁷ He declared to a French professor, who visited Yasnaya Polyana in 1901, that in his youth he read the whole twenty volumes of Rousseau. He worshipped him, he said, and in place of the cross which good Orthodox believers wear around their necks he wore a medallion portrait of Rousseau. So similar were Rousseau's thought to his own that it seemed as though he had been the author of many of his pages.

Much has been written about the importance of Rousseau's influence on Tolstoi's thinking. The indebtedness was considerable, and Tolstoi frankly admitted that the *Confession* had a "very great" influence on him and the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Émile* an "enormous" influence. Tolstoi was more than generous in declaring his debt to writers and thinkers. He could be severely critical of Rousseau, and the fundamental difference between them he himself pointed out: Rousseau repudiates all civilization, whereas Tolstoi simply repudiates pseudo-Christianity.

In his summers at Yasnaya Polyana Tolstoi appropriated some of the more garish aspects of Rousseau's back-to-nature teaching in a youthful attempt to live as befitted a practicing philosopher. With perhaps a feeling of relief he discarded in the country the social strait-jacket of *comme il faut*. He rigged up for daily wear a loose canvas garment, with the added advantage that it could be used as a night-shirt, and went about in slippers and bare legs. His favorite occupation was communing with nature wild or lying down under a bush in

²⁷ "Otvét obščestvu Russo" (quoted by N. N. Gusev in *Žizn Lva Nikolaeviča Tolstogo*, I, 136).

the garden with a thick lexicon for a pillow. He allowed nothing or no one to interfere with his philosophical musings or routine. A group of young ladies unexpectedly arriving for a visit, the philosopher was hastily summoned from his retreat in the garden, and he made his appearance in the living room in his Diogenes canvas robe, slippers, and bare legs. When Auntie Tatyana remonstrated, he replied with some heat that conventional propriety should not be confused with the comfortable manner in which he was dressed.

Clothes may make the man, but Tolstoi knew well enough that a dearth of them does not make the philosopher. Behind his posing was much real intellectual effort. Apart from his intensive reading, he was also thinking and writing, all of which he regarded as a kind of extracurriculum activity. Several fragmentary compositions of this time reflect the fearless quality of his mind, already indicated in his boyhood, in ranging over philosophical and abstract notions.²⁸ In "Philosophical Notes on Rousseau" he expatiates on the powerful influence of women for good in society and on the demoralizing effect of luxury on morality. In another piece, without a title, the young philosopher attempts to formulate rules for living and to define his own nature. On the margin are scribbled notes for future discussion: "From the very beginning I abandoned all prejudices, since I found nothing satisfactory in them." "The tendency I found in myself was a tendency towards well-being or happiness which I did not understand otherwise than as a manifestation, and as such it was displeasing."²⁹ A third and longer article, rather expansively entitled "On the Purpose of Philosophy," concludes that the purpose is to show man how he should instruct himself and, since he lives in society, how he ought to define his relations to other people. A final work on the significance of the will is executed with all the compact reasoning of a mature logician. No doubt other compositions of this period have not survived. For there is an authentic story that a student friend of his brother, pockets loaded with bottles for a carouse, descended on their apartment. He found on Tolstoi's desk an article on symmetry and proceeded to read it. The article seemed so brilliant that the friend was convinced it had been copied from some famed authority. When Tolstoi came in he asked him for the name of the author. He blushing admitted that the article was his, whereupon the student laughed his disbelief. This article on symmetry has been lost.

²⁸ These interesting compositions, probably written when he was eighteen or nineteen, have been published in complete form for the first time in the Soviet Academy Edition of Tolstoi's complete works

²⁹ *Otzyvok bez zaglaviya*, I, 226, n 1, 227, n 1.

IX

When Tolstoi looked back on these years in the course of writing *A Confession*, he realized that his youthful philosophical interests were connected with his changing views on the important subject of religion. As a mere boy, he accepted religion as he would some old family custom. It gave him little concern then. Shortly before he entered the university, perhaps somewhat inspired by the singular devoutness of his brother Dmitri, he suddenly developed an enthusiasm for the picturesque ritual of the Russian Orthodox Church. He prayed, went to confession, took communion, and reveled in the thought that never had there been a young man with a soul as beautiful as his. This insincere religiosity did not last long in the midst of the unholy pleasures of Kazan society. Besides, he had begun to read philosophy which set him to wondering about the structure and articles of faith of revealed religion.

Tolstoi tells us in *A Confession* that he had ceased to believe the religious precepts taught him as a child by the time he was sixteen. He did not deny the existence of God, but what sort of God, he could not say. Likewise, he did not deny Christ and His teachings, but the substance of these teachings was not entirely clear to him. In short while still quite young he had drifted into the familiar position of educated people with regard to dogmatic religion: he refused to accept the Church, but all his reason and senses obliged him to believe in God. It is necessary to remember this attitude of his youth, for his highly significant religious development later starts from this point.

The only faith that gave impulse to Tolstoi's being at this time was a belief in self-perfection. All his awakening moral and intellectual powers were concentrated on this ideal of life. By perfecting himself morally, mentally, and physically, he would achieve happiness. With that perennial faith of youth in the efficacy of "rules of life" to transform, like some magician's incantation, our human failings into inhuman perfections, he earnestly drew them up, quantities of them. The first series, in January 1847, is not very promising. "(1) To get up at five, go to bed at nine and ten, and perhaps sleep two hours during the day. (2) To eat moderately, nothing sweet. (3) To walk for an hour. (4) To fulfil all my written injunctions. (5) To . . . one woman only, and then only twice a month. (6) To do everything possible for myself."³⁰

These elementary rules were soon developed into an elaborate design for living, almost metaphysical in its complexity and discourag-

³⁰ *Pravila dlja razvitijsa*, XLVI, 262

ingly inclusive in scope. He set down rules for the development of the will, with various subdivisions, rules for the development of the memory, of bodily and intellectual activity, of talents, of judgment, etc. There were rules to scorn wealth, honors, and the opinion of society not based on reason; to love all to whom he could be useful; to care nothing for the praise of people whom he does not know or dislikes; and each day to express his love for all kinds and degrees of humanity in some manner or other.

In youth, as always in his life, Tolstoi's rules of conduct far outstripped his observance of them. Nor did he ever fail to remind himself of the fact. In his diary at this time he jotted down: "It is easier to write ten volumes of philosophy than to put a single precept into practice."³¹ He did not realize then that his soul must be entirely cleansed of sin and temptation if he were to achieve self-perfection. Man may develop but he does not change. What he is in his youth, so will he be in his old age. Tolstoi recognized this. If he sinned, it was because he did not know himself. All his existence was to be devoted to knowing himself, to living and dying his own life. But even as a youth he heard the divine voice in him urging him to perfection. He writes of it in a beautiful passage at the end of Chapter III in *Youth*. All his dreams at that time, he says, were based on four feelings: love of *her*, his imaginary paragon; love of being loved — he wanted everybody to know and to love him; the hope of some unusual good fortune that would make him famous; and finally a feeling of self-disgust and repentance, but a repentance mingled with the hope of happiness. "That voice of repentance," he writes, "and the passionate desire for perfection were the principal new inner feeling at that period of my development, and it was this that laid a new foundation for my views of myself, of people, and of God's universe. Beneficent and joyous voice that hast so often since then — in sad times when my soul has silently submitted to the powers of worldly deceit and debauchery — suddenly and boldly risen up against all falsehood, virulently denounced the past, pointing out to me and making me love the bright point of the present, and promising goodness and happiness in the future. Beneficent and joyous voice! Can it be that thou wilt ever cease to make thyself heard?"³²

Often, however, he did not hear the voice during this period of his youth, because he did not always believe in himself. He believed in the people around him, who fostered his animal instincts, his pride and worldly ambitions, and frustrated his desire for self-perfection. With

³¹ *Dnevnik*, March 17, 1847, XLVI, 4.

³² *Otročestvo*, II, 85.

his life in Kazan partly in mind, he wrote in *A Confession*: "With all my soul I wished to be good; but I was young, passionate, and alone when I sought goodness. Every time I tried to express my most sincere desire, which was to be morally good, I met with contempt and ridicule; but as soon as I yielded to nasty passions, I was praised and encouraged."³³

Thus Tolstoi was unable to live completely and happily the existence of the people around him, nor could he manage to live to the full the self-perfecting life that his profoundest moral instincts persistently demanded. The feeling of disgust and self-repentance that he mentions stabbed his conscience after every surrender to his passions. In his old age the frequent and almost savage condemnations of his dissolute youth, although hardly any more dissolute than that of the average young man of the gentry, spring from a "reformed" mind tortured with the memory of moral failure. This was the dualism that waged its mighty battle in the heart of the youthful Tolstoi, and the struggle cast a shadow over his whole life.

X

Tolstoi felt no regret in leaving Kazan. His experience there had been disillusioning and the moral fabric of his nature had been stretched to the utmost. Curiously enough, when his biographer P. I. Biryukov brought to the ageing Tolstoi's attention the printed remarks of a Kazan contemporary of his youth to the effect that he must have felt at that time an instinctive moral protest against the corruption of his social set, he sharply replied: "I did not feel any protest, and I liked to enjoy myself in Kazan society, which was then very fine. On the contrary, I am very thankful to fate that I passed my youth in an environment where one could be young without touching problems beyond one's grasp, and that I lived a life, which, although idle and luxurious, was not evil."³⁴ The spirit of contradiction in Tolstoi was always strong and often exasperating. Everything else he has to say about his Kazan experiences belies this statement to Biryukov, but he would not allow any other person to say it. There can be no doubt that he enjoyed his Kazan existence at the time, but he also felt an intensive moral dissatisfaction for it. Almost thirty years later, when he was passing through the city, he wrote to his wife: "Kazan awakes in me remembrances that are disagreeably sad."³⁵

³³ *A Confession* (Maude Edition), p. 8.

³⁴ P. I. Biryukov, *Biografiya Lva Nikolaevicha Tolstogo*, I, 51.

³⁵ *Pisma k S. A. Tolstoy*, LXXXIII, 228

After quitting the university, he intended to spend two years in the country. In contrast to the existence he had been leading in Kazan, this new period was to provide him with a purpose and aim in life. He wrote in his diary at this time: "I should be the unhappiest of mortals if I could not find a purpose for my life — a purpose at once both universal and useful, useful because development will enable my immortal soul to pass naturally into an existence superior and akin to this one."³⁶

If we may judge from the program of work that he outlined for himself at Yasnaya Polyana, then he must have regarded his departure from the "Temple of Science" as a real opportunity to learn something. He intended, he wrote, "to study (1) the whole course of jurisprudence necessary to pass the final examinations at the university. (2) To study practical medicine, and to some extent its theory. (3) To study French, Russian, German, English, Italian, and Latin. (4) To study agriculture, theoretical and practical. (5) To study history, geography, and *statistics* (6) To write a dissertation. (7) To reach a reasonable degree of perfection in music and painting. (8) To write down rules for my conduct. (9) To obtain some knowledge in the natural sciences. (10) To compose essays on all the subjects that I shall study." His intention to take the final examinations in the Faculty of Jurisprudence was no doubt prompted by the desire for a diploma, which would secure him certain privileges in the civil service.

Tolstoi seemed to relish the notion of abandoning the gay society of Kazan for the solitude of the country. For shortly before he left for Yasnaya Polyana, he wrote in his diary that the disorderly life that fashionable people accept as a consequence of youth is really nothing other than the consequence of early spiritual corruption "Solitude," he maintains, "is equally beneficial for the man living in society, as society is for the man not living in it. Let a man but withdraw from society and retire into himself and his reason will strip off the spectacles through which he has hitherto seen everything in a corrupt light. . . ."³⁷

This longing to escape the corrupting influence of society, however, did not spoil the pleasure of a very liquid farewell that his aristocratic comrades tendered him. They accompanied him out of the town with many embraces sealed by potations deep. He left Kazan for Yasnaya Polyana on 23 April, 1847.

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³⁶ *Dnevnik*, XLVI, 31

³⁷ *Ibid*, March 17, 1847, pp 3-4.

THE GORKI INCIDENT

An Unpublished Fragment
(1906)

By MARK TWAIN¹

(Note in Mark Twain's hand "Apl 28")

LET ME RESURRECT the "York Minster" episode of seventy-five years ago — and enlarge it a little for present purposes. York Minster — such was his nickname — was a native of Tierra del Fuego. He was a likable young fellow, bright, animated, rather handsome, and of a particularly shapely figure. Let him be where he might, his figure was always on exhibition, for he wore not a rag of clothing, except a square of untanned skin between his shoulders. His costume did not make him conspicuous, because it was the costume of his whole nation.

The commander of a British warship fitted York Minster out with Christian clothing, taught him the rudiments of English speech, and took him home over the seas. He became at once an object of great and earnest interest; the public welcomed him, the newspapers were full of him, all ranks offered him their hospitalities. Among his invitations was one which took precedence of all the others — the King's ball, at St. James's palace. He got himself ready for that. For the sake of convenience and comfort he resumed his national costume, thinking no harm, and at 11 p m., he appeared in the midst of that gorgeous assemblage clad only in his awful innocence and that pathetic shoulder-skin.

Do you know, he emptied that place in two minutes by the watch. Then the guards turned him into the street. When he reached his hotel he was denied admission. The other hotels refused him. It looked as if he was never more going to find shelter, but at last he was rescued from his difficulties by compassionate friends.

Then the wise and the unwise began on him in the newspapers, and led him a dance. A friend defended him and explained that York was only following a recognised and perfectly proper custom of his own country and therefore was doing no wrong. Other friends defended him and proved by facts and arguments that the dress-customs of Tierra del Fuego were more just and rational than were those of Eng-

¹ In connection with Mr Ernest Poole's recent article in this quarterly, we are privileged through the courtesy of Mr. Bernard DeVoto and with the permission of the Mark Twain Company, to offer our readers this hitherto unpublished comment by Mark Twain himself on the American incident in which Maxim Gorki figured

land; and then claimed that since this was the case the English had no right to find fault with this foreigner and inhospitably upbraid him and revile him for what he had done.

All of which was wasted ink, I think. Laws are coldly reasoned out and established upon what the law-makers believe to be a basis of right. But customs are not. Customs are not enacted, they grow gradually up, imperceptibly and unconsciously, like an oak from its seed. In the fulness of their strength they can stand up straight in front of a world of argument and reasoning, and yield not an inch. We do not know how or when it became custom for women to wear long hair, we only know that in this country it *is* custom, and that settles it. Maybe it is right, maybe it is wrong — that has nothing to do with the matter, customs do not concern themselves with right or wrong or reason. But they have to be obeyed; one may reason all around them until he is tired, but he must not transgress them, it is sternly forbidden. Women may shave their heads elsewhere, but here they must refrain or take the uncomfortable consequences. Laws are sand, customs are rock. Laws can be evaded and punishment escaped, but an openly transgressed custom brings sure punishment. The penalty may be unfair, unrighteous, illogical, and a cruelty; no matter, it will be inflicted, just the same. Certainly, then, there can be but one wise thing for a visiting stranger to do — find out what the country's customs are, and refrain from offending against them.

The efforts which have been made in Gorki's justification are entitled to all respect because of the magnanimity of the motive back of them, but I think that the ink was wasted. Custom is custom; it is built of brass, boiler iron, granite; facts, reasonings, arguments have no more effect upon it than the idle winds have upon Gibraltar.

However, I must return to York Minster and finish that story. After reflection, he put on his clothes again.

A MILESTONE IN EUROPEAN HISTORY: THE DANISH-RUSSIAN TREATY OF 1562

By WALTHER KIRCHNER

FOR SEVERAL CENTURIES Denmark shared with the Hanseatic league predominance in the Baltic area, but the first three decades of the sixteenth century witnessed radical changes. The Hansa was affected adversely when new routes were discovered to important overseas markets, when European states underwent fundamental reorganizations in structure, and when for some reason the herring changed their course. Denmark found herself weakened by the political revolution following the reformation, the expansion of Spanish, Dutch, and English seapower, and the dissolution of the Kalmar Union due to the Swedish independence movement. As a result, the old balance of power in the Baltic area was destroyed. Had Sweden, Poland, Prussia, the Holy Roman Empire, or any combination of these taken over the place which Denmark had held for so long, no significant new development would have resulted. The fact that Denmark's decline coincided with and partly caused the rise of Russian power in northern Europe marks the importance of the period.

Russia, for centuries split up into a number of autonomous states, several of them subjected to Mongolian rulers, had started on a path of consolidation under Ivan III, the Great. However, that otherwise discerning Muscovite ruler showed little comprehension of Russia's destiny in the Baltic area when he allowed the destruction of Novgorod with its important trade. The city's ruin contributed to an extension of the power and importance of the Livonian harbors of Riga and Reval, which resulted in the increased dependency of the tsar's realms on the Livonian state.¹

With more clarity of vision than Ivan III, his grandson Ivan the Terrible set himself to the task of remedying the situation. In 1548, he sent a German agent, Hans Schlitte, a resident of Moscow, to Germany to hire a number of artisans, doctors, and engineers who were to come to Russia and instruct the people in western methods and ways.² But because the Hansa and Livonia feared Russian competition and economic growth, none of these people reached Moscow. Though allowed by Emperor Charles V to depart, some were intercepted in Lubeck when embarking for Russia, some — discouraged —

¹ Arthur Winckler, *Die Deutsche Hansa in Russland* (Berlin, 1886), p. 35 f.

² Friedrich Konrad Gadebusch, *Livlandsche Jahrbucher* (4 vols.; Riga, 1780-83), I, pt. 2, 388. Cf. *Kolner Inventar*, ed. by Konstantin Hohlbaum (2 vols., Leipzig, 1896-1903), I, 343. Cf. Winckler, p. 85.

returned, and others who actually got as far as Livonia were taken prisoners there. One of them, who had been detained for years by the Livonians, eventually sought compensation for his sufferings through a German diet, but of course no action was taken.³

The failure of Schlitte's mission demonstrated to Ivan the necessity of a change in his political aims and measures. In order to eliminate the control which the rulers of Livonia had applied in the affair and which they could exercise at any time over Russian economic and political relations with central and western Europe, he decided to lay claim to the Baltic provinces as his own ancient heritage⁴ and, if necessary, take forceful possession of the country with its important gateways.

The winning of the Baltic provinces was thus no aim in itself. Indeed, aside from its rich harbors the country possessed little that could contribute to the growth of Ivan's empire. It constituted a medium only for free intercourse with the powers around and beyond the Baltic Sea and it was on this ultimate goal rather than on the mere acquisition of land that Ivan's attention was centered. The discovery of the route around the North Cape, it is true, had aroused hopes for other possibilities of direct contact with foreign nations, but because of navigation hazards the new route remained unreliable. The first great Russian mission which Ivan sent to England via the North Cape was shipwrecked. Richard Chancellor, who had piloted the fleet, was drowned, and the Russian envoy escaped death as if by a miracle.⁵

It was natural under these circumstances for Ivan to seize the first real opportunity which offered itself to him for co-operation with a western power, and he saw his chance in Denmark, perceiving that possibilities for a satisfactory arrangement were more promising in connection with this country than with other Baltic states, the Empire, the Hansa, the Livonian Order, Poland, and Sweden. The Em-

³ Bartholomaeus Grefenthal's "Livlandische Chronik," *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae*, ed. by G. F. v. Bunge *et al.* (5 vols., Riga-Leipzig, 1835-1847), v, 115. Cf. F. B. von Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten* (8 vols., Vienna, 1831-1838), vii, 469, note. Also MS, Rigsarkivet Stockholm, Livonia fore 1600, bl. 063 (the paging indicates the number, under which the manuscript is to be found among the photostat copies in the private collection of Professor Waldemar Westergaard at Los Angeles. The documents contained therein have been used for the present study).

⁴ Most historians of the period dwell *in extenso* on this Russian claim of the "ancient inheritance." Cf. *Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte Livlands in den Jahren 1558-1562*, ed. by Friedrich Bienemann (5 vols., Riga, 1865-1876), i, 221 ff., *passim*. Also Ivan to Riga, MS, Riga, Ausseres Ratsarchiv.

⁵ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries . . .* (12 vols.; James MacLehose & Sons, Glasgow, New York, 1903), ii, 352.

pire had shown its weakness and unreliability in the Schlitte affair, while on the same occasion the Hansa and the Livonian Order had demonstrated their active opposition to any Russian progress. Poland was traditionally hostile to Russia and engaged in schemes of her own in the Baltic provinces. Sweden disputed Russia in Karelia on the Finnish border; wars had been fought repeatedly, and as yet Gustavus Vasa had not been recognized by Ivan as a king of equal standing with other European sovereigns.⁶

On the other hand, few points of dissension existed between Russia and Denmark. Some permanent trouble persisted on the northern border between Norway and Russia, where Russian settlers were accused of infiltrating into Norwegian territory and pushing out the original inhabitants.⁷ The Livonian question was also full of material for conflict, because Denmark, out of fear of Swedish ambitions and profiting from the decline of the Livonian Order, tried to gain substantial holdings for herself and to re-establish her dominion given up in the fourteenth century. Furthermore, the Danes shared the prevailing distrust of Russia which, despite the Christian faith of the inhabitants, was considered a danger to western Christendom not unlike the Turkish Mussulman; and Ivan himself, notwithstanding his often proved magnanimity and sense of justice, was generally described as a cruel tyrant, who had but little in common with the human race.⁸

But Christian III of Denmark realized that the necessity of gaining and preserving Russia's good will was more important than any other consideration. He depended on Ivan's friendly attitude toward Danish policy in the Baltic provinces and with him he shared opposition to Sweden. Prospects for better opportunities in connection with Russia's trade were opened by the weakened state of the Hansa. Moreover, Denmark's profitable position as master of the entrance to the Baltic Sea, the Sound, was threatened by the establishment of a direct route from England to Russia around the North Cape, and as a result Denmark's crucial hold on the Russian overseas trade with all its profits in dues would be endangered.

⁶ For a full discussion of the Swedish-Russian relationship, see Waldemar Westergaard, "Gustavus Vasa and Russia," *Pacific Historical Review*, II (June, 1933), 158-169.

⁷ MSS, Copenhagen, Rigsarkiv, Tyske Kancelliets Udenrigske Afdeling, Rusland B, vol 47, 1558-1642, Gesandskabs-Relationer fra forskaellige Afsendinger, 93, 30 and 95, 22

⁸ "In quo nihil est hominis, praeter corporis figuram." Krasinski's speech, *Akta Poselskie i Korrespondencye Franciszka Krasinskiego, 1558-1576*, ed by W H Krasinski et al (Cracow, 1872), 283 Cf the descriptions in the contemporary chronicles of Balthasar Russow, Salomon Henning, and Dionysius Fabricius in *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum, Sammlung der wichtigsten Chroniken und Geschichtsdenkmale von Liv-, Ehst- und Kurland* . . (2 vols., Riga-Leipzig, 1848-1853)

In view of such considerations King Christian decided to seek an understanding with the Tsar. Profiting by the request for his mediation by the Livonian Order, which implored his help after the Russians had invaded the country and conquered the important trading centers of Narva and Dorpat, he dispatched an embassy to Moscow. The envoys, who left Denmark in October 1558, were instructed to demand from the Tsar cessation of hostilities against the Order. But they were given additional tasks. In particular they were to ask for peace for the northern part of Livonia, namely Estonia, because Christian claimed it as Danish property. The latter point was of special importance, since the conquest of Narva had opened considerable opportunities for direct Russian trade and the problems which arose with the facilities and establishments of Narva's harbor in Russian hands threatened to become a central problem in Baltic policies. In exchange, the Danish envoys were to promise commercial advantages for the Russians and to guarantee all ancient privileges and liberties to Russian merchants, if they continued their business activities in Estonia and its important harbor of Reval.⁹

Under the leadership of Claus Uhrne and Wladislaw Wobisser, the ambassadors proceeded to Moscow and in May 1559 returned to Livonia.¹⁰ Their task had not been accomplished because, except for a six months' truce, they had failed to secure peace for Livonia. Their claim on Estonia was categorically rejected by the Russians. Trade treaties had not been concluded, because of Ivan's own claim on Reval, and the negotiations had finally been interrupted by the news of the death of Denmark's king.¹¹

The Tsar was considerably disappointed. His chief ambition regarding freedom of trade for his subjects had not been fulfilled, and new negotiations were necessary if he were to gain any essential advantage.¹² An opportunity for the resumption of negotiations presented itself soon. In 1560, Magnus, the brother of Denmark's new king, Frederick II, had taken possession of the island of Ösel, which formed part of Livonia, and of two additional bishoprics in the Baltic provinces. In order to reconcile Ivan to the Danish occupation and to secure a guarantee for Magnus' realms, Dietrich Behr, commander of Ösel, was sent to Moscow in August 1561 on a new mission.¹³ Knowing

⁹ *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Untergangs livländischer Selbständigkeit. Aus dem geheimen Archive zu Kopenhagen*, ed. by Carl Schirren (3 vols.; Reval, 1883-1885), I, 161.

¹⁰ MS., Copenhagen, Rigsarkiv, T.K.U.A., 93, 30 f.

¹¹ MS., Copenhagen, Rigsarkiv, T.K.U.A., 93, 28-34.

¹² *Danmark-Norges Traktater, 1523-1750*, ed. by L. Laursen (7 vols., Copenhagen, 1907-1926), II, 21-22. Cited hereafter as *D.N.Tr.*

¹³ *D.N.Tr.*, II, 22. Cf. K. H. von Busse, *Herzog Magnus, König von Livland* (Leipzig, 1871), 38 ff. Also W. Møllerup, *Danmarks Forhold til Læmland* (Copenhagen, 1880), 124.

well that Ivan attached great importance to questions of freedom of trade, King Frederick instructed Behr to point out in particular the service rendered by Denmark to Russia in refusing to comply with the order of the Emperor, as well as with the requests of the Hansa towns and the Livonian ports, to refrain from trading directly with the Russians in the conquered harbor of Narva. Indeed, the trade with Narva, which was as important to Russia as it was envied by all other Baltic powers, had in no way been hindered by Denmark,¹⁴ and consequently King Frederick expected Ivan's co-operation in the pacification of Magnus' realms.

The Tsar did not fully comply with the Danish envoy's desires. In the absence of definite trade agreements, he accorded an armistice only until Whitsuntide 1562. By then, Frederick was expected to dispatch a new embassy which should be authorized to discuss the larger problems. At the request of the Danish king, who was unable to equip the new embassy within the stipulated time, the armistice was prolonged for a few months and it was not until July 6, 1562, that the Danish ambassadors arrived in Moscow.

Composed of Eyler Hardenberg, Jacob Brackenhaus, Jens Ulfstand, and Zacharias Vheling, the embassy had received its instructions in March. It was to stress once more the friendly feelings shown by Denmark in the Narva trade question and to ask peace for Magnus' possessions in exchange. Once Magnus' share in Livonia was recognized by Ivan, Denmark although not recognizing any legal titles of the Tsar on the country, was willing to promise not to interfere with Russian policies in the other parts of Livonia, or to support Ivan's enemies. Both parties were to guarantee freedom of trade and intercourse, and if the Tsar personally ratified the treaty by kissing the cross, King Frederick himself would likewise take an oath.¹⁵

On this basis, after negotiations of slightly more than a month, the famous treaty was actually concluded. It shows a particular endeavor to avoid any point which could be construed as favoring one at the expense of the other. Indeed, with the exception of Article XIX, every single passage was ostensibly drawn in such a way as to accentuate the mutual interests. Significantly, Article XIX was the one which stipulated that free passage through Danish territory and waterways should be granted to all doctors and artisans who might be invited to Russia. The Schlitte incident had left a strong impression on the Tsar who realized its deep implication and did not hesitate to mar a treaty otherwise built on complete reciprocity.¹⁶

¹⁴ *D N.Tr.*, II, 22

¹⁵ *D N.Tr.*, II, 23.

¹⁶ *D N.Tr.*, II, 24 ff. The Russian version has been used.

The larger part of the treaty dealt with the question of the Livonian frontiers. In the first seven paragraphs, amity between Russia and Denmark was sealed, and any co-operation of either side with the enemies of the other, especially with Poland and Sweden, was barred. No mercenaries from either of the contracting parties should be allowed to serve against the other. However, no formal alliance entailing help in war was concluded.

Articles VIII to XII delineated the frontiers of the Danish and Russian spheres in Livonia. While Denmark was allowed in the main to keep the possessions of Magnus,¹⁷ Russia reserved for herself by far the largest and most valuable share of the country, including the harbors of Riga, Reval, Narva, and the fortresses and trading centers of Dorpat, Mitau, Vellin, Dünaburg and Dunamünde. Since Magnus was included in the peace, so was the governor of Novgorod. Only the decision regarding a territory called Kolk was postponed until later.

As a whole, the first part of the treaty concerned questions in which King Frederick of Denmark was more deeply interested than Ivan. Articles XIII to XVI as well as XXIV dealt with general questions of jurisdiction, amnesty, waterway regulations and fishery rights, and the treatment of fugitives. All these points carried equal weight for both sides. The remaining six paragraphs take up the questions of trade with which the Tsar was mainly concerned. Personal safety for all merchants and their unhampered movement in and through the countries of the contracting parties was guaranteed, including the passage through the Sound. Non-Germans and Letts were excluded from all privileges. When forced to land on a treaty partner's shores, subjects of both rulers were to be accorded fair treatment. Most important of all, either side was privileged to establish two warehouses ("factories") on the other's lands (Article XXII). Denmark was to open one in Novgorod and another in Ivangorod, Russia could establish hers in Wisby on Gothland and in Copenhagen. The latter stipulation was of special value, for previously Russia had never been entitled to more than one store house, that in Wisby. An additional paragraph provided for the Tsar's taking a personal oath by kissing the cross.

The treaty was outstanding inasmuch as it was the first ever to be peacefully negotiated by Russia with one of the great powers of western Europe, which was based on complete equality. Neither in tone nor in essence was the slightest difference made between the two parties, nor had victory or defeat forced either side to an agreement

¹⁷ It was, however, said in Article VIII that Denmark received these lands out of Ivan's inheritance.

which otherwise might have shown a different tenor. The barbaric empire of the East, with its non-Roman-Catholic and non-Protestant inhabitants, was treated on terms of equality by one of the proudest nations of western Christendom. It did not come to seek contact by according special privileges, as in its treaties with the Empire, the Pope, and especially with England, but without sacrifice to either side it granted the same kind of advantages which it demanded.

So advantageous did Ivan justly consider these negotiations with Denmark that he took the greatest pains in having them immediately ratified by King Frederick II himself. A great embassy was dispatched on September 15, 1562, under Prince Ryapolovski Romodanovski, with Ivan M. Viskovaty, Peter G. Sovin, six other noblemen and one hundred and fifty other members and servants.¹⁸ They left in the company of Denmark's envoy, Eyler Hardenberg. Their instructions were complicated. They were to get the ratification of the treaty without any change in style or contents, and without permitting Frederick to have the original, but only a copy to be written out in Denmark. Regarding the only point left in abeyance, the possession of Kolk, they were asked, if possible, not to discuss this question at all, and under no circumstances to renounce the territory, but to insist upon retaining it for Russia. They were to point out the historic rights of Ivan, and to refuse to look at the old treaties, which Denmark might wish to show them in support of her own claims. These treaties between Denmark and the Livonians were to be disregarded because they had been made with people under Russian sovereignty who had no right at all to make treaties. If Frederick were to threaten to close the Sound, they were to counter by threatening to prohibit entry of all Danish merchants into Russia. They were to impress Denmark with the might of the Tsar, and to be very meticulous as to the ceremonial. They were to insist that the factories for the merchants on Gothland and in Denmark were to be of the same size as the Danish factories in Russia. If asked what the Tsar was planning regarding Poland, they were to pretend ignorance of the subject, and in any case they must block any Danish attempt to mediate the Polish questions. Finally, they were to investigate the commercial possibilities in Denmark.¹⁹

The ambassadors arrived in Copenhagen on October 14, but at first they refused to disembark, because their reception was not honorable enough. They then had two audiences with the king, but

¹⁸ J. Ščerbačev, "Dva Posolstva pri Ioanne IV Vasileviče," *Russkii Vestnik*, cxc (1887), 98 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 105 ff.

only after the second were negotiations started with Frederick's councillors. The Danes, while agreeing to most points of importance, tried to get concessions as to the possession of Kolk. Obviously, a question of principle rather than of material importance was involved, and just for this reason they were met with adamant resistance from the Russian envoys and had finally to give in. Early in December 1562 the negotiations were successfully concluded, the oath was taken by Frederick himself, and presents were exchanged. The ambassadors left for Lund, where they stayed during the winter. Only in August 1563, after almost one year, did they return to Moscow.²⁰

The importance of the treaty, which was concluded without a time limitation, lay less in its practical aspects than in its implications. Indeed, its practical results were less than satisfactory. Within a year after its ratification King Frederick of Denmark entered into an alliance with King Sigismund August of Poland, and though this alliance was directed against Sweden, Russia's other enemy, it bore the germ of future dissension with Ivan. As a result of the Danish-Polish alliance the Swedes attacked the Danish possessions in Livonia and conquered the province of Wieck. This meant an additional setback for the Tsar, who considered the Wieck as his own, which he had "granted" to Denmark, which in turn had suffered it to fall into Swedish hands. Aside from the resultant increase in the power of hostile Sweden, Denmark was less able than ever to promote the Tsar's desires for expansion of trade and intercourse as envisaged by the great treaty.

Under the circumstances, the reception in Russia of Zacharias Vheling, a former member of Hardenberg's embassy and now charged with the execution of the commercial stipulations of the treaty, was hardly friendly. He stayed in Russia two years, and three months of this period, from February to May, 1564, were spent in Moscow.²¹ Ivan, after having suffered a severe defeat by the Poles at Ula, had in the meantime concluded an armistice with Poland and was also attempting a rapprochement with Sweden. Denmark therefore no longer enjoyed the privileged position of two years before, and her representative, Vheling, was in a difficult position. His proposals met with little approval, and his explanations of Denmark's actions were disregarded. Of his entire mission the Tsar in a letter to the Danish king spoke in the most deprecatory terms.²²

²⁰ Ščerbačev, pp 105-118.

²¹ MSS, Copenhagen, Rigsarkiv, T.K.U.A., 94, 10 ff

²² MSS, Copenhagen, Rigsarkiv, T.K.U.A., 94, 23.

Furthermore, the special friendship which supposedly had been established by the negotiations of Eyler Hardenberg existed no longer. Its decline was due, according to Vheling, to the lies which the great Russian embassy to Copenhagen had spread regarding Denmark. The improvement of the relationship became therefore a necessary object and Vheling had to devote his attention to it. Upon leaving Moscow he declared that he had succeeded at least to a certain degree in this task, though the subsequent events do not bear out the correctness of his assertion.

Certainly his success did not suffice to promote his main purpose, the establishment of the factory which according to Article XXII Denmark was permitted to build at Ivangorod. In his endeavors he met not only with the opposition of the Swedish and English merchants, who as competitors for Russian trade tried to hinder him in every possible way, but he also failed to secure the co-operation of the Russian officials. The site which had previously been arranged for the factory was refused him, and obstacles of all kinds were put in his way.²³ Eventually he was accused of overstepping his proper rights and by order from Moscow he had to leave the country. His departure meant that the execution of the points of chief interest to the Tsar was indefinitely postponed.

The wrecking of the principal hopes which Russia had cherished in connection with the treaty with Denmark was closely followed by a similar collapse of Denmark's ambitions. More than half of the agreement of 1562 had been devoted to a delineation of the Livonian frontiers and Magnus' Danish realms. Ivan's subtle policies, however, succeeded in drawing Magnus to his own side, and the prince, created by the Tsar's grace a "king of Livonia," recognized the Russian ruler as his overlord, under whom he held the whole of his dominions, thus implying the cessation of Danish suzerainty. In doing so he rendered useless the corresponding stipulations of the treaty. Thus, with the disruption of amity, the dissolution of the concord regarding the political boundaries, and the non-observance of the commercial arrangement, the work of 1562 lost almost all its practical meaning.

Yet the theoretical importance should not be underestimated. Having once agreed to full equality in arrangements with Russia, Denmark had not only committed herself, but also set a precedent for others. Sweden, Poland, and the Empire eventually followed her

²³ MSS., Copenhagen, Rigsarkiv, T.K.U.A., 94, 22, 25, *passim*, 95, 4. Forstén published two of Vheling's letters. *Akty i pisma k istorii baltiskago voprosa v XVI i XVII stoletjach*, ed. by G. V. Forstén (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1889-1893).

lead. Had it not been for the military disasters during the later years of Ivan's reign and for the internal troubles after his death, Russia from then on might have been able to negotiate with all powers on the same basis. As it developed, more than another century passed before her position as a member of the European community of nations was firmly established.

As to Denmark, she continued in the spirit of the treaty of 1562, though with different objectives. In 1575 she dispatched an able envoy, Elias Eysenberg, to Moscow to re-establish the former friendship.²⁴ All the old questions regarding the trouble on the Norwegian border, the political situation in Livonia, and the trade to Narva were once more discussed, and the alleged breaches of the treaty of 1562 were taken up by both sides. Though the negotiations which lasted a month and a half led to no result, they paved the way for a new treaty destined to replace that of 1562. It was concluded in 1578 by a great Danish embassy under Jacob Ulfeld.²⁵ The agreement arranged by Russia's chancellor Sokolov and Ulfeld, who proved to be an incompetent negotiator, was not ratified by Denmark's king.²⁶ Nevertheless, it formed a basis for future relationship of the two countries. It sealed Denmark's withdrawal from Livonia, leaving her nothing but the island of Ösel and some other small possessions formerly belonging to Magnus. All other parts of the Baltic provinces were abandoned in favor of Russia, which however presently lost them to Sweden and Poland.

Thus ended in failure Russia's first and temporarily successful attempt to be regarded and treated as a member of the European family of nations. True, the initial success was limited not only in time but also in effect. Yet, the treaty constituted an essential link connecting the past, when Russia was thought of as a strange, barbaric and un-Christian country and a menace to the western world, with the future, when she was to form an integral part of European organization and civilization.

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²⁴ MSS. Copenhagen, Rigsarkiv, T K U A , 95, 20-37 and 96, 5-12. Eysenberg's instructions published by Forstén, No 60 Cf *D N Tr* , II, 389.

²⁵ "Jacobus Ulfeldi Legatio Moscovitica," *Historiae Ruthenicae Scriptores Externi, Saeculi XVI*, ed. by A. de Starzewski (2 vols , Berlin-St. Petersburg, 1841).

²⁶ The treaty is printed in *D N.Tr.*, II, 403, 410 An account of the negotiations is given by Ščerbačev, p. 125 ff.

MARTIN KUKUČIN: PIONEER OF SLOVAK REALISM

By CYRIL J. POTOČEK

TWO DECADES AGO, in 1923, the Slovak Academy of Arts and Sciences known as *Matica Slovenská* celebrated its sixtieth anniversary. Present at the international convention of this body held in the Slovak cultural capital of Turčianský Svätý Martin was the figure with whom we have here to deal, Martin Kukučín.

A man of sixty-three at the time, a distinguished physician known for his unselfish labors in three countries and on two continents, to say nothing of being the reigning figure in Slovak letters, Kukučín was one of the half dozen stars of this stellar occasion.

Yet an American of Slovak origin who met Kukučín at this celebration reported that the quality which above all others marked the man and his every action was modesty. The shiest and quietest of men, Kukučín seemed desirous of avoiding rather than of inviting notice.

Here, in the behavior of Kukučín at the pinnacle of his fame, we have the key to Kukučín as a whole. Modesty was his outstanding quality, his deliberate passion. To do a job well, then quickly to retire and proceed to the business of doing another job equally well or even better, above all never to "let his left hand know what his right hand was doing," this was (as we shall see) Kukučín's rule of life, both as writer and man.

I

Martin Kukučín, or Matej Bencúr, to call him by his proper name, was born on the 17th of May, 1860, in the village of Jasenova, County Orava, in a district of Slovakia already well known to fame as the homeland of two other Slovak literary figures, the grammarian Bernolák (1762-1813) and the poet Pavel Orszagh, known as Hviezdoslav (1849-1921).

Bencúr's people were petty farmers, who tilled the soil of their meagre holdings for small return yet contentedly and, thanks to the rare natural beauty of the valley between Beskids and Tatras in which they dwelt, without great worldly ambition. Matej might, therefore, have lived and died in rural obscurity like all his ancestors (except a certain Jozef, 1728-1784, who seems to have been a writer of modest parts), had it not been for Ctibor Zoch, the local Lutheran pastor. Recognizing in the boy signs of more than average intelligence and ability, Zoch persuaded the elder Bencúr to send his son beyond the elementary school in Jasenova, to the Slovak gymnasium in

Vel'ka Revúca, central Slovakia. This school had been established in the early, liberal '60's, during the heyday of the above-mentioned Matica Slovenská, and its director, at the time of young Bencúr's studies there, was Julius Botto (1848-1926), well-known historian of the Matica Slovenská and author of many historical tales. We have a lively and sympathetic account of school days at the famous gymnasium in Kukučín's *Mladé letá* (1889; "Youthful Years").

Bencúr spent three years at Revúca, and was on his way to completing his education in Slovak at Turčianský Svatý Martin, when this school, along with all others in which Slovak was the language of instruction, was closed (1874), in accordance with Budapest's program of enforced Magyarization. Bencúr was obliged to change his plans and proceed to the Hungarian gymnasium at Baňská Bystrica. After completing his studies here, he took a teachers' training course at Kláštor pod Znievom and then in 1879 returned to Jasenova to teach in the local school and play the organ in the local church.

Matej was not satisfied for long to remain in Jasenova, and soon we find him leaving his post to devote himself to what he now fixed on as his life work, namely, medicine. After completing the requirements for admission to medical school at Šopron, he proceeded in the autumn of 1884 to Prague, and enrolled in the Charles University.

II

Bencúr did not go empty-handed to the big city. About a year earlier there had appeared in the Slovak periodical *Narodné Noviny* ("National News"), a journal published in Svatý Martin under the able editorship of Vajanský (Svetozar Hurban, 1847-1916), the son of its founder, a story of Slovak village life entitled *Na hradskej ceste* ("On the Castle Road"). The tale was supposed to have been written by one Martin Kukučín, but the name Kukučín was unfamiliar in Slovak literary circles. Everyone liked the story, however, both readers and critics, and all began to inquire who this Kukučín might be. Soon the secret was out: Kukučín was none other than Bencúr, the one-time village schoolteacher and organist of County Orava, now the aspiring candidate for a medical degree in Prague. In the latter city an injunction to watch this new light on the Slovak literary horizon was delivered to the Slovak students there as early as in the spring of 1884 by C. Krčmery in an address¹ to the Slovak literary circle *Detvan*, so that when Bencúr arrived in the autumn he was greeted with warmth and appreciation, especially by the members of *Detvan*.

¹ "50 rokov v Prahe," *Detvan*, Turč. Sv. Martin, 1932, p. 20.

It was with his arrival in Prague that Bencúr began to practice the amazing and complete dualism which was to characterize his whole life thenceforward, as, with his one self, he studied medicine and won a degree in this science, and, with his other, forged for himself an enviable name in Slovak letters. It was as if his daytime pursuit, the study of men's bodies, were not enough to satisfy his inner craving, and that this had to be supplemented by some other, nighttime pursuit in the realm of men's souls. It was in Prague, at any rate, that Bencúr laid the foundation, by constant practice in writing, of the reputation he was to enjoy as the portrayer and revealer, *par excellence*, of the Slovak soul.

Bencúr owed much to the *Detvan* circle, mentioned above, and also to Maša Neureuterová, a cultivated woman at whose home the small group of students from Slovakia were accustomed to gather. Those were great days in Prague, it will be recalled. The National Theatre was once more in full and glorious operation after the fire which had cut short its first flowering, and Thomas Masaryk was lecturing in the University, where the Czech language held a place of honor. Under the guidance of Masaryk and his close friend the Slovak Jaroslav Vlček (1860-1930), *Detvan*, founded in 1882, was becoming each year a more and more salutary and powerful stimulus to serious creative work among the young Slovak students in the city. It was within its hospitable circle that Bencúr tried out his stories and offered for discussion and criticism his theories of art, it was here that he became familiar with world movements in literature, especially with the great realistic movement in Russia.

In Prague, while he was still a student, Bencúr, or Kukučín as we should call him now, produced the stories that form the solid pillars of his fame. Outstanding among these are, besides the above-mentioned *Mladé letá*, *Rysavá jalovica* (1884; "The Mottled Heifer"), a humorous sketch based on boyhood memories; *Neprebudený* (1886; "The Unawakened"), a masterly portraiture of the awakening of human feelings in the dull soul of a village gooseherd; *Keď báčik z Chochol'ova umrie* (1890, "The Legacy"), a richly humorous tale of the profligate squire whose only way out of ruin appears to lie in his uncle's death, with the attendant legacy for himself, but whose uncle refuses to die; and *Mišo* (1892, *Mišo*), an amusing picture of the priest's servant who from too frequent tipping gets into a series of awkward situations. In all these tales Kukučín painted, as may be imagined, from life, easily and naturally, but with the surest of touches, capturing the peculiar quality of the village. Because of his uncompromising realism he has been compared to Gogol and Turge-

nev, and even to Gorki, but with the latter especially he has little in common. In all his work there is not a trace of bitterness. an innate optimism and love of humanity, inherited, it is said, from his father, saved him from seeing, even in the blackest situation, only the darkness, and caused him always to discern the hope behind the despair.

III

Bencúr received his medical degree in July, 1893, and prepared to return home to Slovakia. But debts to the amount of some 1700 guldens were a source of worry to him. The prospect of paying these off on the salary of a Slovak village doctor was far from bright. When, therefore, Marko Didolić, a wealthy Dalmatian wine merchant whom he had met at the Neureuter home, suggested that he try for the lucrative post of town physician of Selcia, on the island of Brač, Bencúr had not the heart to refuse. He tried and, thanks to the support of the Didolić family, won the appointment. He received word of his good fortune in December, 1893, and set out at once for his new home, arriving there on the 6th of January, 1894.

In Selcia Bencúr made his home with the family of Tomas Didolić, and after he had been there for some years married Perica Didolić, the niece of his friend Marko. The young physician was happy in his new home, but, as we know from letters he wrote to friends in Slovakia, he often thought of returning to his native land to practice medicine among his own people. In January 1897, for example, when he had been in Brač for about three years, he confided to a friend in Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš that he would like to settle there if only there were a good opening.² When, however, he was informed, some time later, of a promising field there, he changed his mind and remained in Dalmatia. Bencúr knew only too well that in Slovakia he would have no opportunity of piecing out the modest pay of a country doctor by any profit from his literary activities, since the sale and distribution of books in Slovak was made exceedingly difficult by the increasingly stiff Magyarization regulations. As Seton-Watson has pointed out, the prohibition of the written word in Slovak was so rigid that "in many districts it was almost impossible to introduce any save prayer-books and calendars."

Bencúr did not reveal his other, Kukučín, self when he took up his new life, and it was some time before even the Didolić family was aware this other self existed. Here we begin to see the modesty of which we spoke above manifesting itself. Bencúr had come to Brač to serve a community which, though foreign, had welcomed him as one

² *Slovenské Pohľady*, Turč. Sv. Martin, Vol. IV, p. 227.

of its own sons, and he was determined to give the community his best. Medicine was the instrument by which he could do this and to the practice of its arts he wished to give his full time, at least until he had proved himself. Soon, however, Tomas Didolić received a chiding letter from Maša Neureuterová in Prague. "You do not appreciate this man . . .," she wrote,³ "he is the distinguished Slovak author, Martin Kukučín." After this Bencúr could no longer hide his talents, and it was not long before he found himself being drafted into demonstrating these by composing short sketches and plays in Croatian for the children of his friends! Modest as ever, Bencúr did not dream of preserving these fragmentary pieces, and so we have no way of telling whether they were worthy of his gifts or not.

Brač, and especially the home of Bencúr's host, was a favorite resort of the literary and artistic of the Dalmatian mainland. Here Bencúr met such well-known Croatian literary figures as Ivan Despot, Ivo Čipiko, Silvije Kranjčević and Ivo Vojnović. Though he enjoyed the presence of these men and basked in their conversation, the young doctor gave no sign that, as his *alter ego*, he was himself one of their own company. He seemed to have made for himself an inflexible rule: serve, and observe. And from this rule he was never to deviate all his life.

His habit of long and intense observation served Kukučín well when he turned for relaxation from his professional duties to his hobby of writing, as he soon did after settling in Selcia. First in *Svadba* (1896; The Wedding), and later in the two-volume novel *Dom v strani* (1903-1904; "The House on the Hillside"), we have the fruit of his reflection on human ways and motives.

Dom v strani had as its prime virtue utter and complete objectivity. The house on the hillside which figures in it so prominently and is indeed the symbol of Dalmatian life, as Kukučín observed it, was the home of one of the author's closest friends, Janislav Vrsalović, at Oklad. From its windows and porches could be viewed the whole magnificent panorama of the Adriatic. From it one could get a sense, also, of the whole drama of Dalmatian life, focussed as this was upon two interests, the sea and the vine.

As in Slovakia, when Kukučín was a child, so here in Dalmatia, there was deep and universal conflict between the classes. Here, as there, the interests of peasant and lord stood at variance. Yet Kukučín, when he came to present the Dalmatian scene, as previously when he was dealing with Slovakia, avoided writing from the class angle.

³ Branko Nižetić, "Kukučín na ostrove Brači," *Slovenské Pohľady*, XLVII, 229.

Dom v strani is the story of an ill-assorted love. Niko, a young squire whose prototype Kukučín found in the above-mentioned Vrsalović, becomes infatuated with a peasant girl, Katica Berać, and declares his intention of marrying her. He is opposed in his design by his mother, the wise, strong-minded and capable Anzula. With this situation as his starting point, Kukučín might, as he confided to his neighbor and friend Branko Nižetić, have produced a strictly class novel. But he refrained. Despite his congenital bitterness, as a Slovak, toward the "zeman," or landlord, who was of Magyar or Magyarized Slovak stock, Kukučín never saw the peasant as all good and the "zeman" as all bad. Anzula is made to oppose her son's marriage not on the ground of Katica's class, but on that of her flightiness and general unfitness for the exacting position of a landowner's wife. Kukučín makes Katica's own father, the sober, conscientious, self-respecting Matej, oppose the match also and for the same reason. Thus we have in *Dom v strani* a sound, well-balanced, and moving tale, with both Niko and Katica coming to their senses in the end and marrying mates of their own class and position.

Selcia gave Kukučín material for a number of short stories, — *Štedrý deň* ("Day of Abundance"), *Mišo I, Párnik* ("The Steamer"), to mention but a few. In these we find all the figures and types Bencúr knew, as the town physician, in his daily living. Notable among these are the pastor of Selcia, Father Margetić, in his garb of a French abbé, and the various members of the Ostojić family.

More than once, in the early years of his residence on the island of Brać, Kukučín spent his vacation travelling on the Dalmatian mainland, in Croatia proper and in the wilds of Montenegro. He kept a diary⁴ of his travels and noted down all the details of sunlight and storm, of beautiful women and fascinating historical monuments — the famous old bridge at Podgorica, for example — of Montenegrin princesses and Turkish effendis, and of the comforts and discomforts, the good meals and bad that he experienced on the way. Because he was able, thanks to his command of languages, to talk with virtually everyone he met, whether high or low, in his native tongue, these travel notes are unusually illuminating and deserve translation. They are full of humor and constitute a faithful picture of a society whose formal, political structure the First World War was so soon to shatter forever.

Kukučín remained in his post on the idyllic island of Brać for more

⁴ *Cestopisné črty v Dalmaciji a na Černej Hore*, 1896, and *Cestopisné crty Rjeka, Rohac, Zahreb*, 1901.

than twelve years. In 1904 he married, as we have said, and then, two years later, in the summer of 1906, decided to shift his residence. When he presented his resignation to the Selcia Town Council a great protest went up,⁵ for Dr. Bencúr was exceedingly popular and the thought of losing him was painful to all. But the doctor's resolution could not be swerved: evidently something had occurred which made life no longer pleasant in the Dalmatian paradise. Nižetič, who knew Bencúr better than anyone else in Selcia, says⁶ the reason for his determination to leave was his desire to escape from an awkward situation caused by the political rivalry existing between the families of Didolić and Vrsalović, both of whom were his patrons and friends. Though, as Kukučín himself said, the feud was "a tempest in a glass of water,"⁷ its consequences for him were unpleasant in the extreme and he wished only to be out of it. Accordingly, on June 2, 1907, Dr. Bencúr and his wife Perica left the island of Brač, to seek their fortune in the New World. Their destination was the Chilean nitrate center of Antofagasta, a region already well known to the fellow-countrymen of Bencúr's wife, many of whom were well on their way to fame and fortune in that part of South America.

IV

Instead of going to Antofagasta, Kukučín landed at Buenos Aires, since an epidemic of black measles was raging in the Chilean port and no ships were permitted to call there for a period. He remained in Buenos Aires for a year, putting his time to good use by studying Spanish in preparation for the state medical examinations. At the end of the year, having passed the examination, Kukučín and his wife pressed on to the part of South America which seemed, for one reason or another, to offer the best promise for a man with medicine as his profession.

The territory to which they went seems to the outsider as unlikely a region as could be imagined, for it was the wind-bitten wasteland of Punta Arenas, a settlement in the Tierra del Fuego extremity of southern Chile. Situated on a strip of sand jutting out into the Strait of Magellan, and battered by icy winds from the Antarctic and the Andes alike, the settlement was in bleak contrast to the lovely Dalmatian island from which Kukučín had come. But there were Dalmatians here in numbers, and these needed a physician. There was a

⁵ *Slovenské Pohľady*, XLVII, 330.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 229

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 253, also, L. Kuhn, "Kukučín Zomrel," *Prudý* (Bratislava, 1928), XII, 348

vast opportunity for service and a chance to be in on a great project: the making of a new race in a new world. The challenge appealed to Dr. Bencúr as a physician and to Martin Kukučín as a student of human nature and a recorder of its whims.

During the decade and a half of his residence in Punta Arenas (1907–1922), Kukučín again demonstrated the old modesty with respect to his literary achievements and talents. Although it was generally known that the good doctor was fond of his study and his thoughts, no one had any idea what it was he occupied himself with when he retired to his study with those thoughts. It was reported that “he wrote,” but no one in Punta Arenas took this seriously, regarding it rather as just a hobby of his. At the same time his activities as Dr. Bencúr were well known, especially those which occupied him during the period of the First World War, when he was active in the various movements leading toward Yugoslav union and independence. As city physician of Punta Arenas, moreover, he was for many years active in Red Cross work and was for a time director of the Chilean Red Cross as a whole. In recognition of his services to the French colony in Magallanes, the province of which Punta Arenas was the principal town, he was awarded a medal, and for his service to the Yugoslav cause was made a member of the Order of St. Sava by King Peter I of Yugoslavia.⁸ When he died in 1928 the Punta Arenas newspaper *La Union*, in its issue of August 31, eulogized Bencúr’s work as a physician, declaring that the mission of this “modest” and “humane” man was “like that of the holy and learned apostles,” but it made no reference whatever to his activities as a writer.

So far as we know Kukučín did not actually finish any literary work of any sort during his years in South America, not even the travel diary of his visit to Patagonia,⁹ a trip he made with his wife in 1913 and 1914. Like his other travel notes, this also is rich in detail and full of human interest. The *pampas* themselves were fascinating to the good doctor, but more fascinating than these were the strangely assorted folk who dwelt on them: pioneers from every corner of the world, living in loneliness and yet in hope, creating a new world, breeding a new race. The most moving thing about them, in Kukučín’s eyes, was their nostalgia for the homeland, together with their pitiful efforts to transplant even a little bit of that homeland to the raw and unfriendly wilderness. He noted the quiet hospitality of the Croatian and Dalmatian farmers in whose huts he stopped on the

⁸ Bonačić-Dorić, “Bencúr v Magallanes,” *Slovenské Pohľady*, XLIX, 563

⁹ *Prechádzka po Patagonii*, Turč Sv. Martin, 1931.

journey, the neatness, against odds, of their wives, and the wonderful dishes, so like those he had enjoyed in Dalmatia, which they set before him.

As a good Slovak, Kukučín entertained high hopes for the future of his country at the close of the First World War and he was eager to visit it at least and perhaps to settle there permanently. Accordingly, he left Punta Arenas in September, 1922, his departure being the occasion of much sorrow on the part of the entire community which he had served for so long. Regretful notices in the press¹⁰ and a number of farewell banquets marked his departure, while the hope was repeatedly expressed that he would soon come back.

V

Kukučín returned in popularity and pride to the country of his birth, but he did not remain there long. Changed conditions in the political and social life of Slovakia caused him to feel somewhat of an alien in his own land, and the bickerings attendant upon the formation of the new Republic of Czecho-Slovakia wounded his peace-loving spirit. Soon we find him fleeing for respite from all this to the warmth and joy of the sunny island of Brać, which had given him his happiest years. In Slovakia, as he wrote to his friend Nikola Ostojić from Zadar,¹¹ where he settled, things were far different from what he had expected to find, and his old friends were weighed down with cares and anxieties. He fled to Brać because, as he said, "In a sense I belong to this island. But whether I shall remain here always, or at some future time change my allegiance. . . ." Who could say?

Soon we find Kukučín, now well along in years, leaving Brać for Zagreb, and paying a visit in search of health to the mineral springs of Lipika nearby. Then in 1925, unable to settle down, he pulled up stakes again and made a trip to his former home in South America. It was as if, when he found himself an outsider, almost a stranger, in the Slovak homeland to which he had so long looked forward as his final dwelling place, Kukučín could find no other home anywhere that satisfied him fully.

The South American journey, however, took the restlessness from Kukučín's bones, and he returned to Yugoslavia to settle down to two years of hard, persistent labor, in the course of which he not only put together in publishable form the Patagonian travel notes mentioned above, but also completed three long novels which he had

¹⁰ *Slovenské Pohľady*, XLV II, 229.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 254.

been working at simultaneously for sometime, to say nothing of a number of Slovak tales similar to those with which he had made his first reputation.

The best of the three novels of Kukučín's last years was the five-volume novel of Dalmatian emigrant life in South America *Mat' vola* (1926-7; "The Homing Call"). The title is somewhat misleading, since the theme is, actually, The Meaning and Power of Money, though, of course, in a novel of emigrant life the "call of the mother" as a motif is a prominent one. In the hands of the shopkeeper Simon Katović, one of the principal figures in *Mat' vola*, money serves as a liberating agent, freeing its possessor from the meanness and narrowness that accompany poverty and enabling him the more fully to serve his fellow men. In the hands of Petar Bubinović, however, money only enslaves, only delivers its possessor into the power of liquor and gambling and women. Between the two extremes of Katović and Bubinović move the rest of the colonists, each having in his nature something of the one and something also of the other type.

It is not to be wondered at that Kukučín saw his characters through the prism of their attitude toward money: the Dalmatian emigration to South America had money for its spur and goal, and idealism played little part in it. But it is regrettable that the good doctor, through knowing his patients' more sordid side too well, perhaps, produced, when he put on his Kukučín mantle, what amounts to an indictment of emigrant life, to say nothing of an encyclopedia of its failings, rather than what might, in less scientific hands, have been a rich artistic canvas.

Kukučín's other two long works of the later period were the historical novels *Bohumil V. Zabor* and *Lukaš B. Krason*, both of which were still in manuscript at the time of their author's death. They were published in Turčianský Sv. Martin in 1929. The action of the two works takes place in the period centering around the year 1848, when revolution was in the air all over Europe, with Prague the scene of *Krason*, and the Slovak village of Badišov the scene of *Zabor*.

The more genuine and authentic of the two novels is *Zabor*. Here, in his realistic portraiture of the neglected Slovak village, Kukučín is at his best. Each of his characters is at once an individual and a type, from the hero himself, the Lutheran pastor Zabor, to Drozdík, the self-important churchwarden, the self-seeking mayor Hamula, the hard-working Ranostaj, proud of his fine piece of ground, and even the Magyarized Slovak "zemaň," Uzdík de Zemrud. The latter, a type avoided by Kukučín in his early tales as unworthy of his notice,

emerges true to life but without exaggeration, as a straddler who, while in one moment he urges the Slovaks to cultivate their own native tongue, in the next warns them that they must never expect any help from him in their efforts at self-improvement.

Zabor especially is an invaluable record of the period of L'udevít Štúr and the exultant nationalism of the 1840's which it commemorates, the epoch, we may call it, of Slovakia's birth pains. "Since the World War our novelists have written differently," observed the Slovak novelist and critic Elena Soltészová in a review of *Zabor*,¹² "for conditions have changed and there is a new spirit abroad. But Kukučín's *Zabor* will always have its place in our literature and history as long as Slovaks and a Slovak literature exist. The work will never lose its importance, for it portrays the earliest stages of our rebirth, a rebirth without which there would never have been a free Slovak people."

VI

Yet Kukučín himself never intentionally wrote a line with any such purpose in mind as is implied in these words. Tendentiousness of any sort, whether religious or political or nationalistic, was the farthest thing from his thoughts. In this, though he belonged to the tradition of Kalinčák, with his realistic novel *Restoration* (1860), and Vajanský, of *The Dry Branch* (1884) he was an isolated and lonely figure, traveling another road from these, and toward another goal.

For Kukučín wrote to entertain, and not to promote a cause. He wrote as an artist, because he had to, because an inner urge prompted him thus to find the self-expression he could find through no other outlet, on account of his modesty and shyness. And he wrote simply what he saw, as he saw it, with eyes that were of the heart as well as of the mind. Dear to him were the village fairs and markets, the country pastors and priests, the county courts and elections, the festivals of Christmas and Easter, of high summer and harvest. He had the power to recapitulate these on the printed page to their last detail, and in full color. Yet he saw not only the surface of things, nor was life for him without spiritual foundation. To him, a true Slav, God was present in everything and everywhere: in the field as in the church, in the waving grasslands of the savage *pampas*, as in the sheltered village of his beloved Slovak mountains.

Kukučín held himself aloof from life, and, owing nothing to anybody, thanks to his remunerative profession, he was able to write as he felt, and to portray the soul of his people as it seemed to him to

¹² "Dojmy z romanu B. V. Zabor," *ibid.*, p. 255

be. He himself was typical of that people, as has often been noted, full of their deep spirituality, yet possessed of shrewd common sense, rich in ancient folk-wisdom. "A typical Slovak, who served devotedly, for modest recompense, lived frugally, then vanished, to move ever and ever onward. . . ."¹³ Matica Slovenská has served his memory well by collecting and publishing his works in an edition commensurate with their importance.¹⁴

¹³ Dragutin Prochaska, "Kukučín v Slovanskom Realizme," *ibid*, p. 552.

¹⁴ 1928–1932, 27 volumes plus 5 volumes of *Mat' vola*, 32 volumes in all.

RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF

By EDWARD C CARTER

BECAUSE it is a "most favored" nation, and one sensitive to distress in parent lands of the many population strands woven into its life pattern, the United States has a firmly established reputation for international philanthropy.

This tradition for world-wide generosity is well maintained today. The President's War Relief Control Board has a war relief agency registered for virtually every one of our fighting or Axis-occupied allies, and even for one erstwhile enemy, Italy. Other organizations cut across national lines to aid the refugees, war prisoners and other dislocated groups of the entire continent of Europe.

Russian War Relief currently is the largest of these American agencies for foreign war relief. It also stands in historical sequence as the third humanitarian movement launched in the United States within the last half-century for the express and exclusive purpose of giving succor to the Russian people at a time of crisis (in addition to the great life-saving aid which has been given during the same period by by American Red Cross)

Yet Russian War Relief differs in some respects from its contemporaries and predecessors. One of these differences is the unique importance of its by-product. In the process of supplying some very practical aid to a hard-fighting ally, the Russian relief program has been largely instrumental in opening a Russian window on the United States and an American window on Russia which would have amazed that great Russian champion of window-openers, Peter the Great.

With the third anniversary of the ghastly war on Europe's eastern front come and gone, Russian War Relief's third birthday is not far behind. This is already a longer life than that of the Russian Famine Relief Committee launched exactly 50 years earlier, in 1891. Since Russian War Relief still has considerably more of a job to be done, however soon the guns of Europe may stop firing, there is no doubt that it will also represent a considerably longer activity than the American Relief Administration's great operation in feeding some 10 to 12 million Russians during the catastrophic famines of 1921-1922.

The first of these three programs was by far the simplest. A committee composed of the most distinguished citizens of the time, including ex-president Rutherford B. Hayes, appealed for both cash and gifts of grain. Emphasizing the traditionally friendly relations between the Russian Empire and the United States, especially the Russian Navy's visit to American waters during the Civil War, the

group quickly obtained direct contributions of large quantities of wheat and raised \$100,000 in cash. After sending five shiploads of flour to Russia, the committee disbanded the following year.

However, our philanthropic custom in foreign relief and missionary activity usually emphasizes American supervision of the effort in foreign countries. The ARA's on-the-spot distribution of food and other supplies in the famine areas of the early 'twenties accorded with that custom, having a staff of 200 Americans and an estimated 80,000 Russians involved in the mammoth undertaking.

Russian War Relief, on the other hand, operates exclusively within the United States as a collection and purchasing agency. While its program has always been closely geared to Soviet relief needs, it has functioned from the start as an act of faith, without any strings attached. It has been an expression of confidence in the integrity of Soviet resistance to Hitler, an expression inspired simply by the humanitarian aspects of the needs created by that struggle.

On a return trip last fall from visits to India and China, I accepted a standing invitation to look over the operations of the Soviet relief commission which distributes RWR supplies and those received from all other private United Nations relief agencies such as ours. The commission is composed of representatives of the Army Medical Services, the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and the health and education commissariats, which operate welfare institutions and are in direct touch with civilian needs through local relief commissions in the war-torn areas. Through these channels, the commission distributes all relief supplies pouring in from private foreign sources to the big central warehouse near Moscow which is maintained by the consignee, VOKS (Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries). My primary purpose in looking over this operation was to see whether what we were sending was what was most wanted and needed.

I returned from the visit with a message for our knitters that Red Army men do not wear wristlets and with some suggestions for improving our methods of sorting and packaging supplies. I also came back with the conviction that our "act of faith" had been completely justified by its end results. I found our supplies meticulously accounted for, judiciously distributed and profoundly appreciated. These gifts, with their source clearly identified by labels bearing the stars and stripes, and messages "to the heroic people of the Soviet Union from the people of the United States of America" have, in my opinion, done more to cement friendly relations between the two nations than any other single factor on the non-military level.

The memory of the food and other aid with which the ARA saved millions of lives some twenty years ago still persists in the Soviet Union today. To the many men of the Red Army whose wounds have healed with sulfa drugs from the United States, and to many civilians wearing American clothing, must have come the recollection that American aid also rescued them as children from starvation. These freshened memories have helped renew the old pattern of friendship.

In this country, however, the great humanitarian effort of the ARA did nothing to revive the friendly sentiments which had surrounded our historic relations with pre-revolutionary Russia. With public sentiment toward the Soviet government then at a low ebb, the ARA Russian-aid program operated in a vacuum of forbearance. A summary report which the Commission on Russian Relief of the National Information Bureau issued in 1923 reflects the strains under which the ARA advanced into a famine-stricken country disorganized by civil war and by a revolution of which the excesses had shocked large sections of our population. The Commission's report stressed that American aid, far from having been conditioned by the Soviet's economic or political policies, had been given, in fact, "in the face of almost universal disapproval of Soviet policy because of the wish to meet a demonstrated human need."

Russian War Relief embodies the same purely humanitarian principles as the ARA, but was born in a somewhat different moral climate. Springing up spontaneously in the fertile ground of parallel national interests that were soon to lead to full military and diplomatic collaboration against a common foe, Russian War Relief by the logic of events became a channel for the practical expression of sympathy to a great ally whose victories were being purchased at a cost in blood, material destruction of territory, and human suffering which we have fortunately been spared. By the logic of history the program became, in the words of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, "a great humanitarian service to our common war effort."

Any effort which serves to re-enforce our foreign policy to the extent that Russian War Relief does was bound to gain popular support. But to assemble the greatest amount of relief supplies available — which is, after all, the agency's basic purpose — a rather vigorous public relations policy was indicated from the beginning for several reasons. One of these was the necessity of counteracting the negative after-effects of years of American-Soviet diplomatic strain, particularly the shock and bitterness caused by popular misinterpretation of the German-Soviet Pact of 1939. Moreover, RWR, unlike the ARA,

was not operating with any Congressional bounty, but was soliciting its entire support from private citizens at a period when many highly deserving demands were being made upon their purses and consciences. It was necessary to explain to the public not only why our Soviet allies needed and deserved our help, but also to express in the personal and concrete terms to which the public responds, needs which are remote in distance and in our own experience of suffering.

Thus, in the face of old misunderstanding, antipathy and prejudice, the essential facts were established that:

1) By their great and costly military contribution to our common cause, the Soviet people have saved many American lives, and thus merited our friendly aid;

2) American-Soviet friendship, which can be fostered through RWR, would be an asset to the good of this country and the world, and is necessary for the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

Of course, Russian War Relief has had very great help from the Red Army and the Soviet people generally in establishing these facts. We can take little direct credit for the success of a cause which "sold" itself over and over again through our press, radio and newsreels. A groundswell of respect and sympathy for these valiant allies gave impetus to a program which allowed concrete expression for this growing friendliness.

The founders of Russian War Relief may, perhaps, claim some credit for having anticipated that groundswell of sentiment to "do something" for the victims of that bloody struggle which was shaping up as one of the most decisive events in world history. The Americans who, prior to June 22, 1941, were supporting the British War Relief Society and United China Relief as a patriotic duty, felt that parallel aid to this third great nation defending herself against Axis aggression would be aid to this country as well. But *how* and *through whom* were questions during the first few weeks of blazing action in eastern Europe.

In July, 1941, a small group of business and professional men, religious and welfare leaders, met informally in New York City and created the Provisional Committee for Medical Aid to Russia. The well known New York attorney Allen Wardwell, who had been a member of Red Cross missions to Russia in 1917 and 1918, and is now Honorary Chairman of Russian War Relief, was one of this group. Among others were Charles C. Burlingham, former president of the New York City Bar Association; Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the Arctic explorer; Professor Howard Chandler Robbins; Judge Thomas

D. Thacher and two noted journalists, Walter Duranty and Joseph Barnes. The writer was appointed chairman of this preparatory enterprise, and Miss Harriet L. Moore was named secretary. Dr. Henry Sigerist, medical historian of Johns Hopkins University, soon agreed to head the committee's Medical Advisory Board.

We had come together completely on our own initiative. There was no Soviet appeal for our aid such as Maxim Gorki had made in the famine emergency of 1921, and our own government was absorbed in the more compelling problems of military supply. However, with similarly minded groups mushrooming throughout the country and threatening to create a problem in coordination for both United States and Soviet officials, the American Committee for Medical Aid to Russia was soon to receive encouragement from both governments to function as a central and national agency for all private aid to the Soviets.

The first list of medical supplies needed and assurances of Soviet aid in delivering them were promptly received from Constantin Oumansky, then Soviet Ambassador in Washington, when he was informed of the Committee's existence. In a telegram dated August 18, Mr. Oumansky committed his government to "full cooperation in obtaining transportation facilities for the medical supplies donated by your committee."

This cooperation has, indeed, been complete. All relief supplies have been picked up in American ports and carried to their destination by Soviet boats, planes and trains without charge to our agency. The delivery of these supplies will make an interesting story, when it can be told. Suffice to say now that, according to the latest documentary evidence available, shipping losses have been about one percent.

In his statement to the Committee, Ambassador Oumansky also declared, "The formation of your committee comes at a time when the Soviet Embassy is receiving numerous inquiries from people all over this country as to how they can aid us in this fight. The offers vary but the spirit motivating them remains the same: the noble spirit of the great American people who hate aggression, who want to see the Nazi aggressors defeated, who know that our cause is a righteous one. The organization of your committee for medical aid will provide a channel through which the American people as private individuals will be able to render their assistance to our people. I hope that it will be possible for you to coordinate all such efforts through your national organization."

Full approval of the President's Committee on War Relief Agen-

cies (now the President's War Relief Control Board) and other pertinent government agencies was secured before the Medical Aid for Russia Committee announced its existence.

Assurances were received from President Norman H. Davis of the American Red Cross that the creation of an independent committee for Russian relief was not only desirable but essential. Shortly thereafter, the American Red Cross was to begin its own program of Russian relief, with funds largely supplied by the U. S. Government. American Red Cross shipments to the USSR had reached a total value of \$21,751,063 by March 31, 1944, by which date Russian War Relief had shipped goods worth \$25,064,651.

About the time the American Red Cross program was launched, the Committee for Medical Aid to Russia had learned that civilian relief goods, especially clothing, would be as greatly needed as medical supplies. It was deemed advisable to broaden our sphere of operations and change the name of the committee to Russian War Relief.

Because Russian War Relief coordinates its purchasing program with that of the U. S. Surgeon General's office and the War Food Administration, and operates within the framework of controls established by the Foreign Economic Administration (including Lend-Lease) and the War Production Board, overlapping effort has been eliminated. At the same time the Russian people have been provided with the greatest volume of supplies which can be obtained for them.

Availability of supplies here is, by the way, the chief limiting factor since there is absolutely no danger of duplication or waste at the receiving end. In fact, I found on my visit to the Soviet Union last year that the devastation is so vast, the human woe so great that it would be impossible for the Soviet government and all friendly government and private agencies to meet the total need for relief supplies.

Exceedingly favorable and widespread editorial support of the program followed our first press conference on August 19, and has continued ever since. The organization has also been subject to a few unwarranted political attacks during its existence. Taking into consideration the extent of anti-Soviet sentiment in this country before the war, and the vulnerability even of foreign relief agencies to various types of isolationist pressures against our foreign policy, these attacks have been few and far between, and usually have been retracted when the misconceptions on which they were based were cleared up. Russian War Relief has been the subject of many thousands of favorable newspaper and magazine articles, while network and local radio programs carry its message into American homes two or three times a week.

When the agency was incorporated in the State of New York on September 12, 1941, its 14 directors included distinguished representatives of industry, finance, and the professions. The majority continue to serve on the present expanded board with the nation's top labor leadership, and with other prominent Americans. Among these directors are Alfred E. Smith, Henry C. Alexander, Owen D. Young, Vladimir Zworykin, Marshall Field, B. A. Tompkins, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Thomas J. Watson, Harold H. Helm, William W. Lancaster and others.¹

Russian War Relief, Inc. had the endorsement of some 500 sponsors, including distinguished citizens in every phase of our national life, when it launched its first drive for one million dollars with an immensely successful rally in Madison Square Garden, New York, on October 27, 1941. This was to be the first of a long series of "Help Russia — Hasten Victory" public events which have had a favorable reception in all parts of the United States.

Another important date was October 3, 1941, when the first shipment of supplies — \$35,000 worth of operating-room equipment — started on the long journey to Soviet army hospitals. This was the first of three small medical shipments made in 1941.

In December, our own entrance into the war caused a temporary halt in RWR's purchasing program until our own immediate military needs could be determined and met. But the organization of Russian War Relief as a national agency had made a good beginning before the Red Army presented us that month with its first decisive victory by shattering the myth of Nazi invincibility at the gates of Moscow. Guided by the experience of British War Relief, the directors of Russian War Relief had begun authorizing local committees to carry on the RWR program in their own communities. This activity started in November, 1941, under the general guidance of a small field staff; by the end of the year 16 committees were in being.

The number jumped to 290 by the end of 1942. A year later there were more than 400 of these authorized committees in 40 states and the District of Columbia.

¹ Others serving on the Board of Directors, of which Mr. Carter is president and Mr. Allen Wardwell is honorary chairman, are Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin, Warren P. Livingston, Lewis H. Mays, William L. Batt, Benjamin H. Kizer, Dr. Hugh Cabot, Mrs. Hugh L. Cooper, Clark H. Minor, William N. Haskell, William Green, James N. Rosenberg, Francis C. Stokes, Philip Murray, Raymond Robins, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Mrs. Edward C. Carter, John C. Cooper, Frances Adams, Zlatko Balokovic, C. C. Burlingham, Leo Krzycki, Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, Maurice P. Davidson, Henry Grady, Peter Grimm, Mrs. N. Penrose Hallowell, Pierre Jay, Gale F. Johnston, Harry McCall, Harriet L. Moore, William Morris, Jr., Serge Semenenko, Joseph A. Rosen, Reeve Schley, Enders M. Voorhees, W. W. Waymack, A. F. Whitney and Richard Welling.

That figure does not accurately represent the agency's full strength, since some of the committees are state-wide, county-wide or powerful civic organizations with large numbers of sub-committees. For example, the New York City Committee has major set-ups for each of the five boroughs and 60 neighborhood committees, 52 of which have their own permanent headquarters for the collection of clothing, sale of RWR's specially designed merchandise and other activities. In addition there are trade union, industrial and women's divisions, and 24 nationality or foreign-language groups (among them strong German, Lithuanian, French, Hungarian and Russian sections).

The calibre of committee leadership duplicates that of the national board of directors. Outstanding figures in civic life, usually the same men and women who are at the helm for War Bond, Red Cross and National War Fund campaigns, direct the activities of each Russian War Relief Committee. This direction is no simple matter of assent or consent to suggestions from national headquarters, for the local directors are responsible for all phases of the committee program, and authorize all its expenditures.

Some of the committees maintain paid secretaries or other salaried workers, but they total only about 125 for the entire country, including some 30 for the New York Committee. Most of the activity is carried on by tens of thousands of volunteers, whose highly efficient and devoted services constitute an epic of the home front.

Their contributions of time and energy, with those made by many leading representatives of the entertainment industry, musicians, writers, speakers and designers, have enabled Russian War Relief to keep its complete administrative, promotion and collection costs below 5 percent of income. The exact figure achieved for 1943 was 4.43 percent, which, according to the President's War Relief Control Board, is one of the lowest on record for any comparable agency. These costs include the maintenance of a professional and clerical staff of about 100 in the national headquarters and the field.

This organizational structure is necessary for the still expanding relief program which the people of the United States have indicated, by their support, that they want Russian War Relief to do. By June 30, 1942, eight months after the launching of its first drive for funds, income in cash donations, pledges and contributions had reached \$3,516,486. There were large individual and corporation gifts, such as one of \$75,000 from the U. S. Steel Corporation, and hundreds of thousands of small contributions down to nickels and dimes from street collections and the pennies of school children. For all of 1942, against a goal of \$6,000,000, RWR had an annual income of \$7,277,-

734, with an additional \$2,000,000 in War Chest pledges, and allocations received that year but payable the following year.

With contributions in cash and gifts-in-kind two and one quarter times greater in 1943, Russian War Relief was enabled to assemble and ship to the Soviet Union last year relief supplies worth \$15,598,600. Soviet boats that year carried 8939 tons of medical goods, clothing, seed, foodstuffs, watches and miscellaneous supplies. At the year's end, an additional \$1,182,733 worth of supplies was in transit.

When the trend for the amalgamation of war relief fund-raising reached fruition last year in the establishment of the National War Fund, Russian War Relief became a participating member, with a budget allocation of \$9,000,000 for cash purchases and administrative expenses. This development effected a major change in agency operations. Our committees placed their organizations and manpower at the service of the State War Funds and the local War Chests for the annual fund-raising campaigns, but energies previously devoted to year-round fund raising were now released for the collection of gifts-in-kind, especially for gathering, sorting and conditioning millions of pounds of clothing.

The rapid organic growth of Russian War Relief and this war fund development together accounted for a nearly ten-fold increase in contributions in kind last year, compared with 1942. By conservative wholesale valuation, these reached a total of \$7,742,430. Our sights are set this year for the collection of \$12,000,000 worth of these gifts, which adds up, with our cash allocation, to a \$21,000,000 relief program for 1944. We expect to achieve this goal.

Clothing and textile shipments, which absorbed only 17 cents of our relief dollar in 1942, took 61.7 cents of it last year, indicating a substantial change in the program. Medical supplies, dominant in the early shipments, had consumed 76 cents of each relief dollar in 1942.

Meanwhile, the tide of Nazi invasion had flowed east to the Volga at Stalingrad, where the great Russian victory early in the year had thrown it into violent reverse. As the Red Army began to buy back the nearly 600,000 square miles of living space it had been forced to trade for time, the task of supplying emergency relief to millions of destitute, sick and half-starved civilians in that wasteland assumed appalling proportions. Soviet economy, hard hit by the invasion, and geared exclusively to military needs, could not meet the minimum needs of vast numbers of war orphans being gathered into children's homes, of the families returning from places of temporary refuge to find their homes in ruins, and of families who had remained through

the occupation and been robbed by the invaders of clothes and household goods, even to soap and thread.

To the extent that this situation was to be met, it represented a great practical opportunity for humanitarian service on the part of foreign relief agencies. Thus it came about that helping to prevent epidemics, literally covering nakedness and providing seed for kitchen gardens became as important a job for Russian War Relief as sending medical aid to army hospitals. The clothing end of the job was particularly important since no civilian clothing is shipped to the USSR under Lend-Lease.

The amount of clothing which Russian War Relief can purchase in our wartime market has been limited by stringent supply as well as money factors, but the agency has been permitted to ship all the contributed clothing it can get. To begin to meet the need for such aid, therefore, Russian War Relief has sent out a standing request to the American people to "share your clothing with your Russian allies."

Their response, often to the point of personal sacrifice, accents the dramatic extent to which giving of one's time and substance to "help the Russians" has become a popular movement. Many men and women entering the armed services turn over all their "civvies" to RWR. Teamsters give up rest days to get trucks together and drive them, while other union groups also contribute their services to many union campaigns.

Children throughout the country have brought millions of pounds of clothing to school depots. In one South Carolina town of 1,500, they recently brought in 1,829 pounds of garments and 800 pairs of shoes. Thousands of fur coats, many made from Russian skins, have been given. A church auxiliary in St. Paul held a "strip tease" party, with members taking off layer after layer of garments for Russian War Relief.

So run the reports from the state and community clothing campaigns, conducted everywhere with strong support from all civic, labor and social groups. Much of the 8,938,000 pounds of clothing, valued at 9,626,150, which was shipped to the Soviet Union last year was obtained through these drives. Donations are coming in this year at the rate of 1,000,000 pounds a month. Some of the contributed clothing is virtually new; the percentage of discard is small, although only clean garments with substantial remaining wear are shipped.

The making of clothing is another RWR activity which has leaped ahead in the past eighteen months. The committees carry on both knitting and sewing programs, and some have large and well-equipped workrooms. This project now accounts for a monthly turn

out of more than 20,000 items of apparel, ranging from diapers and children's clothing to surgeon's gowns and the usual assortment of knitted sweaters, socks and warm accessories for soldiers.

At the beginning, all material and yarn for these garments was donated, and the New York workroom, in the heart of the garment center, still operates almost entirely on gifts from wholesalers and manufacturers. Elsewhere, however, centrally purchased materials have supplemented the dwindling local stocks of yarn and yard goods.

In many cities, garment workers do all the cutting for the RWR committees, and in the major clothing centers locals of both the International Ladies Garment Workers (AFL) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO) have turned out large quantities of finished garments by working after hours or on Saturdays in their own shops. Employers cooperate by contributing the use of the machines. Atlanta clothing workers cut all the garments for students in 600 Georgia high schools, who, in the first statewide Sew-for-Russia project, undertook the making of 10,000 wool skirts and 5,000 baby sacques. The pupils contributed the snaps and thread and attached messages greeting the young people of the USSR.

Although the sewing program provides patterns, worksheets and other customary aids to efficiency, the finished products are often highly individualistic. Many American mothers lavish fine feather stitching or other fancy touches on layettes for Russian infants, while extra pockets filled with hard candy, wrapped in gay handkerchiefs, are often found in the children's overalls.

Production records have been established by two retired tailors in a Cincinnati home for the aged who made some 700 garments last year, and by a New England woman who turns out four pairs of socks every week for men of the Red Army. She has written Russian War Relief that when the monotony of the knitting is about to overwhelm her, the reflection that soldiers continue to fight and die no matter how tired they are gives her the courage to pick up her needles again.

While yielding top place to clothing in 1943, medical shipments of 2,378 tons of supplies, worth \$5,063,612, continued a major factor in the relief program. The supplies, purchased for Russian War Relief by the U. S. Surgeon General's Office, included such items as 85,393 pairs of surgical and autopsy gloves; 34,450 amputating and operating knives; 67,200,000 sulfapyridine tablets; 250,000 ice bags; 275,000 surgical forceps of various types, and 11 complete mobile X-Ray units.

Russian War Relief has also been able to fill spot requests for small

quantities of drugs and instruments much faster than they could have been met through Government channels. Recently 3,000 units of the antihemorrhage vitamin, bictin, were flown to the Soviet Union. RWR also gave Russian doctors quick access to experimental quantities of penicillin.

Medical supplies never spend much time in the large two-story warehouse near Moscow where all supplies from private relief agencies abroad are received for distribution. Relief officials told me that within two or three days after they arrive, two-thirds of the supplies are usually in the hands of Red Army doctors. The other third goes on to civilian hospitals, children's homes and other institutions.

Another important phase of the relief program has been the shipment of about 4,500,000 pounds of vegetable and field seed. This extremely effective addition to the scanty Soviet war diet supplements much larger shipments sent by Lend-Lease, primarily to feed the Red Army. It is a supplement, however, for which war workers, children and hungry families have expressed profuse gratitude, to me personally and in many messages to Russian War Relief. More than 60 per cent of the carefully selected seed shipped went as a direct gift from American seedsmen and farmers, and our agricultural stations and colleges added fine assortments of experimental seed to the cargoes.

This drive to "replant the scorched earth" was especially popular in Kansas and other grain states, whose best wheat was derived from seed brought from Russia about 60 years ago. Perhaps some more seed varieties will come to us from there after the war. At any rate, a Moscow agronomist recently cabled that Soviet experimenters are working with our seed and trying to obtain new varieties, the best of which, he hoped, would one day "add to the seed varieties of our American friends, who have given us such sterling aid in our time of need."

Smaller drives are conducted for medical textbooks to help re-stock the shelves of wrecked medical libraries, and for watches needed by army physicians and nurses. More than 22,000 watches have been shipped, some of them contributed and some purchased. The determined efforts of our watch repair staff derive an average of one dependable timepiece from every two contributed watches, ranging from "mickey mouses" to valuable and cherished heirlooms. Some 25 other gifts-in-kind, including sulfa drugs, foodstuffs, razors, cigarette lighters, and repair parts for musical instruments, are also accepted for shipment.

An expansion of one-third in the relief program at the beginning of

this year was accompanied by the announcement of an important new campaign. The agency is asking Americans to share a specified list of inexpensive household utilities, unobtainable in the devastated areas, with Soviet families trying to set up housekeeping again in that mammoth Valley Forge. Three million of these kit collections, bearing personal messages from American "good neighbors," are our goal for the year.

The first shipment of kits arrived at our New York warehouse from a Texas city where there is no organized Russian War Relief activity. These gifts were from members of a Baptist church. Many similar carloads followed from large and small communities throughout the southern states, marking the fulfillment, or rather the over-fulfillment, of a project undertaken by the Southern Baptist Convention last year to send 100,000 household kits to Soviet families. Close to 175,000 have already been packed in this single goodwill gesture.

The Southern Baptists were the first religious denomination to undertake the filling of kits on an organized basis, but many others and many national organizations, such as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts and Campfire Girls, have suggested that their members throughout the country pack them as part of their war service program. Members of Russian War Relief's Interfaith Committee, representatives of 17 religious denominations, have made similar recommendations to their own church groups.

This growing support by a representative variety of organizations justifies its founders' conception of Russian War Relief as a program meriting the participation of the entire American community. The agency has never directed special appeals to citizens of Russian birth or ancestry. That does not mean that these people, including political émigrés, have not been generous supporters; they have, in fact, elected to work enthusiastically for this cause. But so also have many other thousands of citizens with German, Italian, French, British, Hungarian, and the many other antecedents making up the American pattern.

The tangible results of their united efforts to pay a debt of gratitude to an ally who has contributed so much to the saving of their own civilization may be seen in the two large warehouses in America which process RWR supplies for shipment. The seven-story New York warehouse, with its 70,000 square feet of space, is three and one-half times the size of its predecessor, a building which was rented with some trepidation about two years ago. This second building is also at times too small for the job it must do.

Clothing collected in the New York City Committee's recent cloth-

ing drive piled up to the second story on the outside loading platform and reached the ceiling inside on several floors. Additional warehouse space totalling 22,000 square feet had to be taken to handle the present flow of clothing and other gifts from all points east of the Mississippi. In the main warehouse, 50 bales of clothing, each weighing about 500 pounds, and crates filled with from 10,000 to 12,000 kits, are prepared for shipment each day by two shifts of workers. Contributions pouring into Portland, Oregon, from states west of the Mississippi tax the staff and facilities of RWR's 50,000 square feet of warehouse space in that port city.

Nevertheless, the supplies are rushed out to the boats and across. Rounding out a circle of partnership, they are conveying to a suffering ally something over and beyond treaties and agreements.

The end of this effort is not yet in sight. Certainly it cannot stop while the need for such emergency help continues to reach to more and more gigantic proportions. Each salute from Russia's victory guns booms out not only triumphs of arms, but also the message of another liberated region whose acute needs will add to the enormous relief job that must be done.

The planning and organization necessary for the rehabilitation of these recaptured areas are already well advanced. There can be no doubt that these people, who have stoically borne hardships and privations beyond our imagination, will recover from this supreme ordeal with their characteristic resiliency. Yet, within the framework of Soviet administrative measures for relief and reconstruction, life-saving aids from abroad will still be needed and welcomed for at least a year or two after the curtain rings down on the present military action in Europe. Soviet industry, which has never fully met the need for consumer goods, and was converted in its totality to military production three years ago, simply will be unable to turn out all the medical and sanitation supplies, the clothing and other relief which must be forthcoming before life can be restored to a minimum of normality.

If we understand correctly the sentiment of the people of the United States, they want and expect to help the people of these war-stricken areas make their fresh start. As the agency which has been privileged to convey the great outpouring of American sympathy for these valiant allies, Russian War Relief will continue to exist and give practical expression to this sentiment as long as the desire and the need exist for it to do so.

NEW YORK

NOVGOROD, CONSTANTINOPLE, AND KIEV IN OLD RUSSIAN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

By KENNETH JOHN CONANT

RUSSIAN ecclesiastical architecture presents a very interesting study in artistic geography, and its monuments typify, with unusual fidelity, the various episodes in the development of Russia itself. The lusty northern strength, the mystical Byzantine piety, and a haunting orientalism are all expressed in the church buildings, and the long development which brought them into organic architectural unity is a fascinating one to follow. Its theme is a curious counterchange of northern and southern elements, both affected (in varying degrees) by the East.

Christianity filtered into the old heart-land of Russia from the south, but the first churches of all, modest indeed, were doubtless built in the local northern "vernacular" architecture of shed-like units. Early evidence of various kinds indicates an underlying architecture of this sort in Ireland (seventh century), the Carolingian Empire (eighth century, figure 1), Britain (tenth century), and Scandinavia (eleventh century) — if not before, in each case. Imagination of a high order was used to create bold and interesting combinations of the basic forms in Russia, albeit the well-known examples are all late and highly evolved designs — often fantastic to the verge of incomprehensibility as presented in ordinary illustrations.¹ They need their color and the winter snow to be understood. Their loveliness is not to be savored until they are seen singly or grouped in the silhouette of old cities or monasteries, above the vast horizontal of the Russian plain or tundra, on eminences above the rivers, or by the shores of woodland lakes. Something deep in the artistic consciousness of the Russians called forth this elaborate and highly appropriate evolution.

Leaving aside for the moment the influence of masonry building we may say that doubtless the first shelter of the Christian cult in Russia, as elsewhere, was in buildings of domestic character. The houses and churches alike of the first six hundred years of Russian Christendom have perished, yet the domestic architecture is so traditionally conservative, the compositional principle of the monumental church architecture is so deeply rooted, and the early use of the shed

¹ They are well analyzed and illustrated with traditional basic units, in M. Krasovskii *Kurs Istorii Russkoi Arkhitektury* (Petrograd, 1916); more generally accessible in D. R. Buxton, *Russian Mediaeval Architecture* (Cambridge, 1934).

like units is so widely extended in Northern Europe, that we may speak with some confidence of the earliest forms.

The single oblong room with walls of solid log construction is basic in Russian vernacular architecture. It occurs with three basic types of roofing — the wedge roof with two steep slopes and a ridge, the hip roof with four slopes and a ridge, and the low pitch roof with two gentle slopes and a ridge. It is supposed that the first two types, which provide a desirable loft over the main room, are inherited from thatched shelters of primitive character; the low pitch roof implies a heavier timber construction.

At an early but undetermined period square, hexagonal, and octagonal units came into use in the churches. The square may have any one of the roofs just mentioned, but it usually carries a square pyramid. The hexagon and octagon regularly appear with a steep pyramidal roof called a *shatyor* or tent roof. This form may indeed have been suggested by actual tents, which (as photographs of our South Pacific bases show) are striking when seen in wooded country.

It is clear that even the simplest combinations of these roofed units offer a considerable variety of form — bold, strong, and active in silhouette because of forthright geometry. The typical old-Russian village, for instance — a mere row of parallel pitch-roofed *izby* (cottages) spaced along a roadway — has a great dignity of general effect on this account, and the same thing is true when the units are assembled together as buildings.

All but the simplest buildings involve reduplication or joining of units. The modes of combination in Russia depend in part on the fact that stiffness in log-walled construction comes from the corners: thus units of greater and lesser width are combined, and stiffened by the jogs. Such combinations infallibly result in interesting roof-lines, whether the slopes are uniform or different.

The roofing itself may exemplify interesting combinations. For example, the wedge roof may have several offsets of uniform slope; it may be built with two additional eave-slopes of lower pitch, or blunted as it were to the four-slope gambrel. A steep pinnacle built on the ridge is not merely decorative: it performs the function of making a building perceptible at a distance. Where a uniform roof is continued over two adjacent rooms of differing width, the eaves cast differing shadows; and further examples of the same sort might be cited.

Thus — obviously — interesting buildings were natural and spontaneous in early Russia. But surely a certain sophistication came with the start of Christian building. The earliest unmistakable ecclesiastical

design in Russia was probably an axial composition of porch, nave, and sanctuary (all shed-like units), with or without a pinnacle, and the date would fall not far from 940. After that time there was increasing knowledge of the church architecture of regions bordering on the Black Sea. Cruciform and radiate plans and superposition of units (for example, octagon upon square) came about, so it is believed, from this circumstance. Stone vaulted construction, introduced from the south, is responsible for the rounded forms which appear in the wooden church architecture — the *bochka* or barrel roof, for instance, may be derived from the rounded eaves of the typical Byzantine or Russo-Byzantine masonry church of the eleventh century.

We know how deeply Christianity stirred the imagination and spirit of the Russians, and of course the early builders of wooden churches responded too. In so doing they continued a normal functional development called for by the increasing church establishment, and also initiated a stylistic development in which all of the functional units already mentioned came to be used decoratively — even multiplied for decorative effect: indeed whole systems of such units were so used. Art historians find that the source of such a development is likely to be an important and admired original key design, so widely imitated that it contributes its forms in greater or less degree to a family of buildings, and thus becomes a familiar and accepted norm in the fund of architectural thought.

The first truly Russian church of monumental character was the old wooden cathedral of Novgorod, built by Vladimir shortly after the official conversion (989). It is hardly open to doubt that this building had affected the design of others before it burned in 1045; in all probability, then, its influence spread through the Novgorod settlements and thus has come down to our time. although it is recognized that we have no close copies among buildings still extant or pictured. Vladimir's cathedral was obviously an important design, for it is reported without further description as possessing thirteen *verkh*i or "tops." While *verkh* is the word currently used for a dome, it is virtually impossible that the church had structural domes in wood. Fantastic groups of pinnacles appear on the roofs of late wooden churches, but there is no evidence for such groups of pinnacles in early work. The text therefore seems to imply (even if the *verkh*i were decorative or secondary) that the church was covered by a roof system of thirteen practical elements. One of these might be roofing above a series of porches, and if so, a normal and reasonable combination of twelve log elements (one to a *verkh*) would be expected in the main part of the fabric.

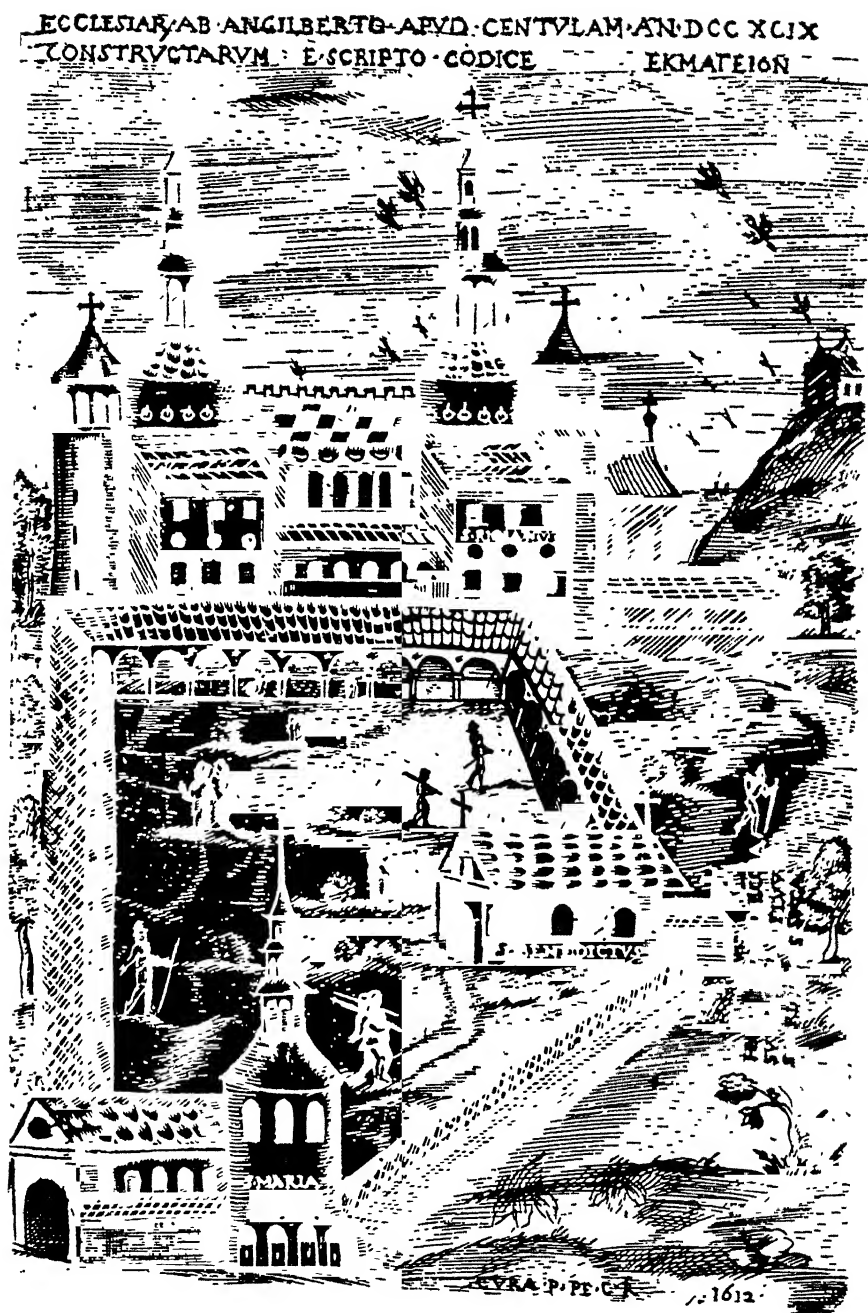


FIG. 1 Monastery of Centula (St. Riquier), dedicated 799–800; copy (1612) of an eleventh-century miniature (Petau). St Benedict's chapel is a "shed church."

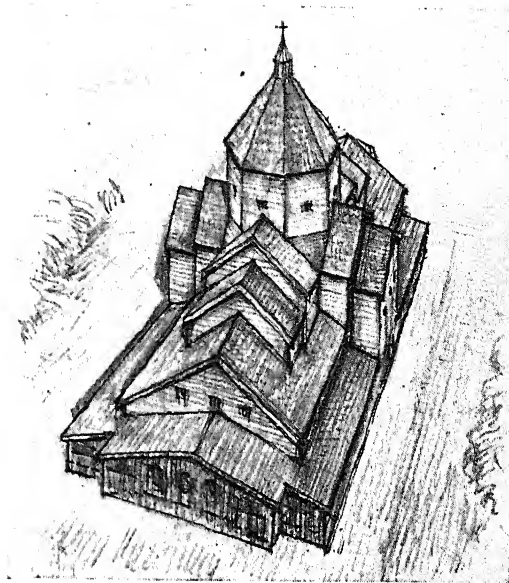


FIG. 2. Conjectural Restoration of Vladimir's cathedral of Novgorod, *ca.* 989 (Conant)

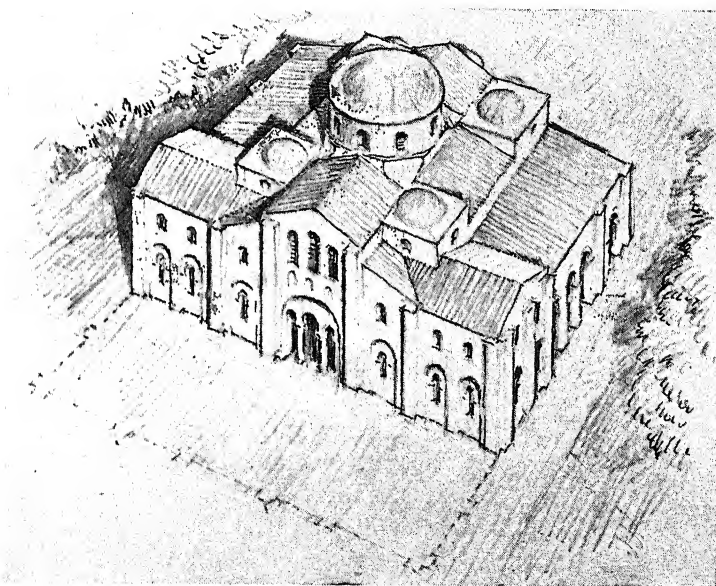


FIG. 3. Conjectural Restoration of Vladimir's Desyatinnaya, Kiev, 991-996 and later (Conant)

In placing the elements we must take account of the ethos of the existing buildings, but remember that they are remote parish or countryside churches, whereas the old cathedral of Novgorod was an important court church. Khersonesian and Greek clergy were associated with the builder prince, and we must suppose that the plan of the cathedral of Novgorod was not entirely unlike that of the masonry Desyatinnaya church in Kiev begun in 991 — likewise a court church. Also, we may call to mind the extensive military campaigns of the period, including those of Vladimir's father Svyatoslav who ranged from the Caucasus to regions south of the Danube. These international contacts gave the court a more than local outlook. In view of these conditions, the number of plausible schemes for the Novgorod church is not large, and the most likely one is shown in the accompanying restoration (figure 2).

The diagram was worked out by architectural and structural feeling, but needs some comment. According to a casual reference reported to me, and unfortunately not traceable, one of the Novgorod cathedrals was built by a member of the Yasit (Ossetian) tribe from the Caucasus. If he was Vladimir's architect the case would be strong for a square nucleus carrying the octagonal tower, because that motive is common in the ecclesiastical architecture of Georgia and Armenia. Or a building like the eleventh century hexagonal church of Kazkh in the Caucasus might have suggested a gabled octagonal nucleus carrying a central tower and tent roof of the same shape. These alternate solutions are perhaps too intricate for the tenth-century date.

It is an attractive hypothesis that Vladimir's cathedral of Novgorod possessed the first really notable octagon in Russian church architecture. A stepped ridge is called for in any plausible arrangement of the thirteen roof-units. The stepped ridge inevitably gives considerable height to the central feature. Here the octagon would be logical, for its eight angles brace it admirably, and it can be carried to a considerable height more easily than any other shape except the unaccommodating hexagon. The multiplication of the octagonal motive in the area of the Novgorod settlements and its influence on the masonry architecture in later centuries lead one to seek out a most notable monument for its origin. Old St Peter's in Rome (first of the really great basilican churches, 323–326 A.D.) has similarly echoed throughout the history of church architecture in Western Christendom, and in the East the influence of St. Sophia in Constantinople (532–537, first of the really great vaulted churches) is comparable.

There is the question why, if the Rus were Scandinavians, a Norse

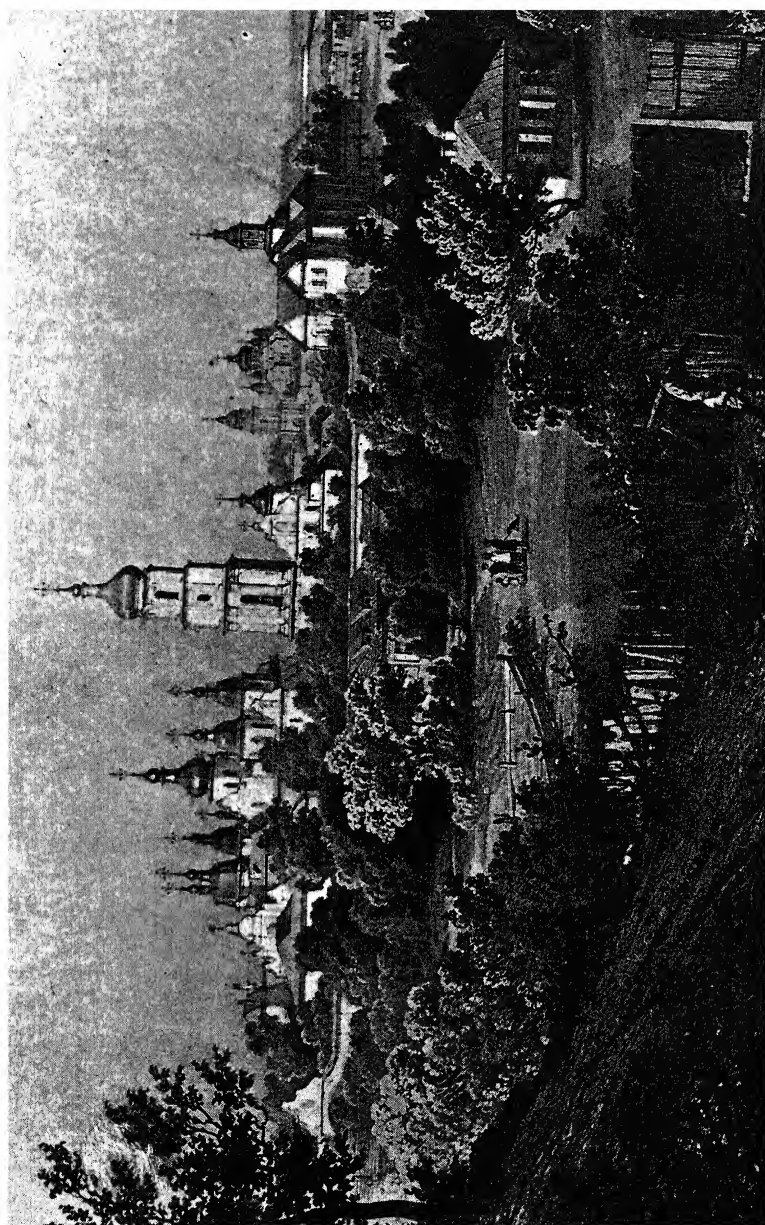


FIG. 4. The Hill at Kiev, from the West (Russki Khudozhestvenny listok V. Timma, 1854, #9)

Desyatinnaya—hidden, in middle distance beyond left side of St. Sophia

St. Michael St. George

St. Irene—site just out of picture, right

type of church was not raised at Novgorod. The answer probably lies in the fact that the Norse church-type was not yet developed or widely influential in 989. On the basis of scanty remains under the church at Gamla Uppsala it is supposed that the Norse churches were based on a pagan temple type with a square central unit, perhaps tower-like, enclosed by a wide aisle. The Kievans of the pagan time are believed to have had a temple type of their own, possibly a tower-like sanctuary carried on an oval masonry base.² It may be that the church octagon is in some measure the heir of this local pagan form.

Excavations published in 1918 show two masonry palace halls of the tenth century on the great hill at Kiev (figures 4, 7). One of these is reported in the time of Vladimir's mother Olga.³ Foundations alone remain, but the work had a certain scale, and the second set of walls was provided with strip buttresses like those which became typical in the Russian vaulted churches.

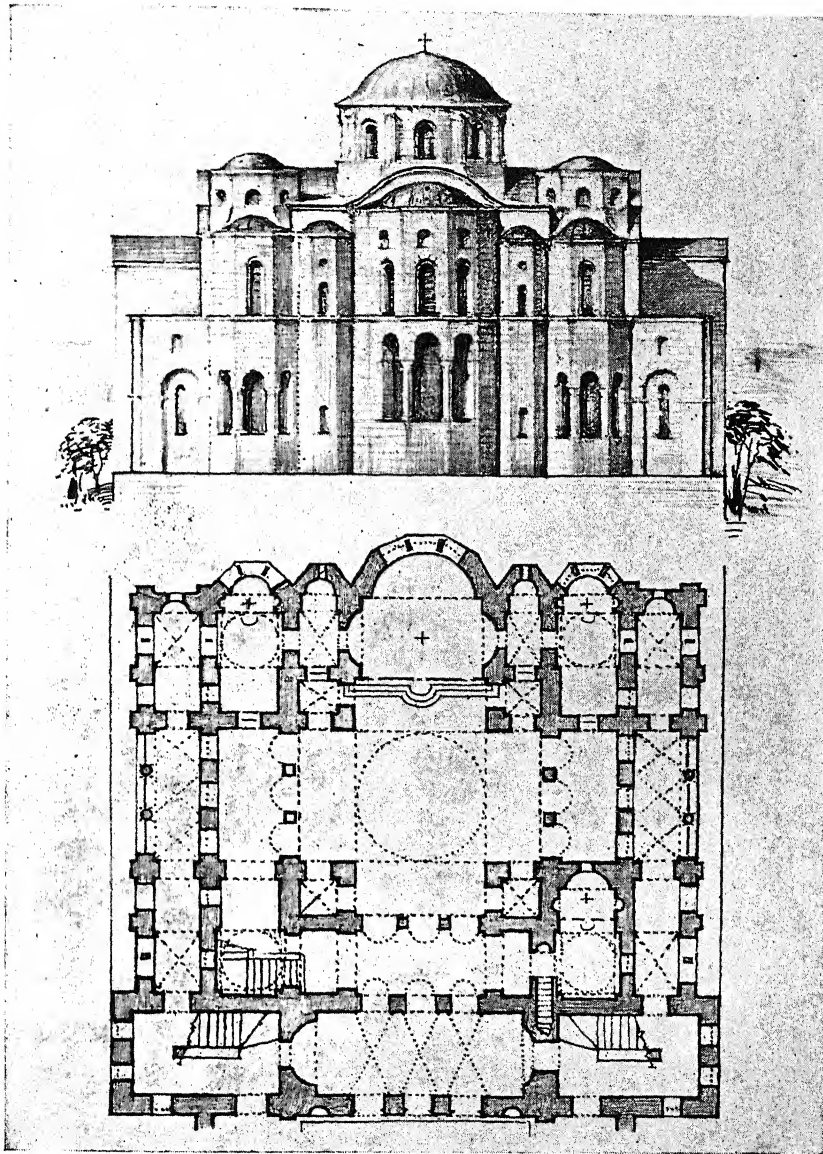
The first church which Vladimir raised in Kiev³ was the ephemeral St. Basil, presumably dating from 989. In 991 he began the erection of the first notable masonry church in old Russia (figure 3). It was built in the palace area, and not intended, as far as we know, to be a cathedral, yet it inaugurated the architectural importance of Kiev. Though the city was religiously an outpost in Vladimir's time, extant monuments show that there was a well-constituted Russo-Byzantine church style in existence not long after his death (1015). When the noble Kievan cathedral of St. Sophia came to be built (1037) it was a many-domed structure which actually surpasses mediaeval Greek models in certain respects, and is perceptibly Russian in temper despite its Byzantine decoration.

About 1034 the five-domed cathedral of Chernigov was founded, and in 1045 that of Novgorod, both in a mature style with marked Russian peculiarities.⁴ The domes are more prominent than in contemporary Greek work, but arranged on the Byzantine quincunx or "five-spot" plan — a motive which was used in numberless variations, structural and decorative, in a myriad of Russian churches during the succeeding nine hundred years. The genesis of this development would be perfectly accounted for by a quincunx design in the palace church of Kiev before 1034, and otherwise it is very difficult

² M. Alpatov and N. Brunov, *Geschichte der Altrussischen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1932?) p. 3.

³ S. H. Cross, H. V. Morgilevski, K. J. Conant, "The Earliest Mediaeval Churches of Kiev," *Speculum*, XI (1936), No. 4, p. 477 ff., hereinafter cited as EMCK.

⁴ Both these beautiful buildings have been severely damaged in the present war, and the virtual destruction of the cathedral in Chernigov is certainly due to German vandalism.



FIGS. 5 and 6. Conjectural restoration of the Palace Church, Nea Ekklesia, in Constantinople, dedicated 881; east elevation and plan (Conant)

to explain. We may reasonably follow the opinion of Golubinski,⁵ the most distinguished modern historian of the Russian church, "We have no positive evidence, but with all probability we think, that it had not one dome, but five, and that in general plan and in form it should be imagined as more or less identical with Yaroslav's St. Sophia, in which it is proper to see its reproduction" (or rather its augmented reproduction, since we now know that all thirteen domes of St. Sophia are integral; compare figures 3, 11).

The church would thus be grouped with a series which is represented in Constantinople by the Palace Church, Nea Ekklesia (881, figures 5, 6), the Theotokos of Lips⁶ (or St. Mary Panachrantos, 908 and later), St. Theodosia⁶ (1000±) and St. George in the Mangana⁷ (ca. 1045). Nea Ekklesia, a famous building for its architectural form and its decoration, is known to have been the creative monument in this series. It becomes a fair question to ask whether Vladimir did not obtain the design of his palace church, as well as his bride, from the Sacred Palace in Constantinople. Professor Cross has well said, "Since Vladimir had made himself the dominant figure in Russia, the potentate with whom he might most readily compare himself in moments of reflection was the one with whom his subjects were in most frequent material contact — the Emperor of Byzantium. The prestige which the latter derived from his association with the hierarchy was clear to all contemporary observers."⁸ Vladimir by his conversion and his imperial marriage had an obvious occasion for raising a Byzantine-style palace church at a time when Nea Ekklesia in Constantinople was still the most fundamentally interesting mediaeval church. He caused it to be dedicated, like Nea Ekklesia, as a church of the Virgin. He gave it a very considerable endowment — a tenth of all his possessions, from which circumstance it received its usual name, the Desyatinnaya.

Incomplete plans of the excavator D. V. Milyeyev (figures 7, 8) have led many critics, including the present writer, to suppose that the Desyatinnaya was originally basilican, like St. Sophia, Ochrid (founded before 1018) because transverse chain walls are lacking at the east end.⁹ But it is worth noting that St. Sophia at Ochrid has

⁵ EMCK, p. 484.

⁶ K. J. Conant, *A Brief Commentary on Early Mediaeval Church Architecture* (Baltimore, 1942), pp. 15 ff. and plates xvi to xxiv.

⁷ R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le Quartier des Manges et la première Région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1934), pp. 19 ff.

⁸ EMCK, pp. 479 ff.

⁹ *Otchet Imp. Arkheologicheskoi Kommissii*, 1908, pp. 132-158, 1911, pp. 48-62; 1918, pp. 167-168; also EMCK, p. 481.

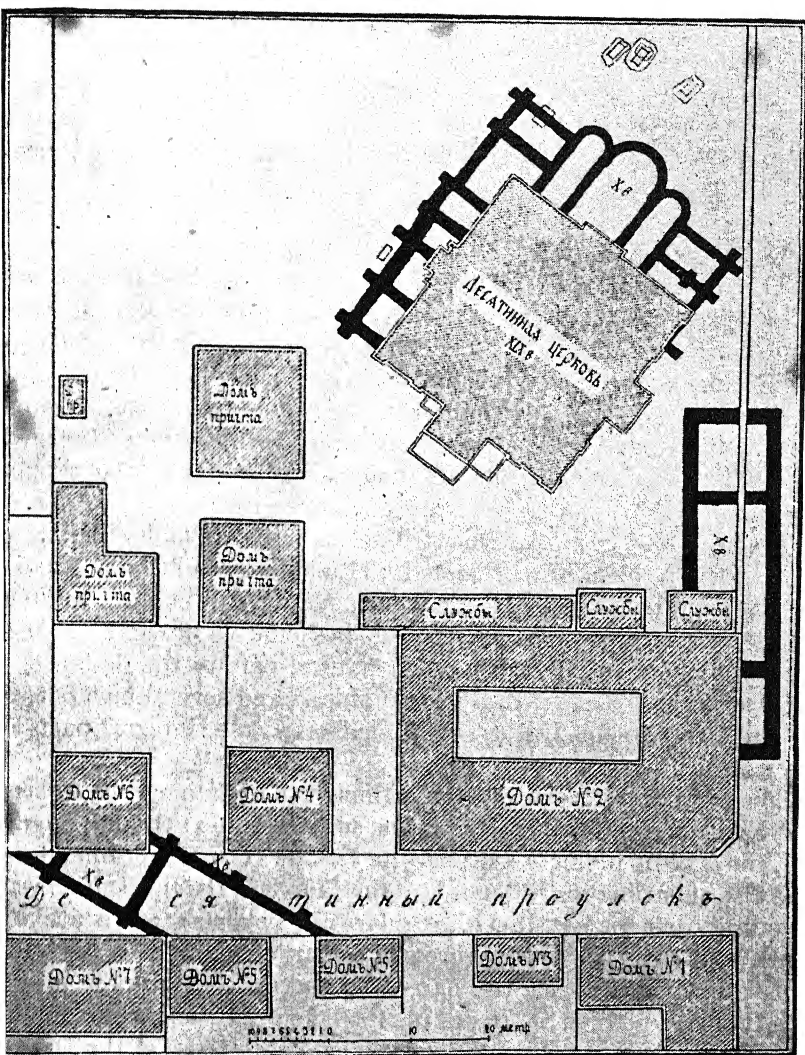


FIG. 7. The Desyatinnaya and its surroundings (*Otčet Arkheografičeskoj Kommissii*, 1918, p. 168)

two-story vaulted chapels at the east end, like Nea Ekklesia and its family. Moreover the timber-and-ballast platforms of the apses of the Desyatinnaya would compensate for the lack of chain walls, and by good fortune the partial excavation of St. Irene in Kiev (dated *ca.* 1050 but very close to the Desyatinnaya in its dimensions, and other features; figure 9) has presented us with a parallel example of domed construction where the chain wall system is incomplete. Thus there is no commanding technical reason against a five-domed "quincunx church" like the Nea Ekklesia. Chain walls would prove that the original plan called for five domes, but their lack does not disprove the five domes.

The foundation structure of the Desyatinnaya is peculiar, but it shares its peculiarities with other Kievan buildings of the following half century and more. The foundations are carried down 1.4 metres, which appears to be the ordinary frost level, and there the masonry rests on a chassis of heavy timbering, inserted as an armature against "heaving" after exceptional frost, and displacement in the rather powdery soil. Such timbering rots out unless it is below the level of ground water.

Professor H. V. Morgilevski attributes the need of vaulted buttress-aisles in St. Sophia, Kiev (figures 10, 11; similarly built on a chassis) to this fact. The aisles of the Desyatinnaya were ultimately vaulted, and perhaps for the same reason. But it should be brought out that the exterior aisles themselves are a natural part of the design of a great church of the period. At Nea Ekklesia and several members of its architectural family the exterior galleries were integral parts of the scheme.

The familiar plans of the Desyatinnaya foundations¹⁰ have been redrawn, ignoring irregularities in the substructure at the side (figure 8). The accompanying original, figure 7, shows changes of dimension and also an inclination of the axis of the church at the third chain wall counting from the east. Such irregularity is important: it is a likely mark of interruption in the process of construction.

Taking the succeeding two narrow transverse bays gives us a plan like that restored for St. Irene (*ca.* 1050, figure 9), where the dimensions of the middle part were almost identical to those of the Desyatinnaya.

Turning again to the narrow west bays of the Desyatinnaya, we find chain walls provided for minor domes, and the plan itself a simplified version of the Nea type. The slight projections on the flanks

¹⁰ *E.g.*, in D. Analov, *Geschichte der russischen Monumentalkunst der vormoskovitischen Zeit* (Berlin, 1932), p. 10, and Alpatov-Brunov, *op cit.*, p. 1.

are an indication (normal in the Nea type) of a narthex and tribune system including *labyrinthoi* like those of St. Sophia in Constantinople. Thus arranged, the Desyatinnaya would have twenty-five individual

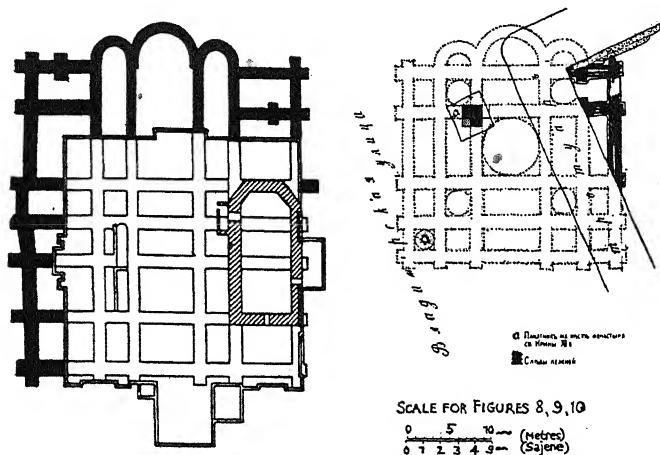


FIG. 8. Conventionally redrawn plan of the Desyatinnaya, showing the small chapel built in 1640 on its ruins, and interior chain walls suggested by excavations of 1824–28, before the modern church was built (Ainalov)

FIG. 9. Plan of St. Irene, Kiev, ca 1050 (*Otchet Arkheograficheskoi Kommissii*, 1918, p. 167)

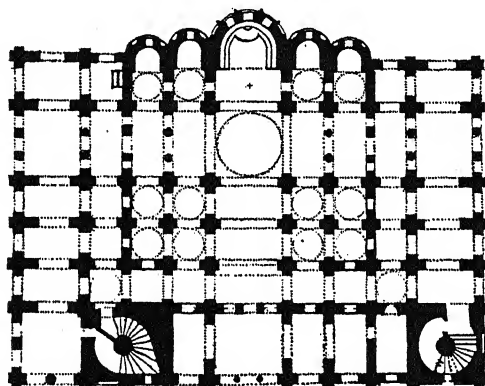


FIG. 10. St. Sophia, Kiev, begun 1037; approximate plan, as of ca 1100. Actually the layout is irregular, and many details are uncertain (based on Ainalov and Morgilevski)

compartments planned for vaulting — though not the twenty-five “domes” ascribed to it in one of the late sources.¹¹

¹¹ EMCK, p. 485.

If we have read the indications aright, the Desyatinnaya was begun somewhat on the plan of a Byzantine three-naved basilica. To erect this part alone would easily occupy the years 991–996, and the “dedication” of that year can have been no more than an *anoixēthyria* even though the church was richly endowed, and never a starveling. The Desyatinnaya as finally completed in 1039 was about two-thirds the size of St. Sophia in Kiev, which took some thirty-five years to build. With the construction of the two bays just west of the nave the basilica would be accommodated (so to speak) to the Nea scheme,

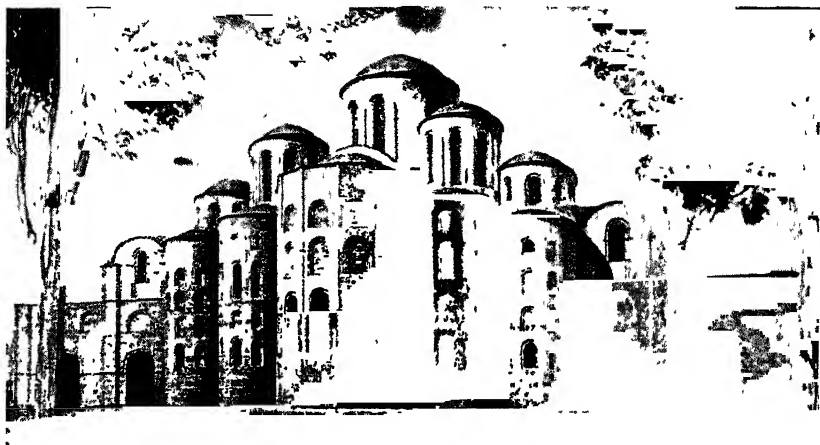


FIG. 11 St. Sophia, Kiev, east view, as of *ca* 1100 (Conant)

at least in part; the two westernmost bays, where the foundations are wider and the proportions different, would presumably be additions after the death of Vladimir (1015). Between a conflagration of 1017 and the dedication in 1039 the church was repaired and embellished by Greek workmen. We have no information as to the extent of their work, but the five domes in their final form may have been a part of it (figure 3).

The historical eminence of Kiev in Yaroslav's reign (1017–54) prepares us for his remarkable metropolitan cathedral church of St. Sophia, begun in 1037, dedicated shortly after 1060, and finished by 1100 (figures 10, 11). Its group of thirteen original domes is an augmentation of the Nea scheme beyond anything the Byzantines achieved: indeed, the finished building has nearly half the area of the

venerable patriarchal church of St. Sophia on the Bosphorus. Other facts are less obvious: the church is set out with an un-Byzantine modular system of squares (echo, perhaps, of the modes of timber building); it had a truly Russian vigor of exterior polychromy with its orange brick, its wide bands of pink mortar, and its striping of dark red quartzite. Its tall arch-topped exterior bay design was widely copied, and became typical. Its dome-cluster was the first to declare



FIG. 12 Vladimir, Cathedral of the Assumption, 1153-58, enlarged 1183-89, restored 1891 (Ananov)

itself as such in the typical Russian way.¹² Unquestionably the original proportions of the central group of five drums show, by their very energetic verticality, an infusion of the northern spirit already seen in the wooden churches. It was a poetic and beautiful building in its mediaeval state. Modern times have made it more picturesque, but not lovelier. Six great octagonal towers with bottle-shaped domes and pinnacles were added above the terraces of St. Sophia in the life-

¹² EMCK, p. 496, with plates following. The church escaped serious damage in the fighting, though the famous Pecherskaya Lavra suffered gravely.

time of Peter the Great and the original domes were reroofed, with striking profiles, at the same time (figure 4). It is well understood that these features confess influence from the incorrigibly energetic and imaginative church architecture in wood.

To find Russian church architecture in an authentically classic mood, we must go back to the second half of the twelfth century, when Vladimir and its region were the centre of Russia.¹³ Working in lovely white imported stone, the architects there achieved a most beautiful equilibrium of the Kievan and Novgorodian elements. Their work has a fastidiousness worthy of the Hellenic spirit, together with a sense of serenity and assurance which is never absent from the greatest works of art. The finest monuments of the School of Vladimir represent the whole of Russian church architecture and all its sources better than any other buildings. The designs are more mature than those of Kiev, and the discerning eye can see the germ of all the later developments. Details like the decorative arcades — transmitted through Germany or Rascia — and the sculpture — perhaps brought in through dynastic connections in the Caucasus — show the wide sweep of Russian contacts at the time.

But perhaps most interesting of all is the manner in which the ethos of Novgorod appears. Experience with the damp Russian climate showed that an air-space was needed between any vaulting and its protective exterior roof. That meant the imposition of a wooden (later metallic) structure above the masonry, and this structure, being framed and light, was easily susceptible, like the wooden fabric of the northern churches, to imaginative profiling. Thus it is that the cathedral of the Assumption at Vladimir itself, queenliest and loveliest of all the Russian churches (1158–89) carries above its bold quincunx of domes a set of beautiful gilded helmet-like shells with the middle part drawn up in a reverse curve to a spire-like point, the better to shed snow and give graceful support to the up-raised Russian cross (figure 12).

In twelfth-century Novgorodian illuminations, domes are already shown with bulbous profiles.¹⁴ It cannot be decided whether this is the result of Russian inventiveness or of influence from the south. Suffice it to say that the roof of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (dated

¹³ For this and the later buildings consult Buxton, Ainalov, and Alpatov-Brunov, *opp. cit.*

¹⁴ Illustration in A. I. Nekrasov, *Drevnerusskoe izobrazitelnoe iskusstvo* (Moscow, 1937), p. 99.

1016/17) is bulbous, with eave-slopes like those on the Russian bulbs. The Byzantine mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus (dated about 715) show kiosks with bulbous domes in a paradise which might be either Greek or Moslem.

The Novgorodian episode of bulbous domes came to fine flower in the parish church of the Tsars, the cathedral of the Annunciation in the Moscow Kremlin, built for Ivan the Great, 1482–90, by architects from Pskov. This is the most beautiful of the Krémelin churches. The coronation church (cathedral of the Assumption, 1475–79) was inspired rather stiffly from the cathedral of the same name in Vladimir: its importance is technical, due to the introduction of tie-rods by its Italian architect Fioravanti, to make greater spans possible. The burial church (cathedral of St Michael the Archangel, 1505–09) shows an early use of Italianate detail. Meanwhile other Italians introduced brick construction in the new Kremlin wall (1485–1516) and before long churches were built of brick also.

During the lifetime of Ivan the Dread a great church in masonry first took over the angular spire form which had been proper to wooden building. Thenceforth the art of church architecture progressed by the interplay of forms generated in wood and in masonry respectively. The church referred to, at Kolomenskoye (1532), has *bochki* or rather stubby decorative *bochka*-ends known as *kokoshniki*, ultimately derived from wooden roofing, but influenced by masonry, as their rounded shape discloses. Pinnacles in wood or masonry henceforth regularly carry bulbous decorative shells, likewise connected with the development of masonry architecture. Yet chapels and smaller churches in masonry come more and more to be built as blocky, almost cubical chambers resembling log-built rooms. They are usually of brick, with a decorative bulb or quincunx-cluster of bulbs roosting, so to speak, on the roof above gay tiers of rounded *kokoshniki*.

Phenomenal beyond all the rest is the great church of Basil the Blessed on the Red Square in Moscow (1554), a compound votive church of Ivan the Dread for the victory of Kazan, which ended the long period (1238–1552) of Tartar power in Russia. The church is a bundle of polychrome spire churches with interpenetrating ambulatories, and its structural masonry domes are capped by bulbous gadrooned and faceted shells which vie with one another in tracing a gorgeous, half-oriental, extrovert silhouette against the sky.

In this work, and in the uninhibited designs which followed it, the elegance of the underlying Russo-Byzantine architecture is forgotten,

of course, and the austerity felt in even the most involved log-built forms is lost. The effort of Patriarch Nikon in 1650 to recall church architecture to sobriety, by enjoining domes instead of spires on the churches, merely led to the substitution of fantastically profiled dome clusters (usually quincunx) which merged in roughly pyramidal spire-like composite shapes. In winter the bellies still show their color and gilding when snow has laid an eerie mantle on the points. Meanwhile the introduction of bells gave the opportunity to create beautiful spire-like octagonal belfries — yet one more victory for the beloved Russian spire.

Renaissance, Baroque, and Neoclassic styles succeeded one another, but the traditional vigor of the Russian forms was too much for them all, and one of its latest victories has been carried off in the modern style. The immense church of Christ the Redeemer in Moscow, largest in Russia, was a clumsy revival of the style of Vladimir built in brick (1838–83), faced with stone, and topped by five gilded metal shells above as many domes. As is well known, the church was demolished to make way for the new Palace of the Soviets, which was under construction at the beginning of the present war. The Palace design calls for a tremendous hall of domed form, built of course in steel, to sustain a breath-taking spire-like construction made up of superposed drum-like units, carried to a height of about 375 metres, plus a 60-metre statue of Lenin above, serving as pinnacle. Thus the hub of modern Moscow (it is just that, for the great avenues of the new city plan radiate from the Palace of the Soviets) must acknowledge an inheritance from the old wooden church architecture of Novgorod. It will loom above the spreading metropolis as the church spires do above the plains and the tundra.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

ON TEACHING CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN CIVILIZATION

By SAMUEL H. CROSS

THE multiplication of orientation and specialized courses (or parts of courses) on aspects of Soviet history, diplomacy, social policy, economics, government, and culture which seems likely to result from the present war and from the emergence of the U.S.S.R. as a world power of the first magnitude confronts American educators with related problems of some scope.

For the first time, the Western democracies find themselves in momentary friendly partnership with a nation actuated by an alien ideology which, until recently, led it to be critical of, if not aggressively hostile toward, the spirit of their political institutions. With respect to this nation, a marked cleavage of opinion has existed between those who are more or less disposed to accept its ideology as a fairly logical phase of human sociology and politics, and their opponents who, from experience, prejudice, or honest conviction, regard it with varying degrees of aversion as a political and social menace.

The existence of diverse emotional attitudes toward the Soviet system has accordingly provoked popular criticism of colleges and individual scholars who are alleged either to have gone too far in their friendly interpretation of Soviet institutions and culture or, on the contrary, to have treated these subjects with insufficient understanding and sympathy. This situation was further complicated during 1943 by the presence of enlisted personnel in Army Specialized Training courses where Russia was discussed, so that considerations of official policy and public interest had some weight in regulating the materials presented for class evaluation. Elements of most of these factors will doubtless be operative as long as hostilities continue, and also make themselves felt in the period of educational readjustment after their close.

Slavic studies in general and Russian in particular have never until recently been sufficiently generalized or deeply rooted in American universities to have any substantive tradition. Before 1914 there were, as far as I know, only three American colleges giving regular instruction in Russian language and literature. Russian history was casually treated as a stepchild of the history departments, Russian autocracy figured as a brief section of survey courses in government or political science, and the economics of the Empire were so little known that only such aspects of them as the building of the Trans-siberian railroad and the gold policy of Sergei Yulyevich Witte re-

ceived much attention. After 1930, there was a considerable resurgence of interest in Russian culture when it became clear that Soviet literature was, in the main, a lineal descendant of the great nineteenth-century realists and that the major achievements of the Russian theater were being maintained and even enhanced.

Unfortunately, however, the social sciences were slow to react to the challenge of a novel social complex, and to this day effective treatment of Soviet economics in this country remains very largely in the hands of immigrant scholars because of the aversion of budding American economists to language study and the apparent reluctance or inability of economics departments to appraise the Soviet Union as a going concern. Only with the return to academic life of a considerable number of younger scholars in the social sciences who learned Russian in the various intensive courses and then were drawn off into the government service can we expect any radical improvement in this situation. Meanwhile, however, the rising interest in Soviet affairs is being covered by scholars conscripted *ad hoc* who are naturally sensitive because of their lack of experience, and have no body of technical practice to guide them. The risk of attracting outside criticism not only makes these teachers cautious, but also deters timid academic administrators from giving this field the attention it deserves in the light of current events.

In essence, no problem of academic freedom ought even to be involved here unless the authorities of some institution should seek to muzzle or restrict the freedom of utterance of a teacher dealing with the Soviet Union. As the late President Lowell¹ expressed it, "The teaching by the professor in his classroom on the subjects within the scope of his chair ought to be absolutely free. He must teach the truth as he has found it and sees it. This is the primary condition of academic freedom, and any violation of it endangers intellectual progress." Mr. Lowell also added one important corollary: "If a university or college censors what its professors may say, if it restrains them from uttering something that it does not approve, it thereby assumes responsibility for that which it permits them to say." But these noble principles do not altogether cover the current situation. For though a professor's communications in the classroom or the lecture hall may be privileged, there is no effective mechanism for preventing their substance or tenor from eventually becoming known outside, and frequent professorial activity on the public lecture platform also contributes to a still wider dissemination of a teacher's

¹ *What a University President Has Learned* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), pp. 127 ff.

views. Any scholar, then, who makes the Soviet Union his specialty must at present reconcile himself to malevolent scrutiny of his professional or political affiliations by anti-Soviet propagandists of varied shades who would welcome the chance to brand him as a radical sympathizer or a "fellow-traveler." In areas where a large segment of Catholic opinion prevails, he will also very likely be assailed as a bad influence by clerics and laymen whose prejudices often outrun their knowledge. Any academic effort toward popularizing accurate information on the Soviet Union likewise runs the risk of inspiring some newspaper writer to crash the headlines with the claim that good old Siwash, once a pillar of the established order, has now become a hot-bed of Communism. Obviously no independent-spirited endowed institution is likely to be greatly perturbed by popular criticism of such biased character. Yet a college administrator would hardly be human if he were not vaguely disquieted by the possibility of like manifestations, calculated as they are to stir up trustees, alumni, and conservative parents of prospective students. The realization that studies of contemporary Russian civilization may in these respects prove explosive is thus not particularly healthy for the field, and exerts an abnormal strain on those engaged in it.

Teachers of various aspects of Soviet politics, economics, and history are thus under the necessity of moving with care. Here I venture the suggestion that these subjects should, as far as possible, be taught by competent native-born Americans, not by émigré scholars and, above all (with rare exceptions), not by Russian émigrés. I have nothing against the competence, the earnestness, and the character of the émigré scholars who are now making distinguished contributions to American wartime education and research. On the other hand, in dealing with a political ideology divergent from the American norm, they are not always able to interpret it from the specifically American angle and, in the case of Russian émigrés, they are frequently so conditioned *pro* or *contra* (until recently, mostly *contra*) by past experience as to find an objective treatment of the subject almost totally beyond their reach.

It is also desirable that college teachers of Soviet civilization should have spent some time in the Soviet Union itself. This is, to be sure, an ideal to be realized only after the restoration of peace. But the Army Specialized Training Program courses amply demonstrated that improvised area work in Eastern Europe by otherwise competent teachers whose contact with the subject was only via the printed page was often unsatisfactory. It also makes a considerable difference whether a teacher's first approach to modern Russia passes over the pages of

the Webbs, Sir Bernard Pares, Maurice Hindus and Walter Duranty (in one camp) or those of William Henry Chamberlain, Eugene Lyons, Manya Gordon, and Max Eastman (in the other). The very diversity of opinions inside such groups indicates that no perfect unanimity is possible even among specialists. Any interpretation is thus bound to be subjective, and has validity only if based on facts and fairly recent first-hand observation. It is not necessary that the observer should approve everything he sees. No competent American observer would, as a matter of fact. Nor is it necessary to withhold praise or commendation when earned. There are phases of Soviet education, for instance, for which the world is deeply indebted. And finally, judgments on individual phases of Soviet life and policy should not be too doctrinaire or exclusive, since both may be altered almost overnight by external pressure or official decree. In other words, the job of the teacher is to be neither apologist nor critic, and he impairs his efficiency by assuming either function.

It would seem hardly necessary to urge also that teachers of Russian civilization should be conversant with the Russian language. Yet there were abundant examples under the Army Specialized Training system where area courses on the Soviet Union were blithely offered by instructors unable to read a line of Russian and singularly reluctant to take advice from competent linguists who knew the country well. To be sure, abundant English translations exist from Russian *belles lettres* of all periods, but the only outstanding historical text so far translated (Klyuchevski) is a pre-1914 product of special tendency, and the English translation literally swarms with errors. In the field of economics there is a striking dearth of good translated material, and any conscientious attempt to follow recent and current economic trends in the U.S.S.R. presupposes an adequate reading knowledge of the language.

In introducing Russian studies at the undergraduate level, a distinction should be made between the needs of a liberal arts college, of moderate enrolment and restricted library facilities, and a university with more diversified faculty and larger library. The practice of the three large universities which have recently been most active in this field has been to base their instruction on an undergraduate course in Russian literature and culture which offers extensive reading of the classical authors and considerable interpretation of the social and historical background. This course, provided by the Slavic Department as such, has usually been paralleled by a course in Russian history offered by the History Department. Experience has shown that in normal times roughly ten percent of the students en-

roled in these two courses develop enough energy and interest to take up the language, instruction in which is then provided at three levels, with the recent highly successful introduction of intensified techniques. Instruction of the other Slavic languages varies according to local demand conditioned by research or the requirements of minority groups. This procedure offers an opportunity for perfectly logical development and expansion without unduly high pressure, and the Slavic program as such should, in the larger institutions, be supplemented by courses in other departments on foreign affairs, economics, and sociological problems.

The weakness of this program as so far developed lies, however, in the absence of an orientation course intended for students whose chief interests are not purely literary. Such a course, it appears, might well be highly eclectic, covering the physical and economic geography of the Soviet Union, the elements comprising its population, the main facts of its pre-revolutionary political and social development, its economic and social progress down to World War II, and an assessment of its contemporary culture. This course would not only form a desirable supplement to the programs in the larger institutions, where it could be organized cooperatively with several specialists contributing, but would also add an interesting and valuable item to the curriculum of a smaller school. Desirable as this situation might be, occasions will be rare when a man competent to teach Russian language and literature will at the same time be qualified to organize and teach an orientation course of this sort. In smaller schools Russian language instruction may well be entrusted to a teacher with some other linguistic competence, while the organization of this orientation course is better left to a social scientist either qualified or ready to learn. I plan to discuss in a subsequent article the technique of Russian language instruction at the college level.

Apart from such obvious general courses as those on Russian literature, history, and contemporary civilization, institutions with well-developed Music and Fine Arts Departments will find the Russian phases of these specialties particularly rewarding. A semester course on the Russian nationalist composers (Glinka, Musorgski, Rimski-Korsakov, Stravinski) has usually provoked considerable interest, and could be extended to include other composers, while a study of the symphony from Beethoven to Shostakovich would naturally involve considerable Russian material. Similarly, in the Fine Arts, sufficient literature, collections, and slides are now available in this country to make possible semester courses on the ikon and its conventions, on mediaeval Russian architecture, on the realist painters

of the third quarter of the nineteenth century (Perov, Repin, and many others), on the impressionists of the *Mir Iskusstva* group, with their significant contributions to stage decoration, and finally, on Soviet art and architecture. In the same way, institutions with established dramatic interests and studies are simply missing a golden opportunity in not studying the technique of Stanislavski, Meyerhold, Vakhtangov, and their contemporary successors. These are aspects of Russian culture which have charm and value for circles which might perhaps not be much concerned about the material environment in which it is produced.

It denotes no disrespect to the talents of those scholars who have recently undertaken the teaching of Russian in numerous American colleges to warn them emphatically that the subject will not live if fed by language instruction alone. On the contrary, a zest for the language is implanted and nourished through the culture courses by which language instruction is surrounded. Once the period of wartime necessity is past, few indeed will be the American college students to embark on the study of any difficult language (Japanese, Chinese, Russian, Polish, or any other) unless there are tangible cultural or practical gains in prospect. To be sure, intensive language techniques have diminished the interval necessary to acquire stright linguistic competence. But the student is induced to stand the grind of intensive study only by the presence of an end that he earnestly wishes to achieve. Under peacetime conditions of instruction, the motivation of the student must be roughly as follows: "Russia is an interesting country by virtue of its literature, its art, and its novel social and economic set-up, of which I already know something and could know more if I learned the language." It is not so much a question of multiplying specialists in the field as of training up an intelligent minority who have made themselves able to express a rational opinion on Soviet-American relations because stimulating instruction aroused their curiosity about a relatively little-known section of the world which has recently become important and influential.

It would also be idle to disregard the budgetary aspect of expanded instruction in the Slavic area generally, since no collegiate institution is so rich that it can overload its budget with non-productive expenditures, however meritorious in the abstract may be the fields which incur them. Nor can a university logically be asked to expand, on its own limited and often severely restricted funds, a department which interests a total of eight or ten desultory students. Hence the culture or orientation course is the only proved method of attracting that intelligent student attention by which any field is sustained. To be

sure, a university will expand instruction in any reputable branch which an outside donor can be induced to support. But one can count on the fingers of one hand the substantial gifts made for the promotion of Slavic studies in the last decade, and of these, as far as my knowledge extends, only one came from a private donor. As it happens, our fellow-citizens of Russian extraction are, as a rule, far from wealthy, and the means of better situated Polish organizations are likely to support church-schools by preference unless there is some reason for subsidizing temporarily an outstanding émigré scholar. In the last analysis, then, the development of this field depends on the ingenuity and imagination of those who profess it, and its normal growth must be predicated on demonstrable internal demand rather than on the hope of some external stimulus or the wand of some generous fairy godmother

While the war has provided marked stimulus to language study *per se*, the same period has occasioned losses which have seriously cut down the productivity of Russian studies in this country and have, for one reason or another, not yet been replaced. One large Pacific Coast university noted for its activity in this field has lost by retirement and death its two most productive scholars. One outstanding middle western university somewhat earlier lost by death a scholar who was deservedly regarded as the dean of Russian authorities in this country. A metropolitan east-coast university had already lost by retirement one of the most gifted American linguists of all time, who had concentrated on the Slavic area. In spite of some experimentation, this center has not yet resumed its former eminence. These losses are doubly tragic, not only by reason of the disappearance of personalities who influenced the evolution of American learned endeavor, but more still through the loss of momentum incurred by the absence of replacements. If budgetary considerations motivate the policy of non-replacement, they are materially justifiable but in the long run short-sighted, because the reputation of each institution suffers from a lessening of its collective scholarly capacity. If this policy is motivated by a conviction that the right replacements are not momentarily available or will not be available till hostilities cease, there is again some justification for this attitude, but it is adopted at the cost of all essential specialized planning for post-war educational readjustment. There are, as a matter of fact, qualified men available for all these positions, and it would seem at least debatable whether any institution would not gain more by employing a competent younger scholar awake to present needs than by waiting for an older specialist, perhaps a European, who might be scientifically more

reputable but considerably less aware what these needs are. In any event, as long as these vacancies remain unfilled, the future of Slavic studies in general and of Russian studies in particular remains precarious in this country at a moment when we can ill afford it.

Finally, it remains to relate the Slavic field in general and the Russian area particularly to the problem of area studies as suggested by the language and area study plans recently sponsored by the Army. These plans have provoked an understandable stir among college educators because they promise a mode of escape from either the purely theoretical aspects of the social sciences or from an exclusively linguistic and literary concentration to a method whereby language competence can be combined with a reasonably broad knowledge of the economic and political situations prevailing in a given sector of the world. To a certain extent, this emphasis had already prevailed in Far Eastern and Slavic studies before the Army programs brought this new emphasis to prominence. It was manifestly impossible to attack such unfamiliar cultures as the Chinese and Japanese from the angle of language and literature only. Similarly, it was hardly feasible to limit a contact with the various Slavic peoples, and especially the Russian, to language and *belles lettres* only, since their various levels of culture are so largely conditioned by the political and economic vicissitudes through which they have passed since the dawn of modern history. The area approach was thus no novelty to anyone who had taken or directed graduate studies in the Slavonic field, whether in pre-war Europe or in this country.

On the other hand, the area approach seems less a matter of general orientation than of undergraduate concentration or of graduate specialization. This approach, if worthwhile, must be conditioned by some practical or professional need. Such a need would, it appears, normally emerge from the demands of diplomacy, business, or some other international service. If previous experience is any guide, the diplomatic career, as defined by current personnel practices, demands at the start rather a general command of history, economics, and international law which can be applied or expanded anywhere than a particularized knowledge of any area, to be applied there and nowhere else. Perhaps we might be better advised to train up groups of regional specialists; but for the moment we do not, and there is no recognizable likelihood that we shall. From the standpoint of business it is also a truism that men with a sound command of production and sales methods are more highly prized than men who simply know a given area and its language, since the sales and production specialist, if ingenious and receptive, can learn the area, while his area-trained

opposite would normally have to go back to the factory or the field to acquire the same background. The top contact jobs are few, and are reached only on the basis of long experience and proved capacity. It would thus appear that the so-called practical arguments in favor of area training are no particularly cogent and, if they are not, no others have any appreciable value except as a basis for academic experiment.

These cursory observations, based on fourteen years of broad and sometimes disheartening experience, appear to justify the following conclusions:

1. The effectiveness of courses on Soviet civilization is hampered by an appreciable measure of public hostility.
2. There is a dearth of competent personnel to deal with specific Russian problems in the social sciences.
3. Teachers of modern Russian civilization must know the country and the language, and confine themselves to objective appraisal without appearing as apologists or critics.
4. Smaller collegiate institutions would be well advised to initiate this work by an eclectic orientation course rather than by a literary survey course.
5. Language courses are sustained by culture courses which provide them with an interested and, in some degree, informed public.
6. The policy of non-replacement of certain outstanding scholars in major universities reacts unfavorably on the field.
7. It is uncertain whether the area approach now under discussion will make any appreciable addition to the effectiveness of Slavic studies.

Specialists with more optimistic expectations are entirely welcome to correct any or all of these fairly well-grounded formulae.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

STANDARD LITHUANIAN IN THE MAKING

By ALFRED SENN

I

THE original text of the Declaration of Lithuanian Independence, signed and proclaimed by the Lithuanian Council in Vilnius (Vilna) on February 16, 1918, was written in Lithuanian, a language which never before in the entire history of the Lithuanian nation had enjoyed the status of an official state language. The official documents of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania had been drawn up in Latin, White Russian, or Polish; and during the Russian domination of the nineteenth century the use of Russian was compulsory in all walks of life, while in Prussian Lithuania German held a similar though less brutally enforced position. Thus, the declaration of February 16, 1918, was not only an act of political but also linguistic liberation. Today the Lithuanians boast of a standard language in which everything interesting the human mind can be successfully discussed. A systematic catalogue of Lithuanian books published during the first two decades of Lithuanian independence was brought out in 1938 and contains about 7100 individual entries: Izidorius Kisinis, *Lietuviškų knygų sisteminis katalogas* (Kaunas, 1938). All the books listed in this catalogue are written in the standard language and bear testimony to the genius of the nation.

Although not officially recognized, a literary language had been in existence since the 16th century when, under the impact of the Reformation, the first Lithuanian book (which is also the earliest Lithuanian text in general) was published in 1547. The language of early Lithuanian literature (sixteenth–eighteenth century) is not uniform but rather based on the dialects of the various authors, and yet a firm determination to break away from local dialect peculiarities is noticeable at the very start. The language of the Prussian Lithuanian pastor poet Christian Donalitis (1714–1780) comes closest to the modern standard language. It is deficient in its vocabulary, replete with German and Slavic loanwords, and in its syntax which is strongly influenced by German. In the 19th century, three literary languages were competing for recognition: a Samogitian or Low Lithuanian prose form, mainly represented by Simanas Daukantas (1793–1864) and Bishop Motiejus Valančius (1801–1875), the East High Lithuanian poetic language of Bishop Antanas Baranauskas (1835–1902), based on his native dialect of Anykščiai, and the West High Lithuanian language used in the various underground publica-

tions, such as *Aušra* (Dawn), *Varpas* (The Bell), *A pžvalga* (The Review), and *Tėvynės Sargas* (The Guard of the Fatherland).

II

JONAS JABLONSKIS. The modern standard language grew out of the southern branch of West High Lithuanian, i.e., the dialect spoken in the central part of Suvalkija, the region south and west of the Nemunas (Niemen, Memel) River and east of the German border. In that general area lively literary activities developed toward the end of the nineteenth century and resulted in the formation of a literary language which came into full bloom after the repeal of the prohibition of Lithuanian books in 1904 when the city of Vilnius (Vilna) became the center of the national revival. The master-builder of the new language was a teacher, Jonas Jablonskis (1861–1930). He was the author of various important textbooks and editor or editorial adviser of numerous publications, e.g., the newspapers *Vilniaus Žinios* (Vilna News) and *Lietuvos Ūkininkas* (The Lithuanian Farmer). During his lifetime hardly a single new Lithuanian book came out which had not first been corrected by him before it was sent to the printer. Since most of Jablonskis' own publications were either anonymous or appeared under some fictitious name, it is quite impossible for an outsider to get a complete picture of the gigantic work done by this one man. Upon the establishment of the Lithuanian Republic, he became even more of a "teacher of the nation" when, after settling down in Kaunas, he became adviser to the Ministry of Education and was appointed Professor of the Lithuanian Language at the University of Lithuania. Russian police regulations had prevented him from working in the districts inhabited by Lithuanians during the first thirty years of his career, and he had therefore been forced to accept positions in other parts of Russia. Even there he had been under continuous police supervision and had been several times transferred to other places by way of disciplinary punishment for his linguistic activities. The achievement of this great man is all the more remarkable, since during the last two decades of his life he was completely paralyzed and could neither walk nor write.

Jablonskis' task in laying down the rules for the new standard language was facilitated to a certain degree by the fact that in the neighboring Prussian Lithuanian districts, in so-called Lithuania Minor, there already existed a grammar and a dictionary, both written by the Prussian Lithuanian Friedrich Kurschat. At first Jablonskis was primarily concerned with spelling, grammatical correctness, purity of vocabulary, and questions of syntax, paying little or no attention to

normalization of accent of which there are many varieties in the various dialects. In later years, strict rules for a standard accentuation were set up.

III

ORTHOGRAPHY. Various scholars have worked at the task of establishing a modern orthography. Of the earlier attempts suffice it to mention here: P. Kriaušaitis (pseudonym of Jablonskis), *Lietuviškos kalbos gramatika* (A Lithuanian Grammar. Tilsit, 1901); K. Jaunius, *Lietuvių kalbos gramatika* (St. Petersburg, 1911); K. Būga, *Rašybos mažmožiais* (On Some Details of Spelling. Kaunas 1913); A. Jakštas, *Mūsų alfabeto klausimas* (The Question of Our Alphabet. Kaunas, 1914); A. Jakštas and M. Grigonis, *Mūsų rašybos klausimu* (On the Question of Our Spelling. Kaunas, 1920). In 1917 and 1918 Jablonskis' orthography was definitely established and presented in several publications, all of paramount importance for the study of the language: (1) *Vargo Mokyklai*, a chrestomathy of modern texts for classroom use in two volumes, edited by Jablonskis and published in Voronezh (1917), where during the First World War there was a high school for Lithuanian evacuees. Later editions appeared in Kaunas and Vilnius. (2) *Mūsų rašyba* (Our Orthography) by Rygiškių Jonas (pseudonym of Jonas Jablonskis), Voronezh, 1917. (3) *Mūsų žodynėlis* (Our Vocabulary) by Jablonskis, a supplement to *Vargo Mokyklai* (Voronezh, 1918). This pamphlet is now quite a rarity on the book market.

Jablonskis' orthography was officially adopted by the Lithuanian Ministry of Education and thus introduced into the schools of the country. Immediately after the proclamation of the Lithuanian Republic, a special committee was charged with the task of setting up final spelling rules. Neither Jablonskis nor the other prominent Lithuanian linguist, Kazys Būga, were members of that committee, since at that time the former was still in Voronezh and the latter in Perm where he taught comparative linguistics at the local university. However, Jablonskis' authority was already so firmly established that in spite of his absence his system was adopted with only few minor changes. Everybody, except Jablonskis himself, called the new official spelling "the Jablonskis Orthography." After his return to Lithuania, Jablonskis consented to the few changes, but insisted on calling the official orthography "Vilnius Orthography" (*Vilniaus rašyba*). Kazys Būga, on the other hand, who became professor of Baltic philology at the University of Lithuania, refused to recognize Jablonskis' orthography in spite of its official character, and was

strongly supported in his opposition by such influential writers as Antanas Vireliūnas and Professor Dovydaitis (cf. Chapter VI). Būga wrote *pjauti* "to cut," *bjaurus* "ugly," etc., but *augštas* "high," against Jablonskis' *piauti*, *biaurus*, *aukštas*, etc. In this controversy neither Būga nor Jablonskis followed a consistent line, both of them mixing together the phonetic and the etymological principle. Būga's spelling *pjauti*, *bjaurus* is phonetic, but *augštas* is etymological. On the other hand, Jablonskis applied the phonetic principle in *aukštas*, but the etymological in *piauti*, *biaurus*. In other points of spelling, Būga championed the forms most widely used in the various dialects, while Jablonskis demanded that the forms occurring in his own dialect (central Suvalkija) be accepted. After Būga's death in 1924, Jablonskis' authority was not seriously challenged for some time, but even so, Būga has still a few followers even today. In later years, Jablonskis yielded somewhat to the arguments of younger grammarians, his own pupils, none of whom came from the limited area whose dialect had served as the model for the veterans. Juozas Balčikonis, Pranas Skardžius, and Petras Butėnas are Easterners; Antanas Salys, Jonas Talmantas, and P. Jonikas are Samogitians; and Stasys Dabušis is a Southerner from the region called Dzūkija. These were the men left to carry on after Jablonskis' death. They are all well qualified and have already distinguished themselves with a number of publications. Since 1930 they have been organized in the *Lietuvių kalbos draugija* (Lithuanian Language Society) with the magazine *Gimtoji kalba* (The Native Language). The question of orthography was brought forth several times by these younger people, always with a view to reforming it, whereby the modern Lettish spelling (which has no nasal signs) was considered worthy of imitation. As far back as 1925, A. Salys and Pr. Skardžius had presented a project to that effect (*Reformuotoji rašyba*) and in 1933 a special committee (*Rašybos reformos komisija*) submitted a new draft: *Rašybos reformos projektas* (A Project for a Reformed Orthography) which brought about two rejoinders, namely, by A. Busilas, *Rašybos reformos klausimu* (On the Question of a Spelling Reform. 1934) and by A. Jonikaitis, *Rašybos reforma ir mokykla* (The Spelling Reform and the School. 1934).

In spite of these controversies, Jablonskis' orthography is still in force today. The numerous articles and short notes concerning these problems, written by Jablonskis at various times and mostly printed in daily newspapers, are now conveniently available in the collection *Jono Jablonskio Raštai* edited by J. Balčikonis (5 vols.; Kaunas, 1933-36).

IV

GRAMMAR. Any study of the Lithuanian language must be based on Jablonskis' grammar which, as stated above, appeared in its first edition in 1901. A revised edition was printed in Vilnius in 1919 under the title *Lietuvių kalbos gramatika*. A curiosity of this edition is that on the title page the book is presented as the joint work of two authors, namely, P. Kriaušaitis and Rygiškių Jonas, while in reality both names are pseudonyms of the same person, Jonas Jablonskis. Back around the turn of the century, it was dangerous for a Lithuanian to be actively interested in his mother tongue; and Jablonskis had to hide his identity behind assumed names which he changed very frequently. This habit hung on even after the danger had passed, and the author apparently enjoyed playing with it. A third and final edition of Jablonskis' grammar (the author called it "second edition") was published in Kaunas in 1922 with the title *Rygiškių Jono Lietuvių kalbos gramatika*. In this book we find primarily a presentation of the morphology and of the use of the grammatical forms (cases) in the sentence. Some syntactical material had been collected by the same author previously and published in a separate book entitled *Rygiškių Jono Lietuvių kalbos sintaksė* (Seinai, 1911). However, even today wide fields in Lithuanian syntax are still untouched—particularly the syntax of the verb (use of tenses) and the problem of word order. I myself have gone into the study of the verbal aspects. Cf. my article "Zum Gebrauch der Aktionsarten im Litauischen" in *Studi Baltici*, III (Rome, Italy, 1933), 80–92.

A reduced edition of Jablonskis' grammar came out in 1925 in the form of *Rygiškių Jono Lietuvių kalbos vadovėlis*, a book which, although smaller in size than the earlier publications, added to our knowledge of the language by the special attention given to the question of accentuation. Foreigners wishing to get acquainted with Jablonskis' grammar would best start with this outline edition.

All the later grammars written by various authors for Lithuanian schools are based on Jablonskis' work. There appeared only two grammars based on original research, both written for foreigners; but both were also strongly indebted to Jablonskis. They are: 1) B. Sereiski, *Sistematiškoje rukovodstvo k izučeniju litovskovo jazyka* (Kaunas, 1929), a Lithuanian grammar for Russians, and 2) my own *Kleine litauische Sprachlehre* (Heidelberg, 1929). Sereiski had been a regular pupil of Jablonskis at the University, acting at the same time as Jablonskis' secretary. As to myself, I am one of the many who were fortunate enough to discuss language problems in weekly meetings

with the great teacher. For several years I had regular appointments with him, week after week, in which I learned to appreciate the finer points of expression.

V

ACCENTUATION. The written form of any language cannot fully reproduce all elements constituting its spoken form called speech. The most important element of Lithuanian speech not indicated in writing is the accent, which is mobile. There is no general rule fixing the accent of all words. Nor does a given word always keep the main stress on the same syllable throughout the whole paradigm. To make matters even more confusing, the dialects vary very widely in their accent systems. An unfortunate result of this situation is that many commonly known folk songs and a large part of Lithuanian poems composed before the general adoption of Jablonskis' grammar are not in agreement with the new rules. A few examples may illustrate the changes.

The accentuation of the Prussian Lithuanian Christian Donalitis is almost in complete agreement with Jablonskis' system. The same is true of the grammars (dealing with Prussian Lithuanian) and texts published by August Schleicher and Friedrich Kurschat.

In a collection of poems by Margalis (Kaunas, 1907) we find the main stress on the next-to-the-last syllable instead of the last in the following words (belonging in accent class 3 or 4): locative singular *širdyje*, *atmintyje*, *ugnyje*, *tamsoje*, *dienoje*, etc.; locative plural *kapuose*, *skausmuose*, *miškuose*, *varguose*, *darbuose*, *akyse*, *širdyse*, etc.; instrumental plural *naktimis*. On the other hand, we find in other poems of the same author (published 1905) a stressed final *-ai* (adjective dative singular feminine) which, according to the rules of the standard language, should be unstressed, e.g., *vienai*, *kitai*.

About the turn of the century, the poet Maironis (J. Mačiulis, 1862-1932) aroused the nation and became its spiritual leader with his patriotic songs composed in classical meters. In 1905 he published them in the collection *Pavasario Balsai* (Voices of Spring). Some of the most popular and most beautiful creations of this poet can not be fully enjoyed unless read with a dialect accent. The same accentual peculiarities pointed out for the poetry of Margalis originally had appeared also in Maironis' verses. In later editions Maironis tried to make his language conform to the rules of Jablonskis' grammar. Yet even in the fifth edition published in Tilsit in 1920, we find still numerous irregularities, mostly rooted in the home dialect of the poet. Here are some of them: The suffixes *-eivis*, *-uotis* (*kryžėiviai* and

kryžiuočiai "crusaders, knights of the Teutonic Order"), *-ykla* (*maudykla* "bathing establishment"), *-ybė* (*galybė* "power," *gilybė* "depth," *gražybė* "beauty," *platybės* "wide spaces," *tamsybė* "darkness"), *-ytė* (*žuvytė* "little fish"), *-aitis* (*žemaitis* "a Samogitian"), and *-ovas* (*vadovas* "leader") appear with acute instead of circumflex intonation on the penult and, therefore, follow accent class 1 instead of 2. The accent of some nouns is not consistent. *Daina* "song" follows accent class 4 (nom. sing. *dainà*) in some poems (Nos. 9, 31, 63), but accent class 1 (nom. sing. *dáina*) in others (Nos. 12, 18, 30, 52, 59, 66). The standard language has accepted the form *dainà* (accent class 4). *Kalnas* "mountain" follows accent class 1 in Nos. 6, 26, 41, 60, 87, 109, but accent class 3 in Nos. 9, 20 (twice), 26, 33, 53, 54 (twice), 55. Today the standard language prefers accent class 3 for *kalnas*. *Jausmas* "feeling, emotion" (Nos. 16, 32, 66, 90, 92, 101) is accented according to accent class 2 instead of 4. Its rime word *skausmas* "pain" follows accent class 2 in Nos. 32, 51, 90, but is stem-stressed in the instrumental singular, as if it belonged in class 1, in Nos. 34 and 100. *Jėgà* "strength," which now belongs in accent class 4, appears in Maironis' poems as *jė'ga* and follows accent class 1 in Nos. 17, 25 (twice), 40, but accent class 3 in Nos. 66 and 69. Feminine adjectives stressed on the ending in the dative singular are *trumpai* (107) and *vienai* (71 twice). The instrumental plural *naktimis* (27, 102) is correctly stressed on the last syllable, as are the locative plural *akyse* (4) and the locative singular *danguje* (29, 48). Dialectal stress on the next-to-the-last syllable (of words belonging in accent class 3 or 4) appears several times in the locative plural: *kapuose* (11), *rytuose* (6), *varguose* (31), *skolose* (97). In most cases, however, where the locative plural should have the main stress on the final *-e* (e.g., *kapuose*), this syllable is simply dropped (with or without an apostrophe) and the original penult stressed (*kapuōs* or *kapūs*), e.g., *danguos'* (3, 16, 54, 76), *dausuos'* (25), *kapuos* (9 twice, 26, 52, 109), *kraujuos'* (69), *naguos'* (7), *nasruos* (70), *rytuos'* (22), *snieguos* (53), *spinduliuos'* (39, 53), *vakaruos* (25, 70), *varguos'* (7, 44, 106), *varguos* (16 twice, 53), *veikaluos* (70). Final *-e* is also dropped in the locative singular of the *-a* declension and the stress placed on the syllable which in the full form would be the penult, but now is in final position, e.g., *šviesoj* (28), *tamsoj* (28), *tolumojoj'* (26), *troboj* (97).

Quite a problem arose with the accentuation of the nouns ending in *-ybė* where the difficulty lies in the fact that in the specific dialect from which the standard language developed, the suffix *-ybė* is pronounced with circumflex intonation, while in all other dialects it has acute intonation. As a result, there is disagreement in the accentua-

tion of the instrumental singular and accusative plural, since *-ybė* belongs to accent class 2 and *-ybė* to accent class 1 (See below). This controversy is still unsettled even today.

The first collection of poems in which Jablonskis' accent system was strictly observed is a translation of *Krylov's Fables* brought out by J. Talmantas (*Pasakėčios*) in 1937. The following textbooks deal either primarily or exclusively with accentuation: V. Kamantauskas, *Trumpas lietuvių kalbos kirčio žodynas* (Brief Lithuanian Accented Vocabulary. Kaunas, 1929), P. Butėnas, *Lietuvių kalbos akcentologijos vadovėlis* (Primer of Lithuanian Accentology. Kaunas, 1931); Pr. Skardžius, *Bendrinės lietuvių kalbos kirčiavimas* (The Accentuation of Standard Lithuanian. Kaunas, 1936); A. Kalnius, Z. Kuzmickis, and J. Talmantas, *Lietuvių kalbos rašybos vadovėlis* (Lithuanian Spelling Primer. Kaunas, 1938).

The standard accent of every Lithuanian word with all indications necessary to ascertain accentual movements in the various paradigms is given in the Lithuanian-German Dictionary (*Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache*) started twenty years ago by myself in collaboration with the Swiss professor Max Niedermann. In this large dictionary, the first volume of which, including the words *a-kvotinė'ti* (XII and 548 pages), was completed in 1932 (published by Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung of Heidelberg, Germany), I am responsible for the accents. My adviser in these difficult problems had been Professor Jablonskis who up to his very death shared generously his time and wealth of knowledge with me. In agreement with my teacher, I divided the nouns into four accent classes, namely,

Class 1: Dissyllabic and polysyllabic nouns with immobile stress on the stem or a suffix (ending always unstressed), e.g., *výras* "man," *kaimýnas* "neighbor," *brólis* "brother," *lėpa* "linden tree," *bažnyčia* "church," *mėilė* "love," *ántis* "duck," *mė'nuo* "moon, month"; *galýbė* "power";

Class 2: Dissyllabic nouns with circumflex intonation on the stem syllable (or with a short stem vowel) and polysyllabic nouns alternating their stress between the last syllable and the penult (The accusative plural is always stressed on the ending), e.g., *pířštas* "finger," *bùtas* "apartment," *verpėtas* "whirlpool," *vežimas* "wagon," *ántis* "bosom," *senėlis* "old man," *rankà* (gen. sing. *raňkos*) "hand, arm," *sriubà* (gen. sing. *sriubos*) "soup," *sveikatà* (gen. sing. *sveikatos*) "health," *žvākė* "candle," *virtuvė* "kitchen," *tuřgus* "market"; *galýbė* "power";

Class 3: Dissyllabic nouns with acute intonation on the stem syllable and all those polysyllabic nouns whose stress alternates between

the final syllable and any syllable preceding the penult (the number of ending-stressed case forms is larger than in Class 2, but the accusative plural is under no condition stressed on the ending), e.g. *lāngas* "window," *ēžeras* "lake," *vābalas* "beetle," *arkl̥ys* (gen. sing. *árkl̥io*) "horse," *šepet̥ys* (gen. sing. *šēpečio*) "brush," *uždavin̥ys* (gen. sing. *ūždavinio*) "task," *pašnekes̥ys* (gen. sing. *pāšnekesio*) "conversation," *žmog̥žud̥ys* (gen. sing. *žmōgžudžio*) "murderer," *sūn̥ūs* (acc. sing. *sān̥ų*) "son," *galv̥à* (acc. sing. *gálv̥ą*) "head," *šilum̥à* (acc. sing. *šilum̥ą*) "warmth," *pavar̥d̥ė* (acc. sing. *pāvar̥dę*) "surname," *akmuō* (acc. sing. *ākmen̥i*) "stone";

Class 4: Dissyllabic nouns with circumflex intonation on the stem or with a short vowel (the number of ending-stressed case forms is larger than in Class 3, the accusative plural being always stressed on the ending), e.g., *Diēvas* "God," *vařdas* "name," *gaid̥ys* (gen. sing. *gaĩdžio*) "rooster," *žiem̥à* (acc. sing. *žĩēm̥ą*) "winter," *kat̥ė* (acc. sing. *kā̃tę*) "cat," *ak̥s* (acc. sing. *āk̥i*) "eye," *dang̥ūs* (acc. sing. *dañgų*) "heaven," *šuō* (acc. sing. *šūn̥i*) "dog."

VI

NEOLOGISMS. The Lithuanian language, like any other language participating in the development and exchange of cultural achievements, has at various times undergone foreign influence in the course of which foreign words were accepted. There has been an especially strong influx of Slavic loanwords. However, such periods of foreign infiltration alternated with intervals of pronounced national consciousness during which loanwords were replaced by native expressions. Very frequently the purification of the vocabulary was achieved by means of loan translations, whereby a new expression (neologism) was coined according to a foreign pattern but with native linguistic material. Such loan translations appear mostly in compound form. New formations of this type are not always successful, but very often they do take root.

The first puristic drive detectable in historic times started around 1600. While this first campaign for the purity of the language was only partly successful, a new drive, started at the beginning of the 19th century and vigorously continued up to the present day, led to almost complete purification of the vocabulary. As early as the beginning of the twentieth century the Lithuanians possessed a standard language of whose cultured form they were justly proud, and which was ready to assume the important task of an official language. Unfortunately, the textbooks used in the foreign universities where Lithuanian was taught revealed little of this modern purity, since

they were based on the peasant dialects of Prussian Lithuania. The Prussian Lithuanians had taken only little interest in the patriotic movement of the nineteenth century, and even today they have quite a number of Slavic loanwords which are not used nor even understood by their brethren of Lithuania proper

As soon as the Lithuanian language was recognized as the official vehicle of Lithuanian thought, it became necessary to establish strictly defined technical terms for all branches of learning as well as the state administration and private business. Religious manuals (prayer books, catechism, etc.) and textbooks on arithmetic, algebra, botany, zoology, physics, mineralogy, chemistry, geography, electrical and mechanical engineering, etc., introduced the first technical terminology. The books used in the schools had to be approved by a special committee (*Knygų leidimo komisija*) established by the Ministry of Education on July 17, 1919. In addition to Jonas Jablonskis, three men, Antanas Smetona, Pranas Dovydaitis, and Antanas Vireliūnas, have contributed most to the formation of generally accepted terms. Smetona's contribution is discussed in Chapter VII. Dovydaitis was the untiring editor of several magazines covering both the humanities and the sciences and thus exerted perhaps an even more direct influence upon the older and younger generations than Jablonskis. Vireliūnas first edited the monthly magazine *Svietimo darbas* (Work in Education), official organ of the Ministry of Education, wrote several textbooks on geography, and was deeply interested in language and folk songs. His views concerning the usage of language and the formation of neologisms were presented in the pamphlet *Mūsų kalbos ugdymas* (The Development of Our Language. Kaunas, 1925). His word became quite a decisive factor when he was appointed secretary of the official Committee on Terminology (*Terminologijos komisija*) whose task it was to propose and decree the technical terms for all fields. The first batch of terms officially accepted by the Committee and published in *Svietimo darbas* (1922, Nos. 3-6, pp. 449-451) referred to excise duties on spirits, beer, etc., and was followed (1922, No. 7, pp. 77-81) by a list pertaining to the administration of justice.

If there was already a pure Lithuanian word generally accepted in the standard language, it naturally received immediate sanction of the Committee on Terminology. On the other hand, national pride demanded that words of foreign origin be replaced by genuine native expressions. Such genuine words were often found in some remote dialect and then elevated to the dignity of the standard language. Frequently also, words occurring in the writings of the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries, which later had become obsolete, were revived. Where native expressions were lacking, neologisms were formed by means of loan translation. The overwhelming majority of neologisms followed Russian patterns, especially in the various branches of law and state administration. The sources from which the modern terms were taken are easiest to trace in zoology, because J. Elisonas who took care of that field gave a detailed account of his work in the publication *Zoologijos sisteminis terminų žodynelis* (Systematic Vocabulary of Zoological Terms. Kaunas, 1920).

In the thirties, the Lithuanian Language Society took it upon itself to improve technical terms by establishing a special Section on Terminology consisting of Pranas Skardžius (chairman), A. Vaičiulaitis (secretary), J. Balčikonis, J. M. Laurinaitis, A. Salys, and St. Šalkauskis. In 35 meetings of two hours each, the new organization first of all prepared a general philosophical vocabulary which was published by Prof. St. Šalkauskis under the title *Bendroji filosofijos terminija* (1938) and gives the Lithuanian terms with their equivalents in French, German, and Russian. This last publication of the great Lithuanian philosopher Šalkauskis signifies, as it were, full maturity of the Lithuanian standard language. It might be added here that Colonel J. M. Laurinaitis had even earlier created vocabularies for the various branches of military science and combat practice, while Prelate A. Jakštas-Dambrauskas had perfected the mathematical terminology. Thus, at the end of the second decade of its free existence, the Lithuanian standard language presents itself as fully able to express everything and anything in clear and unequivocal terms.

VII

LEXICOGRAPHY. The first dictionary representative of the modern standard vocabulary and giving even a large number of modern neologisms was compiled by the American Lithuanian Anthony Lalis and published in Chicago under the title *A Dictionary of the English and Lithuanian Languages*, Part I: *Lithuanian-English* (1902; third edition 1910), Part II: *English-Lithuanian* (1905). The first part, especially in its third edition, is far superior to the second in which the Lithuanian definitions of the English lead words quite often are not the exact equivalents actually used, but rather personal explanations of the author made on the spur of the moment. The Lithuanian-English part, though smaller in size, is based on research in the language of the Lithuanian publications (books and newspapers) of the time. Although Lalis' dictionary has no accent signs, it is highly im-

portant for the standard language and signifies a considerable progress, compared with the Lithuanian-German dictionaries of Nesselmann and Kurschat published in Germany during the nineteenth century. We see from it that the American Lithuanians were in much closer contact with the cultural activities of their home country than the Prussian Lithuanian neighbors.

Several small-sized German-Lithuanian dictionaries, primarily planned as tools for the teaching of German in Lithuanian high schools, but at the same time also indicative of the state of the standard vocabulary, appeared after the First World War: (1) Klara Šepetienė, *Vokiečių kalbos žodynėlis* (A German dictionary with definitions in Lithuanian and Russian. Vilnius, 1922); (2) A. Scholz and J. Talmantas, *Deutsch-Litauisches Taschenwörterbuch* (Memel, 1929); (3) V. Gailius and M. Šlaža, *Deutsch-Litauisches Wörterbuch* (Memel, 1932). Also planned for classroom use was the small Lithuanian-German dictionary (*Litauisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*) by A. Busch and T. Chomskas (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927). The same Anthony Lalis who had distinguished himself with his Lithuanian-English dictionary brought out an excellent, though small Polish-Lithuanian version (*Podręczny słownik polsko-litewski*. Vilnius, 1922), without a Lithuanian-Polish part, while B. Sereiski presented the Lithuanian vocabulary well-nigh completely in his Lithuanian-Russian dictionary of about 1100 pages (*Lietuviškai-rusiškas žodynas*. Kaunas, 1933). The Latin-Lithuanian dictionary (*Lotyniškai-lietuviškas žodynas*. 1096 pages. Kaunas, 1936) of K. Jokantas deserves also to be mentioned in this list.

None of the dictionaries enumerated so far indicates the accent of the words listed. Accent signs are given in the following works: (1) J. Ryteris, *Lietuviškai-latviškas žodynas* (Lithuanian-Lettish. Riga, 1929); (2) J. Šlapelis, *Lietuvių ir rusų kalbų žodynas* (Lithuanian-Russian. Vilnius, 1921; unfinished); (3) J. Baronas, *Rusų lietuvių žodynas* (Russian-Lithuanian; second edition. Kaunas, 1932); (4) Max Niedermann, Alfred Senn, and Franz Brender, *Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache* (Lithuanian-German, Vol. I: Heidelberg, 1932, Vol. II: almost finished. This enterprise, when completed, will consist of three volumes). A comprehensive Lithuanian dictionary with only Lithuanian definitions had been planned by Kazys Būga who, unfortunately, died prematurely in 1924. His plan was taken up about ten years later by Juozas Balčikonis who finally in December 1941 succeeded in bringing out the first volume. The size of that volume (more than 1000 pages covering only the letters A and B) would indicate that the whole dictionary will have about ten vol-

umes. Both the Lithuanian-German dictionary of Niedermann-Senn-Brender and the purely Lithuanian one by Balčikonis have several things in common: They are both accented, based on original research, and illustrate the words with examples of actual usage in sentences. They differ from each other in the choice of the material, since Balčikonis includes the language of earlier periods with many now obsolete words, while Niedermann-Senn-Brender limit themselves to the vocabulary of modern texts.

In the period discussed here there appeared one monograph analyzing the vocabulary of a single author, namely, *Antano Smetonos rašinių žodynas* (The Vocabulary in the Writings of Antanas Smetona. Kaunas, 1934) by K. Masiliūnas. Antanas Smetona (August 10, 1874–January 9, 1944), the man presented in this study, for many years President of the Lithuanian Republic, had been a pupil of Jonas Jablonskis as early as 1893 and later became one of his student helpers in preparing the first edition of the Lithuanian grammar of 1901. Smetona, gifted as he was with a fine instinct for the genius of the language, could not remain merely a docile tool in the hands of his teacher. As an industrious journalist, writing in a painstaking and cultured style about all matters of public interest, he had an important influence on the language in its formative stage, an influence which grew when he took over his high office. Even before the proclamation of the Lithuanian Republic, Smetona had prepared the first Lithuanian textbooks on arithmetic and algebra, and thereby established the basic mathematical terminology. Numerous neologisms in a wide range of various fields were first coined by Smetona. In addition, he enriched the standard vocabulary by reviving archaic expressions and introducing dialect words spoken in the East Lithuanian village of Užulėnis, his birthplace.

VIII

CHARACTERIZATION. Lithuanian is a highly inflected language with eight cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, instrumental, locative, illative), three numbers (singular, plural, dual), two grammatical genders (masculine and feminine), four simple tenses (present, future, preterit or past, and imperfect or habitual preterit), one subjunctive for all tenses, an imperative, two infinitives, and a great number of participles (active and passive). In addition to the above-mentioned eight cases regularly used, we find in the modern standard language petrified remnants of a directive case (e.g., *gallop* "toward the end") and an adessive case (*Dieviēp* "with God"), both of which occur regularly in the texts of the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries. The language makes a rigid distinction between so-called durative and perfective verbal aspects, differing in their use, however, from Slavic. In the nominative singular the nouns, which are grouped into five declensions, have one of the following endings: *-as, -is, -ys, -a, -ė, -i, -us, -uo*. There is no definite or indefinite article. Adjectives appear in two forms: indefinite and definite. The language is extremely rich in diminutives and endearing forms derived from nouns and adjectives alike. The numerous dialects are classed in two main groups, Low Lithuanian or *Shamaitish* (sometimes called *Samogitian*) and High Lithuanian or *Aukshtaitish*. Standard Lithuanian is based on a High Lithuanian dialect.

The nearest relative of Lithuanian is Lettish, the official language of the Republic of Latvia. The two languages together form the Baltic Linguistic Group which includes also some tongues now extinct, e.g., Old Prussian and Courish (or Couronian). The Baltic languages form a branch of the Indo-European family within which they hold an independent position. The relationship between Lithuanian and English is now largely obliterated by the fact that the structural system of English has been utterly changed by a rapid evolution, while a high degree of conservatism is characteristic of Lithuanian. The farther we go back in the history of the English language, the more evident becomes its relationship with Lithuanian. There are especially striking similarities between modern Lithuanian and Gothic (the vowel system, declension of nouns), Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, i.e., languages spoken in ancient times, 2000–3000 years ago. Of all the Indo-European languages still alive today, Lithuanian is the most archaic and therefore of great interest for students of comparative linguistics.

In spite of the conservative character of Lithuanian, it should not be assumed that all the interesting forms found in that language are inherited from the Primitive Indo-European parent language. In many respects the Lithuanians have simplified the structure of their language. This is obvious in the loss of the neuter gender and in the system of comparison of adjectives and adverbs where no “irregular” comparatives or superlatives exist. A certain degree of simplification appears also in the verbal system. On the other hand, we find a number of innovations in the declensional system, e.g., the illative, directive, and adessive cases. Even many forms of the locative cannot be directly traced back to Primitive Indo-European. While the Old Lithuanian (sixteenth century) locative plural in *-su* is apparently inherited from Primitive Indo-European, the modern locative plural in *-se* is a former illative, i.e., the accusative case extended by means

of a postposition. Vowel gradation (ablaut) is a productive factor in the formation of words, but the number of variations in the three principal ablaut series has been considerably increased by "ablaut deviation." When neologisms are formed, the ablaut system is always carefully taken into consideration, and thus numerous lexical innovations of Primitive Indo-European appearance have been produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Therefore, students of Indo-European etymology desirous to set up equations and looking for Lithuanian cognates must be warned against possible pitfalls.

The question arises as to the relative value of the standard language and the various dialects for historical grammar and comparative linguistics. In the main, the standard language is more archaic than the dialects. However, quite frequently dialect forms do furnish links connecting modern standard expressions if not with their Primitive Indo-European so at least with their Primitive Baltic prototypes. In this respect some East High Lithuanian dialects are particularly interesting. For historical grammar far more valuable than the knowledge of modern dialects is acquaintance with the texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, because the language of that period is even more archaic than the modern standard language.

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PRISONERS OF WAR¹

By MICHAEL SHOLOKHOV

Translated by F. J. Whitfield

THEIR battalion had been put on a train in Paris and sent off to the east. They had taken along the things they had looted in France, French wine and French autos.

From Minsk they had marched to the front, leaving their autos behind for lack of gasoline. Drunk with German victories and French wine, they moved along the dusty roads of White Russia with the sleeves of their uniforms rolled up and their collars unbuttoned. Their helmets hung on their belts; their bare, sweaty heads were dried by the gentle sun and warm breeze of foreign Russia. There was still some wine swashing in their flasks, and the soldiers walked boldly down the streets of burned Soviet villages and loudly sang a boastful army song about a pretty French girl, Jeanne, and how she had never seen real soldiers or known real men until the Germans came to Paris.

Then, day and night, on the march and at rest, they learned to fear the partisans. In six days of skirmishing the battalion lost some forty men in killed and wounded. A motorcyclist who had been sent to headquarters disappeared. Six privates and one sergeant disappeared. They had been sent to a nearby village to get food for their company and hadn't returned. The battalion sang less and less about the pretty Jeanne who had been kept satisfied by the Germans. In this place people were dissatisfied with the Germans. When the battalion came into a ruined village the inhabitants would run away and hide in the woods, and those the Germans did find in their homes were sullen and stared at the ground to conceal the hatred that was gleaming in their eyes. For in the chance regards of these men and women there was more hatred than fear. No, this wasn't France.

He—Corporal Fritz Berkmann, if one can believe him, took no part in the butcherings of peaceful inhabitants. He considers himself a cultured, decent man and, of course, a decided opponent of unnecessary cruelty. And one time, when some soldiers in his company got a little drunk and jokingly dragged a young farmgirl into

¹ This wartime composition from the pen of Michael Sholokhov, gifted author of *Quiet Flows the Don* and *Soil Upturned*, is presented less as a literary monument than as an indication of the degree in which war experiences and the shock of German barbarism have affected the ablest Soviet writers

a shed, he went away so as not to hear her cries. She was a strong young girl. She put up a powerful resistance, and as a result one soldier lost an eye. But the others were able to manage her. Then, after they had raped her, the soldier who had lost an eye killed her. When Corporal Berkmann learned about it he was frightfully upset. He himself could never commit such an atrocity. He has a wife and two children in Nurnberg, and he wouldn't ever want his wife to be treated that way. But of course he can't answer for the cattle that are, unfortunately, to be found in the German army. When he reported the incident to his lieutenant, the latter shrugged his shoulders—war is war—and ordered Berkmann not to come whining to him over trifles.

The battalion was thrown into battle as soon as it got to the front. For twenty-six days he soldiers never left the trenches. In Berkmann's company thirty-eight men were left out of a hundred and seventy. The men were dejected by their huge losses. No, they hadn't expected a war like that when they rode out of France, whooping their songs. The officers had told them they would go through Russia as easily as a knife goes through butter. That all turned out to be idle boasting, and many of those officers won't ever say anything again: the bullets of Russian snipers and fragments of Russian shells did, as a matter of fact, go through their bodies as easily as a knife goes through butter.

Berkmann was captured this morning, during our attack. Before bringing him to our dugout, the Red Army men had put a tight blindfold over his eyes.

"Are you going to shoot me?" Berkmann had asked in a trembling voice.

But the Red Army men, not understanding German, had made no answer.

His legs buckling with fear, Berkmann came into the dugout. They took off his blindfold, and when he saw people sitting peacefully at a table he let out a deep, hoarse sigh, with such evident relief that I felt ill.

"I thought they were taking me out to be shot," he murmured to explain his involuntary sigh and immediately stood at attention. He was invited to sit down. He let himself down on a chair and put his hands on his knees.

And now he is sitting in front of us, this *Landsknecht* of Nazi Germany, giving detailed answers to all our questions.

He still can't calm down after the agitation he has experienced. His cheek twitches with a nervous *tic*, and his hands tremble on his

knees. He tries with all his strength to suppress his agitation and conceal his trembling, but he has little success. Only after hungrily smoking a cigarette we have offered him does he regain his poise.

He has light curly hair and broad-set, stupid blue eyes. He is clearly an Aryan, rather shaken by war and very hungry. They had each been given daily rations of three cigarettes, some bread, and a half a pot of hot food. But it hadn't always been possible to bring up the hot food, and they had become desperately hungry.

What does he think about the outcome of the war with Soviet Russia? He considers it a hopeless undertaking. The *Führer* made a mistake in attacking Russia. It's an awfully big mouthful, and poor Germany may well choke on it. He, Corporal Berkmann, can now express himself freely, something he couldn't do in his own regiment, where the soldiers are spied on by members of the Nazi Party. One careless word could have led to the firing squad. Personally, he thinks they should have fought England to the finish, taken away her colonies, and called a halt right there.

His impressions of occupied Soviet territory boil down to this: not enough produce. The advance German units ate up everything the population had. You're lucky if you can find a hen left. He speaks almost with hatred of their tank troops and mobile units: "Those swine clean out everything; you come in after them and it's like a desert."

It's hard talking with Corporal Berkmann. The cynical words of this hysterically talkative, dull-witted looter in uniform make the dugout even more stifling, and you feel the need of going out for air. We cut the conversation short.

At the end he gets up, stands at attention, and tells us that two hours ago at his interview he conscientiously informed the Soviet commander of the disposition and size of his battalion, staff, and supply depot. He told everything he knew as he is a confirmed opponent of war with Russia. The information he has given will, on checking, prove completely reliable, and therefore he asks permission to inform his wife that he has been captured, and he also asks, if possible, to be fed again, as the last time he was fed was seven hours ago.

A twenty-year old, beardless youth. Hair plastered down, blue pimples on his face, and sly, darting eyes. Member of the German National Socialist Party. In the tank corps. Was in France, Yugoslavia, Greece. In yesterday's battle his tank was blown up by a Red Army man with a bundle of hand grenades. He jumped out of the machine, put up a fight. Four light bullet-wounds. From time to time he winces

with pain, but he carries himself with an insolent, affected defiance. When answering questions he doesn't raise his eyes. Some questions he categorically refuses to answer, but on the other hand he talks at length, in phrases he has learned by heart, about the superiority of the German nation and the inferiority of the French, the English, and the Slavs. No, he's no man, he's a bad cookie with rotten filling. Not one thought of his own, no spiritual interests. We ask him if he knows Pushkin, Shakespeare. He wrinkles his brow, thinks, then asks: "Who are they?", and when we tell him he curls his thin lips in a disdainful smile and says:

"No, I don't know them, and I don't want to. I don't feel any need for that sort of thing."

He has firm faith in the triumph of Germany and asserts with stupid, idiotic stubbornness:

"By winter our army will have taken care of you and then it will pounce on England in full strength. England must perish."

"And what if Russia and England take care of Germany instead?"

"That's impossible. The *Führer* has said we will win," answers the prisoner, looking at the floor. He answers like a stupid schoolboy who has learned his lesson by rote and can't be bothered with superfluous thinking.

There is something false and unbelievably monstrous in this German youth's expression, and he gets out only one sentence that sounds really sincere:

"It's a shame that my military career has been interrupted . . ."

Hopelessly perverted by Hitlerite propaganda, the young ruffian hasn't tired of killing. He has just got the taste for it, he hasn't yet had his fill of blood, and now—he's a prisoner. And so he sits before us—made harmless forever, and stares with the eyes of a blood-thirsty weasel that has been brought to bay, and blind hatred for us dilates his nostrils.

Six captured German soldiers, guarded by a Red Army man, come out of a tent and sit down on the ground, which is covered with pine-needles. They have just been captured and brought here. Their uniforms are patched and muddy; the sole of one man's shoe is held on by a wire. They haven't washed for six days. Our artillery wouldn't let them. Their faces are gloomy and covered with a crust of dried mud. They got infested with lice in the trenches and now, unashamed, they comb their hair and scratch their heads with their black fingers. Only one of them, a black-haired, handsome fellow, smiles contentedly and, turning to me, says:

"For me the war is over. I'm glad I succeeded in getting captured."

They are given pots of hot *borsch*.

They throw themselves on the food like beasts, and, burning themselves and smacking their lips and hardly bothering to chew their food, they gorge precipitately. Two of them haven't been given spoons. Without waiting for the spoons to be brought, they plunge their dirty hands into the pots, fish out morsels with their fingers and pop them into their mouths, tossing back their heads and closing their eyes in bliss.

After eating their fill they stand up, heavy and sleepy. A stocky sergeant, stifling his belches, says:

"Thanks. Thanks a lot. We can't remember when we've had such a solid meal."

The interpreter says that a seventh prisoner refused food and is sitting in the tent. We pass into the tent. A very thin, elderly German soldier with a heavy growth of beard stands up when we appear and drops his large, calloused hands to his sides. We ask him why he refused dinner.

In a voice trembling with agitation the soldier says:

"I'm a peasant. I was drafted in July. In two months of war I've seen enough destruction caused by our artillery, abandoned fields, everything we've done on our way east . . . I can't sleep, and the food sticks in my throat. I know that that's the way we've destroyed almost the whole of Europe and that Germany will have to pay an awful price for it all. Not just that dog Hitler, but the whole German people will have to pay. Do you understand me?"

He turns his back and is silent a long time. His misgivings are reasonable. And the sooner the realization of their heavy responsibility and the unavoidable price they will have to pay comes to the German soldiers, the nearer will be the victory of democracy over maniacal Hitlerism.

NOTE

In the article by Major Oleg Pantuhoff, Jr: "Russia Revisited: An Emigrant Returns to His Native Country" (*Slavonic and East European Review*, May, 1944, p. 75), in the author's description of the exhibits in the Historical Museum in Moscow, the following phrase occurs: "the colors that Marshal Kutuzov, the victor over Napoleon, carried to Berlin in 1813." This phrase is not only misleading, but also historically inaccurate.

In the first place, Russia was an ally of Prussia in the campaign of 1813 and therefore Russian troops entering Berlin on February 20 of that year came as friends and not as enemies, while the Prussian army under Blucher had been subordinated by order of the King of Prussia to the command of Kutuzov.

Secondly, Kutuzov never came to Berlin. From the beginning of the campaign he was very ill and, after a prolonged stay in Dresden, died in Buntzlau, Saxony, on April 16, 1813 (General Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky: *La vie du Feld-Maréchal Kutuzov*, Paris, 1860, p. 152).

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

ERRATA

In No 58 (May, 1944), p. 20, ten lines up from the bottom of the page, for *Now* read *Non*; p. 26, second paragraph, second line, for *to want* read *toward*.

REVIEWS

C. E. BLACK, *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Bulgaria* (Princeton Studies in History, Vol. I). Princeton Princeton University Press, 1943 Pp x, 344

THIS IS A STORY containing many lessons for our diplomats and future military administrators. Between the years 1877 and 1885 Bulgaria, having obtained her independence by reason of a Russian victory over Turkey and having seen her territorial claims considerably reduced by the powers at the Congress of Berlin, emerged as a constitutional principality. But the foundation for a constitutional regime was shaky because "what was lacking in Bulgaria's political experience was not so much a technical knowledge of law and administration" [although the Russian administrators had a hard time finding a sufficient number of literate Bulgarians to fill even minor posts in the provincial government; L.I.S.] "as the restraint, subtlety and sense of responsibility which can be acquired only after generations of experience in the delicate art of politics" and so "many of the doctrines of liberalism were stamped with a fanaticism which distorted them almost beyond recognition" (p. 50). On the other hand the more moderate leaders (the future conservatives), "who were on the whole the more responsible" (p. 51), lost out in popular support because they had staked their position on a compromise with the Turks. So the extremists (the future liberals) were catapulted into power by the Russian victory. And the strange anomaly occurred: the conservative leaders who could really contribute a great deal to the establishment of a stable government in Bulgaria lacked popular support, whereas the liberals who enjoyed a high prestige with the masses were mostly composed of thoroughly irresponsible idealists and fanatics, to whom the business of establishing a constitutional government according to their own blueprint was a matter of principle and not of practical reality. The prolonged internal struggle was further aggravated by a three-cornered rivalry of Russia, Austria, and England. The latter was supporting Austria most of the time, while Russia led a dual policy: her diplomatic representatives were placating Austria and England, while her military representatives pursued a nationalistic policy intended to make Bulgaria a satellite of Russia.

The story is told in great detail in an Introduction, eight chapters and a Conclusion. A bibliographical essay, texts of the Bulgarian Constitution of 1879, of the Statute of the Council of State and of the Amendments to the Constitution proposed in 1883 as well as Suggestions for the Transliteration of the Bulgarian Alphabet (in collaboration with J. F. Clarke) form the Appendices. An index completes the book.

Dr. Black, who has lived in Bulgaria and whose father was president of the American College in Sofia, treats the Bulgarian struggle sympathetically, but is unduly critical of Russia. He has used a wealth of Bulgarian sources which are unfortunately lost in the footnotes, as there is no bibliography. The bibliographical essay at the end of the book, excellent in

itself, but discussing only a minor portion of the material used, does not take the place of a critical bibliography which, in the opinion of this reviewer, should be a prerequisite to any scholarly work as it is a great and almost indispensable aid to the scholar and the student who would be, normally, the principal readers of such a work.

It is also unfortunate that greater care has not been exercised in the arrangement and in the proof-reading of footnotes. Dr. Black does not seem to follow any particular system except repeating at the beginning of each chapter the full title of a previously cited work which, if not misleading, is at least annoying to the reader. But in the middle of the chapters he mixes repetition of the full title of a previously cited work together with an abbreviated reference to it. In addition, poor proof-reading resulted in the following: the well known work of Egon Corti is correctly referred to as *Downfall of three dynasties* (p. 138 fn.), but two pages further appears as *Downfall of three empires* (p. 140 fn.); the publication date of Alois Hajek's *Bulgariens Befreiung* . . . appears as 1929 (p. 138 fn.), but further as 1939 (p. 158 fn.). There are many more misprints (too many to cite here), particularly in the transliterations, which are a further indication of carelessness.

Notwithstanding these technical shortcomings and a few contradictions in the text, this book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Balkan and European history during the Eastern Crisis.

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY,
Harvard University

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY, *Intervention at Archangel: the Story of Allied Intervention and Russian Counter-Revolution in North Russia 1918-1920* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944. Cloth pp. vii, 336 \$3 00.

LEONID STRAKHOVSKY's new book gives a connected and detailed survey of the eighteen months' intervention by the Allies (England, America, France) in northern Russia from the summer of 1918 to February, 1920. On the basis of rich materials and personal memories of events he himself witnessed, the author draws the picture of an armed conflict condemned beforehand to failure.

While the Soviet Government, which represented the only organization with a strong will, proved able to create a large army, its opponents had no community of ideas and no common organization. The British presented an independent force; that was the main strength of the intervention in the north. The Americans pursued a completely different policy, and the French again had their own special ideas. As far as the Russian parties are concerned, the S.R.'s on one side and the old officer caste on the other stood far apart, to say nothing of the less influential groups. The Russian force on the side of the Archangel government was of trifling dimensions, and mobilization was fruitless. Mutinies and desertions to the Soviet side occurred repeatedly.

Among the foreign forces, the British acted at first as colonizers, exhibiting a demonstrative scorn for the Russian government of Archangel. The author tells how the British conducted their press-censorship, forbade flags, and took part in anti-government conspiracies. With different intentions, David R. Francis, the American ambassador, tried to oppose the British, but without success. The American troops were the first to leave the north when President Wilson became convinced of the hopelessness of the whole undertaking. The British followed America's example, but only toward the close of the summer of 1919.

Besides, America was guided not merely by a realization of the impossibility of winning. In all districts occupied by the White Armies the internal political evolution moved in one direction: the democratic parties first in power in these areas proved weaker everywhere than the military and monarchical tendencies and, after the first few months, were either driven out or scattered by the Rights. The leftist parties, especially the S.R.'s, revealed great indecision in this process. Though they had the majority of the population on their side, they were unable to create a firm authority. The rightist tendencies, and military elements in particular, were in the eyes of the population outgrowths of the old régime. Mr. Strakhovsky gives much material for the evaluation of both movements.

As far as bolshevism is concerned, it figures in Strakhovsky's book only as a criminal phenomenon, and here is a serious defect in his discussion. It is impossible to view the bolshevism of 1918-1919 in Russia as merely sedition. It was a large and powerful movement, whatever else one may think of it. In the Archangel area it rapidly grew under a bushel even in the presence of General Miller and the foreign officers. It deserves greater attention.

Furthermore, Mr. Strakhovsky's book, though bearing an historical character, is in certain instances written without the necessary objectivity. An obvious partisan of General Miller and of rightist tendencies, he still manifests some hostility toward the democrats, i.e., the S.R.'s, Chaikovski, and Kerenski. In fact, his hostility toward them is stronger than toward anyone else. He attributes to Chaikovski and the democrats generally sins which they never committed, but practically never criticises the policy of the Rightists. After all, not twenty-five days but twenty-five years have passed since the events described, and objective history can now afford a more dispassionate attitude toward permanent figures of the period. Instead of defending some and condemning others, history is now in a position to solve its chief problems and to reveal the inexorable course of events, i.e., the inevitability that both intervention and the White Movement should have been defeated.

DAVID J. DALLIN,
New York, N. Y.

NEW BOOKS ON THE SOVIET UNION

ABRAN BERGSON, *The Structure of Soviet Wages, a Study in Socialist Economics* (Harvard Economic Studies, 76). Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1944. Cloth, pp. 255. \$3.50.

An illuminating study of Soviet wage policy, but more useful for reference than as a picture of current conditions, since it deals mainly with wage statistics for 1928 and 1934, and follows the situation only up to 1937.

PAUL B. ANDERSON, *People, Church, and State in Modern Russia*. New York, the Macmillan Company, 1944. Cloth, pp. 303. \$3.00.

Valuable discussion of the impact of Revolution on the Russian Church and *vice versa*, with a hopeful outlook for the cooperation of Christian and Marxist philosophy and ideals for human progress.

ANN SUE CALDWELL, *Poland and Russia, the Last Quarter Century*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1944. Cloth, pp. 251. \$2.75.

A recital marked by ample pro-Polish bias, but bringing forward numerous thorny problems for which Allied diplomacy has yet to find a solution. Abundant quotations from Polish official sources.

G. R. TREVIRANUS, *Revolutions in Russia, Their Lessons for the Western World*. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1944. Cloth, pp. 303. \$3.00.

Suggestive factual survey and interpretation by a distinguished German naval veteran of the War of 1914-1918 and able public servant of the pre-Hitler Reich. Careless proof-reading and transliteration in otherwise worthwhile Bibliographical Notes. More information on the Weimar Republic's dealings with the U.S.S.R. might have been expected.

GREGORY BIENSTOCK, S. M. SCHWARTZ, AARON YUGOW, *Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. Cloth, pp. 198. \$3.00.

Outstanding and expert analysis, an unquestionable "must" for any student of the Soviet economy.

S.H.C.

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THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

VOLUME TWENTY-TWO

OCTOBER, 1944

NICHOLAS GUMILYOV, THE POET-WARRIOR
1886-1921

By LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

A Prayer

Fearful sun, menacing sun,
Like the mad face
Of God going through space,

Burn the present, oh! sun,
That the future may last,
But protect the past.

N. GUMILYOV. *Pearls*, 1912¹

NIKOLAI STĚPANOVICH GUMILYOV, with his pale face, small black moustache, slightly slanting eyes, and drooping eyelids, with a frail body but a will of steel, might have been, if he had happened to be born in a different age, a Moses, a Mohamed, or a St. Ignatius Loyola. But he was born at the end of the "stupid nineteenth century" in Kronstadt, Russia, the son of a naval doctor, and he was a "poet by the grace of God," a militant, fighting poet, a crusader about whom another poet said "You never once in life took off your armor."²

Gumilyov's place in Russian literature as a poet, as a writer of prose "excellent in its formal perfection,"³ as a critic who "felt the meaning of his epoch,"⁴ as the acknowledged leader and master of a new literary school — "Acmeism" — has not been evaluated as yet.

¹ This and all other translations in the text are by the author.

² Mikhail Struve, "N. S. Gumil'evu," *Russkaja Mysl'*, 1921, x-xii, p. 87.

³ L. Lelevich, "Gumil'ev, N. S.," *Bol'shaja Sovetskaja Entsiklopedija*

⁴ Valeri Bryusov, "Sud Akmeista," *Pečat' i Revoljutsija*, 1923, ii, p. 98.

His tragic death at the hands of a firing squad, when he was shot as a counter-revolutionary connected with the famous Tagantsev conspiracy, precludes any detailed study about him from appearing in the Soviet Union. And what has been written about him there so far though recognizing Gumilyov's poetical talent, is naturally tinged with Marxist bias. Almost nothing has been written about him abroad. Yet when writing his obituary, Peter Struve, who as editor of *The Russian Thought* had published both Gumilyov's poetry and prose, expressed the opinion that "his poems will be included in all anthologies of Russian poetry."⁵

Having known Gumilyov personally and having belonged as a writer of poetry to his school, I offer this study as a tribute to his memory and as a small contribution to our better knowledge of that era of Russian letters between 1905 and 1917, which was a marked "renaissance" and to which Gumilyov so nobly contributed.

When I first met Gumilyov he was 30, but looked older than his years. The first impression was that of restrained power. His manner was quiet, almost shy, but one could feel the inner strength, the unbounded courage of a fighter. Yet there was something very human, very tender about the man. He seldom laughed, but when he did it was a joyous laughter of a child. He loved life passionately, fundamentally. That is why, perhaps, he preferred the company of people younger than himself.

Serious as he appeared to be, he was not averse to youthful pranks or to spontaneous outbursts of gayety. When we, apprentices, gathered at his studio-apartment we could never tell how the evening would end. It might be spent entirely in readings and discussions of poetry and it might be broken up for a trip to the gypsies in Novaya Derevnja or, as on one occasion that I recall, in a surprise visit to some friends in Tsarskoye Selo when, after gathering a few bottles of champagne, we proceeded to the station, then rode in the train and finally, piling into two sleighs, glided noiselessly through the quiet snow-covered streets of the tsar's residence. And all the while (and before a bottle of wine had been opened) we were intoxicated by Gumilyov's presence, by his quiet yet sparkling conversation, his biting sarcasm and brilliant repartee.

Russian poetry has two fundamental traditions stemming from its two central figures. Every Russian poet is bound by memories either of Pushkin or Lermontov, and it is interesting to note that everything of importance in Russian poetry is the result of a blend of these two traditions: one masculine — that of Pushkin, one feminine — that of

⁵ Peter Struve, "In memoriam," *Russkaja Mysl'*, 1921, x-xii, p. 91.

Lermontov. No pure note has sounded yet, but as a general rule Lermontov's influence has prevailed. This could be explained by the fact that Russian poetry is still very young and, as the mother's influence is always stronger in childhood, so the feminine muse of Lermontov has held so far most of the Russian poets under its spell. One listens to the father's voice later, when life demands sustained force and manliness "N. Gumilyov was the first representative of the manly tradition in our time. The blood ties with Pushkin and through him with classicism have not been felt so clearly in any of Russia's contemporary poets as in Gumilyov, whose poetry is a firm and decisive step on this new road. If among our contemporaries there have been poets more enchanting than he, still N. Gumilyov represents the most important figure in Russian poetry of the first quarter of the twentieth century, because he not only gave us examples of unsurpassed mastery, but also revealed to Russian poetry her destiny and the ways to reach it."⁶

During Gumilyov's formative years, while he was still at school in the gymnasium of Tsarkoye Selo (now Pushkin), the Russian literary scene was monopolized by the symbolists. There was something Germanic, misty, unreal, and amorphous in the art of the symbolists. To this Gumilyov opposed the clarity, the sunniness, the precision of the Gallic spirit. While the symbolists faithfully followed Verlaine's recipe "de la musique avant toute chose" and "pas la couleur, rien que la nuance," Gumilyov looked for his model and guide in Theophile Gautier's famous pronouncement: "L'art robuste seul a l'éternité." Nevertheless, Gumilyov started his poetical career in the ranks of the symbolists whose importance in the development of Russian letters he had never denied and whose contribution he characterized as follows: "Russian symbolists had set for themselves a difficult but lofty task — to bring our native poetry out of a Babylonian captivity formed by petty ideals and prejudice, in which it had lingered for almost half a century."⁷ "Symbolism is the result of maturity of the human spirit which has proclaimed that the world is what our conception of it is." And he added: "But at present we cannot be symbolists. This is not an appeal, not a wish, but merely a certified fact."⁸

Yet from the beginning Gumilyov's poetry had elements in it which clearly indicated that his sojourn among the symbolists was

⁶ Georgi Ivanov, Preface to N. Gumilev. *Stikhotvoreniya. Posmertny Sbornik*, 2nd ed., Petrograd, 1923, p. 6.

⁷ N. Gumilév, "Pis'ma o russkoj poezii," *Apollon*, No. 8, 1910, p. 59.

⁸ N. Gumilév, "Žizn' Sticha," *Apollon*, No. 7, 1910, p. 16.

developed even more pointedly in the sonnet which opens the book.

Conquistador in iron armor,
Pursuing gaily my own star;
I walk through precipice and canyon,
And only rest in joyful lands.

The fog grows grim in starless skies,
But I am silent and I wait;
And I have faith—I'll find my love,
Conquistador in iron armor.

If stars can hear no sunlit words,
I shall create my own bright dream;
And charm it with the songs of battle.

A brother I to storm and chasm,
But to my battle dress I add
The star of fields—a fleur de lys.¹³

This book was written while Gumilyov was in his last year at school in Tsarskoye Selo and showed the poetical immaturity of its author. In a review of the book, Valeri Bryusov, who was to become Gumilyov's much admired master and model, criticized the young author severely, pointing out also that Gumilyov was far from perfect in form, and style, and verse. This was a challenge, and Gumilyov accepted it to work painstakingly on perfecting his technique and to emerge later as an unchallengeable master of form, and style, and verse, as if the precept of Theophile Gautier "l'oeuvre sort plus belle d'une forme au travail rebelle, vers, marbre, onyx, émail," which was to become his canon, was already his guiding star. But Bryusov recognized the talent of the young poet when he closed his review with the words: "But the book has also some very beautiful poems, some very effective images. Let us hope that it is only the way of a new conquistador, whose victories and conquests lie still ahead."¹⁴

Notwithstanding Bryusov's criticism (or perhaps because of it), the symbolist review *The Scales* opened its pages to the new author. From 1906 to 1909 *The Scales* published 13 poems and 4 short stories by Gumilyov. During that time he was studying at the Sorbonne in Paris, interrupting his studies for his first trip to Africa, visiting Egypt, the Sudan and Abyssinia. It was also in Paris that his second book of verse *Romantic Flowers* was published in 1908.¹⁵ In it one

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁴ *Vesy (The Scales)*, No. 11, 1905, p. 68.

¹⁵ I. V. Vladislavlev, *Literatura velikogo desjatiletya*, 1 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1928), 90.

can already feel the influence of the "Parnassians" — Gautier, Leconte de Lille, and Hérédia — which was to become stronger in later years, although Gumilyov's poetic world is still peopled by romantic images. "Here through a symbolist pattern the true face of Gumilyov is already apparent."¹⁶ His favorite themes still deal with knights in armor, with conquistadors, conquerors, emperors, majestic heroes, the Devil, Satan, Lucifer, the Serpent, the Raven, the Eternal Jew, Ossian, Sindbad the Sailor, Caracalla. They all perform great deeds as a prototype of Gumilyov's own ideal. But side by side there appear some poems of somber wisdom.

The Founders

Romulus and Remus went up the hill.
 The hill was mute and bare before them
 Romulus said: "We'll build a town here."
 "A town like sunshine," Remus replied.
 Romulus said: "The stars have willed it,
 And we have regained our ancient honor."
 Remus replied: "What was before
 We must forget, let us look forward."
 "Here'll be a circus," Romulus said,
 "Here'll be our house open to all."
 "But we should put closer to our dwelling
 The burial vaults," Remus replied.¹⁷

It would be an error to think of Gumilyov "who loved life passionately"¹⁸ always as a romantic, sunny poet. He had not only his somber moods, but moods of depression and despair as well. However, even in his darkest moments, as in the following poem which is impregnated with fatalistic pessimism, Gumilyov never forgot the force and power of man's will.

The Choice

The builder of towers will lose his grip,
 And his falling down will be fearful.
 At the bottom of the well of the world
 He will curse his own madness.

The one who destroys will be crushed,
 Will be broken by slabs of stone;
 And, abandoned by All-Seeing God,
 Will yell in his utter despair.

¹⁶ Lelevich, "Gumilev," *B.S.E.*

¹⁷ N. Gumilev, *Romantičeskie Tsvety*, 3rd ed., St. Petersburg, 1918, p. 62.

¹⁸ Georgi Ivanov, Preface to *Čužoe Nebo* by N. Gumilev, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1936, p. 4.

And the one who retires to the caves,
Or the banks of the peaceful stream,
Will encounter the frightful stare
Of the awe-inspiring black panther.

None will escape the bloody fate
That to men has been allotted.
But wait: our incomparable right
Is to choose the death that we will.¹⁹

The result of his trip to Africa can be seen in such poems as "Lake Chad," "Rhinoceros," "Jaguar," "Hyena" and "Giraffe." A line from the latter, which reads "Far, far away, by Lake Chad there wanders a *dainty** giraffe," was very much commented upon at the time of the appearance of *Romantic Flowers*.

Returning to Russia, Gumilyov resumed his studies, this time at the University of St. Petersburg (Leningrad), and joined the staff of a new literary and artistic review, *Apollo*, which made its appearance in the fall of 1909. It is around this review and the literary group called "The Society of Adepts of the Artistic Word" (which in 1913 counted 57 members, mostly poets)²⁰ that Gumilyov's talent as a poet and critic developed in the ensuing seven years. Although he published his poems in other reviews as well (particularly *The Russian Thought*), it was on the pages of *Apollo* that most of his important poems did appear, such as, for instance, "The Captains," published in the first issue, and "The Discovery of America," published in December 1910.

Writing in the second issue of *Apollo*, Innokenti Annenski, one of the most sensitive poets of the period, had this to say about Gumilyov as a poet: "It seems that Nicholas Gumilyov feels color more than contour, and loves the dainty more than the musically beautiful. He works a great deal over the material of his poems and at times reaches an almost French exactness. His rhythms are elegantly alarming. . . . Gumilyov's lyricism is an exotic longing for the colorfully picturesque patterns of the distant south. He loves everything that is peculiar and strange, but his true taste makes him severe in the choice of his settings."²¹ But it was as a critic and theorist of verse as well as the leader of the "acmeist" poetical school that Gumilyov emerges in his true stature from the pages of *Apollo*.

Beginning with the second issue of *Apollo* in November 1909,

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

* Italics supplied (*izyskanny*).

²⁰ *Apollo*, No. 1-2, 1914, p. 135.

²¹ In. Annenski, "O sovremennom lirizme," *Apollo*, No. 2, 1909, p. 25.

Gumilyov published regularly his "Letters about Russian Poetry." When reviewing these collected critical essays, published after the poet's untimely death, Bryusov, who had accepted the Bolshevik revolution, remarked: "This book by N. Gumilyov deserves attention primarily because the author emerges victorious from a difficult assignment. . . . Gumilyov had the feeling of a genuine critic; his evaluations are to the point, they express in brief formulas the very essence of the poet. . . . It is an interesting and valuable book. True, it is impressionistic criticism. True, it is poetry cut off from all currents of social life. True, it is the judgment of our entire literature by an acmeist not devoid of bias. But it is a book of a poet who loved and understood art. . . . Literary historians and historians of our own social development will still have to refer to this book by N. Gumilyov."²² One cannot but agree unreservedly with Bryusov's evaluation of Gumilyov as a critic.

Gumilyov had a high concept of the calling of a poet "who must have his own word to say, no matter at what cost, which alone *makes* a poet."²³ To him "simplicity and unpretentiousness of plot frees the word, makes it supple and sure, permits it to shine with its own light."²⁴ And he exclaims: "How often people mistake for poetical talent an affluence of thoughts, a richness and a variety of impressions! It is precisely these qualities which prevent a person lacking poetical talent from becoming even a fair versificator."²⁵ He admits that "from times immemorial prophets have put in verse their revelations, moralists — their laws, philosophers — their mental conclusions. It is a characteristic fact that nearly all insane people begin to write verse. Every valuable or simply peculiar aspect of an outlook on life strives to be expressed in verse. . . . But, of course, such striving in most cases has no relation whatsoever to poetry."²⁶ Why then do poets write? "This question is not difficult to answer: On one hand, to tell people something new, gained by themselves alone — an idea, an image, a feeling, it makes no difference; on the other hand, for the sheer ecstasy of creation, so divinely complicated, so joyfully difficult."²⁷ And about those who claim that it has become easy to write poetry, he remarks: "They are partly right. We are indeed living through a poetical Renaissance. Special attention is paid to poetry; it is considered fashionable to be interested in

²² Bryusov, "Sud akmeista," pp. 96-100.

²³ Gumil'ev, "Pis'ma," *Apollon*, No. 10, 1911, p. 74.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 5, 1910, p. 56.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 1, 1912, p. 72.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 10, 1915, p. 51.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 9, 1910, p. 38.

it, and no wonder that more and more poetry is being published. . . . But to write good poetry is as difficult now as ever."²⁸

At the time when estheticism was making a bid to dominate Russian literature, he wrote: "The fault of the esthetes lies in that they are seeking the foundation for their elegant admiration in the object and not in the subject. Terror, pain, disgrace are beautiful and endearing because they are bound so unbreakably with the whole universe and with our creative domination of everything. When one loves life like a mistress, one does not differentiate in the moment of caresses where pain ends and joy begins; all that one knows is that one wants nothing different."²⁹ And he adds: "In not too cultured circles it is the custom to regard utter prettiness as a mark of estheticism. But then it is the same as to call a 'gourmet' a person who eats sugar by the spoonful."³⁰ To this he opposes what he believes to be the proper way of dealing with beauty, when he says: "An acmeist represents not the beautiful, but his conception of it."³¹ And to the purists he throws this challenge: "Purity is suppressed sensuality and it is beautiful; but a complete lack of sensuality shocks one like a new unheard-of form of debauchery."³²

To Gumilyov, the young poets of his time were "seafarers who like Sindbad leave behind their blessed Bagdad in order 'to gaze with curiosity at new things.' And their saving grace is only their reverent attitude toward the greatest possession of poets — their native language, as Sindbad's saving grace was his reverence for the laws of Allah."³³ According to him "only by severe work, by a constant effort, talent acquires variety without which there is no great creation."³⁴ And he laments: "How sad it is to see when a real poet seeks his way carefully and painstakingly, regretful to abandon what has already been discovered and refusing to acquire the saving dizziness of conquerors."³⁵

Gumilyov was a perfectionist. To him, Pushkin was the greatest manifestation of Russian poetic genius and the unquestionable proof of autochthonic Russian culture. When reviewing Alexander Blok's poems he wrote: "Usually a poet gives to his readers his works. Blok gives himself. By this I mean that in his poems one finds

²⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 6, 1912, p. 54.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 5, 1914, p. 35.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 6, 1912, p. 54.

³¹ *Ibid.*, No. 5, 1914, p. 35.

³² Gumilev, "Zizn' Sticha," p. 6.

³³ Gumilëv, "Pis'ma," *Apollon*, No. 5, 1911, p. 76.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 5, 1912, p. 50.

³⁵ *Id.*

not only no solution, but not even any indication of some general problem — a literary one as with Pushkin, philosophic as with Tyutchev, or sociological as with Hugo. He simply describes his own life which, luckily for him, is so astonishingly rich in internal struggle, catastrophes and illuminations. . . . He has the particular Pushkin capacity to make one feel the eternal in the merely passing, to show behind every occasional image the shadow of genius which is guiding his fate.”³⁶

Russian culture to Gumilyov was neither of the West nor of the East, but an entity of its own. “The most sensitive foreigners are convinced,” he wrote, “that Russians are quite a separate, a strange people. The mysteries of the Slavic soul — ‘l’âme slave’ — are a commonplace in the West. But they are content in describing its contradictions. However, we Russians ought to go further and seek the sources of these contradictions. Undoubtedly we are not only a transition from the psychology of the East to the psychology of the West, or vice versa, but we are already a whole and complete organism, proof of which is Pushkin. But among us there happen to be, as a general rule, returns to the purity of one or the other of the component parts. Thus Bryusov is a European completely and always, in every line of his poetry, in every word even of the most insignificant of his articles . . . but Vyacheslav Ivanov is from the East. . . . And in defending the wholeness of the Russian idea, we must stubbornly decry this extreme, even though loving it, and remember that it is not an accident that the heart of Russia is simple Moscow and not the resplendent Samarkand.”³⁷

Such were Gumilyov’s principal conceptions as a critic. But above all he was a poet who demanded much of others because he demanded much of himself. Poetry to him was the *acme* of human expression. That “verse is the highest form of speech, everyone knows who, while attentively chiselling a piece of prose, has had to use effort in order to prevent the bursting of nascent rhythm.”³⁸ And “in verse the rhyme is the same as an angle in plastic art: it is a transition from one line to another and as such must be outwardly unexpected, inwardly well founded, free, tender and elastic.”³⁹ According to him “poetry must hypnotize — in this lies its force”⁴⁰ and “one of the

³⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 8, 1912, p. 60.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 6, 1912, p. 52–53.

³⁸ Gumilev, “Zizn’ Sticha,” p. 7.

³⁹ Gumilev, “Pis’mo,” *Apollon*, No. 9, 1910, p. 36.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 10, 1910, p. 25.

unquestioned characteristics of good poetry is that it can be easily remembered.”⁴¹

As to form, Gumilyov has explored almost all existing ones from the sonnet, probably the most perfect form created in the West, to the Persian ghazali of the East. While reviewing a book of sonnets he said this about them: “A love for sonnets usually flares up either in an era of poetical renaissance or, on the other hand, in an era of decline of poetry. In the first case in the tight form of the sonnet are found new possibilities — either the meter is being varied or the sequence of rhymes is being changed; in the second case, the most complicated and unyielding, yet at the same time the most typical, form of the sonnet is being sought and it attains the characteristics of a canon. Shakespeare’s sonnets and the sonnets of Herédia are the two poles in the history of the sonnet and both of them are perfect. The difference in their methods permits one especially to appreciate their charm based, as always in sonnets, exclusively on an inspired calculation. In the former as in the latter the refinement of effect goes hand in hand with a sureness of expression and a rigidity of style.”⁴²

As a poet, Gumilov gives his own formula as to what constitutes a perfect poem. In a remarkable article entitled “Life of the Verse” he wrote:

A poem must have thought and feeling, as without the first a lyrical poem will be dead and without the second even an epic ballad will seem to be a boring unreality; must have the softness of contour of a young body where nothing protrudes and nothing is lost, and the sharpness of a statue illuminated by the sun; must have simplicity, because the future is open to it alone, and refinement as a living avowal of the heritage of all the joys and sorrows of past ages; and above all this — style and gesture.

In style God shows himself through his own creation; the poet reveals himself, but a hidden self unknown even to himself, permitting one to guess the color of his eyes, the shape of his hands . . . Under gesture in a poem I understand such a placement of words, such a choice of vowels and consonants, of speeding up and of slowing down of rhythm, that the reader of the poem involuntarily adopts the pose of his hero, repeats his facial expressions and his body movements and thus, thanks to this imaginary transformation of his own body, feels the same things as the poet himself so that the thought expressed from a lie becomes the truth. . . .

A poem possessing the enumerated qualities, in order to be worthy of

⁴¹ *Ibid* , No. 10, 1915, p. 52.

⁴² *Ibid.*, No. 8, 1910, p. 61.

its name, must retain among them complete harmony and, what is most important, must have been evoked to life not 'by the irritation of a captive thought,' but by an internal necessity which gives it a living soul — temperament. Besides, it must be perfect even to its faults. . . . In one word, a poem must be a cast, a likeness of the beautiful human body, this highest form of imaginable perfection. After all, men have created even God himself according to their own image and likeness.⁴³

Having given the formula, Gumilyov proceeded to show how it should be done.

In 1910 appeared his third book of poetry, *Pearls*, dedicated to "my teacher — Valeri Bryusov."⁴⁴ In a review of this book, Vyacheslav Ivanov wrote: "A master has no need for an imitator — he rejoices in an apprentice. A great master demands that a true apprentice have an independent talent and then on such a talent he imposes obedience, because in free obedience force matures. It is not out of place then when N. Gumilyov calls Valeri Bryusov his teacher, because he is a pupil whom the master cannot fail to recognize."⁴⁵ Indeed Gumilyov was a pupil according to his own formula: "A real pupil always comes to the teacher with his own contents and in his outer submission there can always be discerned the challenge of future liberation."⁴⁶

Many of the poems in *Pearls* had previously appeared in *The Scales*, *The Russian Thought*, and *Apollo* and some, including "The Founders" and "The Choice," were reprinted from *Romantic Flowers*. The book contains also such poems as "The Witch," "The Old Conquistador," "The Knight with a Chain," which are reminiscent of Gumilyov's earlier work, but the general character of the book is that of transition from romanticism to his new conception of "acmeism." Gumilyov is still an apprentice not only of Bryusov but of his own muse, but unlike Bryusov, who adhered to the formula "art for art's sake," Gumilyov believed in "art for life's sake."⁴⁷ He is still seeking his way, but one can already discern what it is in such remarkable long poems as "The Dream of Adam" and "The Captains." The romantic tendency is still strong but the images become more realistic, as when he says:

The moon sails like the round shield
Of a hero slain long, long ago⁴⁸

⁴³ Gumilév, "Žizn' Sticha," pp. 8-9.

⁴⁴ N. Gumilév, *Žemchuga*, Moscow, 1910; 2nd ed., Berlin, 1921.

⁴⁵ *Apollo*, No. 7, 1910, p. 38.

⁴⁶ Gumilév, "Pis'ma," *Apollo*, No. 3, 1913, p. 75.

⁴⁷ Volkov, *Poezija*, p. 123.

⁴⁸ Gumilév, *Žemchuga*, 2nd ed., p. 14.

He still likes color, but he is already showing his worship of the word — the precise, sharp, powerful, magic, miraculous, divine word, which raises the human being from his animal surroundings and makes him man. He has not yet mastered the word but he has discovered it. To him it appears still as somewhat lost in man's daily surroundings:

The word is being born in pain and torture
And quietly it goes through life, the timid one.⁴⁹

This is a far cry from what Gumilyov will have to say about the word in later years, but he is already preoccupied with defining its right place and its sober meaning. *Pearls* show that he was on the road to becoming "a great master in the field of the artistic word."⁵⁰

In 1911 Gumilyov made his second trip to Africa, this time visiting Abyssinia, which was reflected in his poetical work by the inclusion of five Abyssinian songs in his next book, *Foreign Skies*, published in 1912.⁵¹ Of these songs Bryusov wrote that they revealed "brilliant coloring and a great mastery,"^{51a} and of the whole book he wrote as follows: "There is a certain movement forward in the new collection of poems 'Foreign Skies' by N. Gumilyov. Cold as before, but always well thought through, Gumilyov's poems leave an impression of the work of a talented artist, who loves his art and who is familiar with all the mysteries of poetic technique. Gumilyov is no teacher, no preacher; the importance of his poetry lies more in *how* he says it rather than *what* he says. One has to love the very verse, the very art of the word for itself in order to love Gumilyov's poems. . . . Gumilyov writes and will continue to write beautiful poetry."⁵²

So Gumilyov — the conquistador and the apprentice — had travelled a long way since the appearance of his first book to receive recognition from his master as a new master of the craft, although *Foreign Skies* does not represent the peak of Gumilyov's poetical growth.

The most outstanding poetical work in this book is a long poem entitled "The Discovery of America," almost a companion piece to his previous "The Captains," but revealing a greater depth of thought and a much greater technical mastery. In this poem "every stanza is composed of six lines with two rhymes and the fourteen stanzas com-

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁵⁰ V. Dynnik, "Akmeizm," *B S E*.

⁵¹ N. Gumil'ev, *Čužoe Nebo*, St. Petersburg, 1912; 2nd ed. Berlin, 1936. The second edition (the only one available in the United States) is not complete, lacking among others a play in verse *Don Juan in Egypt* and Gumilyov's translations from Theophile Gautier's *Emaux et Camées*.

^{51a} V. Bryusov, "Antologija izd Musaget," *Russkaya Mysl'*, No. 8, 1911, p. 15.

⁵² V. Bryusov, *Dalekie i blizkie*, 1911, quoted after Volkov, *Poezija*, p. 116.

posing each song exhaust all possible combinations of two rhymes in six lines."⁵³

In one of the best poems of this book, "Generals of the Turkestan Campaign," Gumilyov tells how strange it is to see these veterans at dances and receptions standing by the wall, polite and worldly, as if they had forgotten the days of anxiety, the nightly calls "To arms!" the lonely desert, the steady tread of camels' feet, the loss of friends and comrades, and the Russian flag waving over white Khiva.

Forgotten? No! When every hour,
Some minor instance, a mere trifle,
Befogs the sparkle of their quiet eyes,
Tells them of what has been before.

"What is it?"—"Nothing, just the foot hurts."
"Gout?"—"No, a bullet wound right through."
And so the heart is promptly longing
To be in sunny Turkestan.⁵⁴

This poem, together with some later ones about Africa, have been compared by Soviet critics with similar ones of Kipling, "the bard of English imperialism."⁵⁵ True there is something of Kipling in certain of Gumilyov's poetry, but it is not in form or inspiration, but rather in feeling. Like Kipling, Gumilyov was somewhat of a "colonial" and it was not in jest (as some people thought at the time) that he advocated for Russia extension of her dominion over Abyssinia, a country supposedly professing the same type of Christianity. "Attracted by the war-like qualities of Russian imperialism, Gumilyov sought to create a poetry characterised by both rationalism and will. Thus he came to found the movement of Acmeism, headed by himself."⁵⁶

It was in 1912 that a group of poets calling themselves "The guild of poets" started the publication of a magazine *Hyperboreos* devoted entirely to the poetical production of this group.⁵⁷ The group was composed of the following: N. Gumilyov, Sergei Gorodetski, Anna Akhmatova (who was to become Gumilyov's wife), Osip Mandelstam, Vladimir Narbut, M. Zenkevich, Georgi Ivanov, and Georgi Adamovich. These actually formed the nucleus of the "acmeist" movement, which later embraced a much larger number of the young poets of Russia. When writing about this group in later years, a contemporary critic remarked: "If, on one hand, the symbolists were

⁵³ M. Kuzmin, "Pis'ma o russkoi poezii," *Apollon*, No. 2, 1912, p. 74.

⁵⁴ Gumilev, *Čužoe Nebo*, 2nd ed., p. 61.

⁵⁵ Volkov, *Poezija*, p. 133, Lelevich, "Gumilev," *B S E*.

⁵⁶ Lelevich, "Gumilev," *B S E*.

⁵⁷ Volkov, *Poezija*, p. 115.

blind (at that only a few of them could so *listen* to the world as did Blok!), then, on the other, the acmeists were endowed with an extraordinary poetical vision. Like Adam in Gumilyov's poem, they seemed to see the world for the first time and looked at it with eyes which had not lost as yet their primeval sharpness; like Adam they were glad to give a name to everything they saw."⁵⁸

And Gumilyov was not only the theorist of the group, but its unchallenged head. He was different from the other members of the group primarily because of "his active, honest and simple manliness, his intense spiritual energy and his temperament."⁵⁹

This group of poets received quick recognition, not only because they struck a different note, but principally because they wrote good poetry. Years later, Bryusov admitted that the last seven years before the revolution were characterized in the life of Russian poetry almost exclusively by the achievements of the "acmeists."⁶⁰

With recognition as a group came also the desire to obtain a wider medium of expression than the few pages of *Hyperboreos* of limited circulation could afford. It was the well-established by then *Apollo* which in its first issue for 1913 not only published Gumilyov's "manifesto" entitled "The heritage of symbolism and acmeism" and an expose of the new school by Gorodetski, but opened its pages hospitably to the entire group. "From then on '*Apollo*' became the official organ of the new school."⁶¹

In his "manifesto" Gumilyov wrote:

To take the place of symbolism comes a new movement, no matter what its name, whether acmeism (from the word *acme* meaning the highest degree of anything, flower or flowering era) or adamism (a manly, firm and clear outlook on life), but in any case demanding a greater balance of forces and a more exact knowledge of relationship between the subject and the object than was the case with symbolism. . . . Although valuing the symbolists highly, because they have taught us the meaning of the symbol in art, we do not consent to sacrifice to it other means of poetical expression and we seek their complete correlation. By this we answer the question about the comparative "beautiful difficulty" of the two movements. it is more difficult to be an acmeist than a symbolist as it is more difficult to build a cathedral than a tower. And one of the principles of the new movement is always to follow the line of greatest resistance. . . . Each movement experiences an attraction to one or another of the creators or epochs of the past. Graves of dear ones bind people together

⁵⁸ Gleb Struve, "Pis'ma o russkoi poezii," *Russkaja Mysl'*, No. 6-7, 1922, p. 240.

⁵⁹ V. Zhirmunski, "Preodolevšie simbolizm," *Russkaja Mysl'*, No. 12, 1916, p. 49.

⁶⁰ Bryusov, "Sud akmeista," p. 87

⁶¹ Volkov, *Poezija*, p. 117.

more strongly than anything else. In circles close to acmeism the names of Shakespeare, Rabelais, Villon and Theophile Gautier are mentioned more often than others. Each one of them is a cornerstone to the acmeist building, a high intensity of this or the other of its elements. Shakespeare showed us the inner life of man, Rabelais — the body and its joys, a wise physiological state. Villon told us about life, not doubting in the least about itself, yet knowing all — God, vice, death and immortality; for this life Theophile Gautier found in art worthy garments of faultless form. To unite these four moments in one is the dream which binds together those who so boldly have called themselves acmeists.⁶²

To this may be added some excerpts from the article of Sergei Gorodetski, the most aggressive of the group:

The struggle between acmeism and symbolism (if it is really a struggle and not merely the occupation of an abandoned fortress) is primarily a struggle for *this* world—singing, colorful, having form, weight and time—for our planet the Earth. . . The first step in the manifestation of love for this world was the exotic. As if created anew, animals flooded poetry; the early poems of N. Gumilyov were filled with elephants, giraffes, lions, parrots from the Antilles . . . [cf. D. H. Lawrence]. The most difficult task was to lay out a new road to lyricism; the road to epos was not so encumbered, but to lyricism of faultless words one had to fight one's way. Is it not because of this that Gumilyov's youthful book was entitled "The Way of Conquistadors"? . . . Indeed, one had to have a lot of daring and of unmitigated love for the future, in order to profess in lyricism the cold detachment of Theophile Gautier at a time when lyrico-magic poetry had reached its apogee. . . . As a new fearless architect, N. Gumilyov decided to use in poetry only "impassionate material." . . . Then, the critics will say, this new poetry is that of the "Parnassians"? No. These new poets are not "Parnassians," because they do not value abstract eternity for itself. They are not impressionists either, because every momentary occurrence does not constitute for them an artistic aim in itself. They are also not symbolists, because they do not seek in every moment a glimpse into eternity. They are *acmeists*, because they take into art those moments which can become eternal.⁶³

These pronouncements were immediately attacked by some of the influential poets of the time. On April 20, 1913, Blok wrote in his diary: "'There seems to be a new conception of the world in acmeism,' Gorodetski babbles on the telephone. I say — why do you want to call yourselves something different when there is nothing that distinguishes you from us?"⁶⁴ And Bryusov went one step further. In a

⁶² N. Gumilev, "Nasledie simvolizma i akmeizm," *Apollon*, No. 1, 1913, pp. 42-45.

⁶³ Sergei Gorodetski, "Nekotorye techeniya v sovremennoi russkoi poezii," *Apollon*, No. 1, 1913, pp. 49-50.

⁶⁴ Volkov, *Poezija*, pp. 115-116.

lengthy article in the April 1913 issue of *The Russian Thought* he vehemently denounced the newly-born acmeists, concluding that they were a menace to young talents. "However," he added, "this menace cannot be lasting. Most probably in a year or two there will be no trace left of acmeism."⁶⁵ Bryusov proved to be a poor prophet, because the movement not only survived in Russia until the revolution of 1917 (it continued abroad when some of the acmeists, including Georgi Ivanov, Georgi Adamovich, Irina Odoyevtseva, became emigrés), but it also parented the school of "neoclassicists" in Soviet poetry.⁶⁶

Notwithstanding such criticism with which the pronouncements of the acmeists were greeted, the new movement soon found itself dominating the Russian literary scene as representing "a new poetical 'Weltanschauung'."⁶⁷ This was due not in small measure to Gumilyov's unbounded energy and feverish activity. He not only read his poems at different literary gatherings, but expounded his ideas in literary debates on a number of occasions. On December 19, 1912, he participated in a debate, which followed a lecture on "Symbolism and Acmeism" by Gorodetski. He stressed the difference between the two schools — the former represented, in his opinion, the "triumph of the feminine element in spiritual culture, whereas the latter gave a decisive preference to the masculine element."⁶⁸

In the spring and summer of 1913, Gumilyov made his third trip to Africa, visiting this time Abyssinia and Somaliland as a member of an expedition organized by the Academy of Sciences. Returning to Russia in the fall he resumed his literary activity.

On November 30, 1913, he was elected member of the council of "The Society of Adepts of the Artistic Word"⁶⁹ and at the meeting of this society on December 8, 1913, he read his new one-act drama in verse, *Acteon*,⁷⁰ which has remained unpublished. Again on January 20, 1914, at the meeting of the same society, while participating in a discussion of a new translation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* by Vyacheslav Ivanov, Gumilyov expressed his ideas on the art of the translator and remarked that the first prerequisite of a good translation should be that the "translator be congenial with the original."⁷¹

⁶⁵ Valeri Bryusov, "Novyya tečenija v russkoj poezii, Akmeizm," *Russkaja Mysl*, No. 4, 1913, pp. 134-142.

⁶⁶ Dynnik, "Akmeizm," *B S.E.*

⁶⁷ Georgi Ivanov, Preface to N. Gumilev: *Pis'ma o russkoj poezii*, Petrograd, 1923, p. 8.

⁶⁸ *A pollon*, No. 1, 1913, p. 70.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 1-2, 1914, p. 135.

⁷⁰ *Id*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, No. 5, 1914, p. 54.

It was not presumptuous on the part of Gumilyov to discuss translations, because he was a first-class translator himself. In 1911 he published a critico-biographical article on Theophile Gautier accompanied by translations of four of the latter's poems from *Emaux et Camées*.⁷² This was followed by the publication in 1913 of his translation of stanzas xxxvi to xli from *The Great Testament* of François Villon as well as his ballad "about ladies of bygone days."⁷³ Finally, early in 1914, Gumilyov published in book form his complete translation of Gautier's *Emaux et Camées*.⁷⁴

A talented critic, writing about Gumilyov as he was in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the World War of 1914, remarked: "It seems to me to this day that the greatest monument to Gumilyov of that era is his priceless translation of *Emaux et Camées*, which was, indeed, a miracle of reincarnation in the image of his beloved Gautier. Taking into consideration the radical difference between the French and Russian art of versification, between the natural rhythm and articulation of both languages, it is impossible to imagine a more striking impression of the identity of the two texts. And do not think that it is possible to reach such complete analogy merely by thoughtfulness and by the perfection of the technique, by a highly developed craft; here is needed a greater achievement — an actual poetical brotherhood with a poet of a foreign tongue."⁷⁵

At the February 1914 meeting of "The Society of Adepts of the Artistic Word," Gumilyov read his new epic poem "Mik and Louis" (published under the title "Mik"⁷⁶) consisting of 960 lines. It is the story of an Abyssinian slave-boy Mik, who was the captured son of a once powerful rival chieftain slain in battle, of Louis, the ten-year-old son of the French consul in Addis-Ababa, and of a large ape, whom Mik had befriended. This trio runs away from the Abyssinian capital and in the course of their adventures Louis is proclaimed king of the apes. But, tired of ruling apes, Louis wanders away on his own and is killed by panthers. Mik then is helped by the Spirit of the Forest and eventually returns to Addis-Ababa not as a slave any more but a rich prince, and becomes the trusted adviser of King Menelik. Such, in brief, is the story of this delightful poetic work in which at first Louis, representing the white man's supremacy, is the uncontested

⁷² *Apollon*, No. 9, 1911, pp. 59-64.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, No. 4, 1913, pp. 36-38.

⁷⁴ Teofil' Got'ye, "Emaux i Kamei," perevod N. Gumileva, St. Petersburg, 1914. This book is not available in the United States.

⁷⁵ Andrei Levinson, "Gumilev," *Sovremennyya Zapiski*, 1922, ix, p. 311.

⁷⁶ N. Gumil'ev, *Mik. Afrikan'skaja poema*, St. Petersburg, 1918; 2nd ed., Petrograd, 1921-1922.

leader only to succumb to the wild beasts whom he had aroused, while Mik, the native, triumphs because he had allied himself (not without the supernatural help of the Spirit of the Forest) with the very forces which had destroyed Louis.

In the discussion which followed the first reading of this poem, Gumilyov maintained "that the only field in which there are still possibilities for great epics is exotic poetry."⁷⁷

When the war broke out in August 1914, Gumilyov immediately entered the armed forces, although he was not subject to the draft. He joined the guards regiment of Her Majesty's Uhlans and was assigned to Her Majesty's squadron.⁷⁸ This pleased Gumilyov very much, because he had always been a staunch monarchist⁷⁹ and even when talking about art had often drawn on his monarchist vocabulary as when he said: "Literature is lawful and beautiful like a constitutional state, but inspiration is the autocrat who is enchanting in that his living soul is above iron laws"⁸⁰

At first a private, later a non-commissioned officer, Gumilyov was commissioned a second lieutenant in 1916, after twice winning the cross of St. George, the most coveted military decoration of Imperial Russia, which was bestowed for personal bravery beyond the line of duty, like the Victoria Cross of Great Britain. Proudly he exclaimed in one of his later poems:

Twice Saint George has touched the breast
Which was untouched by any bullet.⁸¹

The war was a great experience for Gumilyov. His talent literally was tempered in the fire of battle. "He was the first one among Russian poets to write a poem glorifying war. It is a pity even to see these wonderful verses in print. They should be sung to 'victory's resounding trumpet.'"⁸²

The Sun of Spirit

How could we live before in quiet,
Nor wait for joy or for misfortune,
Nor dream about the fiery battle,
Or victory's resounding trumpet?

How could we? But 'tis not too late:

⁷⁷ *Apollon*, No. 5, 1914, p. 54.

⁷⁸ Volkov, *Poesija*, p. 207. The article about him in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia states erroneously that he joined a hussar regiment.

⁷⁹ Peter Struve, "In memoriam," p. 91.

⁸⁰ Gumilev, "Pis'ma," *Apollon*, No. 2, 1909, p. 21.

⁸¹ N. Gumilev, *Ognenny Stolp*, 2nd ed., St. Petersburg-Berlin, 1922, p. 11.

⁸² Georgi Ivanov, "Voennye Stichi," *Apollon*, No. 4-5, 1915, p. 84.

The sun of spirit shines above us,
 The sun of spirit, kind and dread,
 The vastness of the skies has covered.

The spirit flowers like a rose,
 Like fire it tears through former darkness;
 The body blindly following,
 Without regret or understanding.

In wild delights of open steppes,
 In quiet mysteries of forests —
 There's nothing that the will finds hard,
 Nor that the soul could call a torture.

I feel that Fall will soon be here
 And bring the end to sunny labors;
 Then men will pick the golden fruit
 That ripened on the tree of spirit.⁸³

During the first years of the war (1915–1916) Gumilyov also wrote regular articles from the front under the general title “Notes of a cavalryman” in a Petrograd daily newspaper, *The Stock-Exchange Journal*⁸⁴ (not available in the United States). But not all of Gumilyov’s inspiration during that time came from war themes. During a furlough in Petrograd he attended a meeting of “The Society of Adepts of the Artistic Word” on December 12, 1915, and read some of his new lyrics.⁸⁵ During that time Gumilyov was also at work on a poem in dramatic form entitled *Child of Allah*⁸⁶ (756 lines) which he read for the first time at a special convocation in the editorial offices of *Apollon* on March 19, 1916.⁸⁷ In this imaginative Arabian fairy-tale a divine Peri descends to earth with Allah’s permission to become the bride of the best of the humans. A handsome youth, a beduin, a sheik, a cadi, a calif, his son, a pirate and Sindbad seek to win her charms in turn but they all perish because each one of them has some blemish. Finally, the divine Peri is won by Hafiz-the-poet, who in his utter goodness makes her restore life to her former unfortunate suitors, but they all refuse to come back to earth having found a much more interesting place in the afterworld. And so Hafiz-the-poet, whose calling is the highest among Allah’s virtues and who loves the earth, and his divinely-sent bride, who becomes mortal of her own

⁸³ N. Gumilév, *Kolchan*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1923, pp. 47–48

⁸⁴ *Birževye Vedomosti*, Volkov, *Poezija*, p. 187

⁸⁵ *Apollon*, No. 2, 1916, p. 55.

⁸⁶ N. Gumilév, *Ditja Allacha. Arabskaja skazka*, Berlin, 1922. First published in *Apollon*, No. 6–7, 1917, pp. 17–57

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 4–5, 1916, p. 86.

choice, are united in love. Such a simple story gives Gumilyov the opportunity to write beautiful verse, skillfully introducing some genuine oriental meters.

Gumilyov's fifth book of verse, *The Quiver*,⁸⁸ appeared in 1916. Although Gumilyov wrote

From "The Romantic Flowers" to "The Quiver"
I'm still the same old self⁸⁹

The Quiver shows Gumilyov's poetical maturity. "In it he has grown into a great and discriminating artist of the word."⁹⁰ The 44 poems collected in this book are of different value and of different inspiration. Chronologically speaking, they cover the four years of Gumilyov's poetic development since the publication of *Foreign Skies*. Some of them had previously appeared in *Apollo* and *The Russian Thought*, and one actually bears the date: 1912-1915. Eleven of the poems deal with Italy⁹¹ (including an ode to d'Annunzio), five with the war, one with China, and only two with Africa. Among the others there are two that are outstanding. In one of them (written before the war of 1914) the poet speaks of his loneliness (and Gumilyov was a lonely soul, though always surrounded by people, as testified by his friend and poetical pupil — Georgi Ivanov⁹²):

With present life I am quite civil,
But there's a barrier between us:
My real delight is in what makes
The haughty one ridiculous.

Victory, glory, sacrifice —
Pale words forgotten here at present —
Sound in my soul like thunderbolts,
Like God's own voice in the lost desert.

.

But no, I am no tragic hero —
I am ironical, more dry
And I am mad, as a bronze idol
Who sits among some china dolls.⁹³

In the other — "one of the most remarkable poems ever written"

⁸⁸ N. Gumilev, *Kolchan*, Petrograd, 1916, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1923

⁸⁹ Gumilev, *Stikhotovoreniya*, p. 86.

⁹⁰ Zhirmunski, "Preodolevshie," p. 51.

⁹¹ Gumilev spent some time in Italy in 1912, as testified by three poems "Pisa," "Rome," "Genoa," which were dated "Italy, 1912," when first published (*Russkaja Mysl'*, No. 7, 1912, pp. 1-3)

⁹² Ivanov, Preface to *Čuzoe Nebo*, p. 7.

⁹³ Gumilev, *Kolchan*, 2nd ed., p. 65.

in the opinion of Vladimir Nabokov, the talented contemporary poet — Gumilyov's muse is more buoyant, more hopeful, although it ends too on a note of resignation:

Stanzas

This island has such dizzy heights,
Such misty shores!
And the Apocalypse was written here
And here Pan died

But there are those with groves of palms,
Where work is gay,
And where there roams with tinkling bells
A flock of sheep.

A violin of forms divine —
Holding my breath,
I took and listened how her soul
Flowed into sound.

'Tis only magic that by fate
I'm daily slain,
That nightly stars rain o'er my head
'Midst din and groans.

I'm free, trusting my fate again —
The world's my home.
I kiss a girl with a warm face
And avid mouth.

An instant only joining us,
The bridge is down.
The crosses, swords, and cups of stars
Will burn it up.⁹⁴

But it is in his poems about the war that Gumilyov has shown his greatest growth. War as a serious, stern and holy business, in which the whole force of an individual soul and the total value of a determined human will are revealed before the face of death — such is the mood of these poems. They are impregnated by a profound religious spirit.

The Quiver was received enthusiastically by the critics, some of whom devoted to it entire articles or the major parts of articles.⁹⁵ Only one voice was raised in sharp criticism, accusing Gumilyov of

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 34–35.

⁹⁵ M. Tumpovskaya, "Kolchan N. Gumileva," *Apollon*, No. 6–7, 1917, pp. 58–69, Zhirmunski, "Preodolevšie," pp. 49–52.

rhetorics, of verbosity, of misuse of words, of lack of sense of measure, of having abandoned his "Muse of distant travels" and having thrown himself headlong into a religious pessimism.⁹⁶ "To such critics," wrote Zhirmunski, "Gumilyov has the right to answer:

Victory, glory, sacrifice —
Pale words forgotten here at present —
Sound in my soul like thunderbolts,
Like God's own voice in the lost desert.'⁹⁷

In 1916 Gumilyov wrote a great dramatic poem in four acts, *Gondla*.⁹⁸ The action of the poem takes place in far-off Iceland in the ninth century. By way of introduction Gumilyov presented quotations from the works of two authors: one a Russian, the other a Frenchman. Since these quotations actually constitute "program notes" to the poem they are given here in full:

In Iceland, on that distant northern island, which rather belongs to the New than to the Old world, two original cultures — the Norman and the Celtic (both alien to us) — came to a clash in the IXth century. There, almost under the Arctic Circle, Scandinavian Vikings and Irish hermits met; the former were armed by swords and battle axes, the latter by a monk's staff and the Holy Book. This accidental encounter seems to have predestined the future history of the island, a history of a spiritual fight between the sword and the Gospel, which transformed the mighty sea kings of the IXth century into the peaceful gatherers of birds' feathers, fishermen and shepherds of our days. S. N. Syromyatnikov.⁹⁹

The primitive German revolts us by his unwarranted rudeness, by his love for evil, which makes him clever and strong only for hatred and destruction. The Celtic Knight, on the other hand, was always directed even in his strange deviations by habits of goodwill and compassion to the weak. This feeling is one of the deepest in the Celtic people, they had pity even for Judas . . . Renan.¹⁰⁰

The plot of the story is simple. Gondla, a hunchback, who is supposed to be the son of an Irish king, is married for state reasons to the daughter of an Icelandic chief, but one of the young Icelandic warriors consummates the marriage before Gondla reaches the bridal chamber. Instead of challenging his rival, Gondla appeals to the chief

⁹⁶ B. Eichenbaum, "Novye stichi N. Gumileva," *Russkaya Mysl'*, No. 2, 1916, pp. 17-19.

⁹⁷ Zhirmunski, "Preodolevšie," p. 52.

⁹⁸ N. Gumilev, "Gondla," *Russkaya Mysl'*, No. 1, 1917, pp. 67-97; in book form: Berlin, 1936.

⁹⁹ Gumil'ev, *Gondla*, Berlin, 1936, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Gumilev, *Gondla*, p. 67. For obvious reasons this quotation was omitted by the publishers from the Berlin edition.

for justice and asks that the perpetrator of the outrage be punished. But the chief repulses him because Gondla has refused to fight and thus has violated the code of honor of Iceland. He is ostracized and then the story is revealed that he is not the son of a king but a nobody who was substituted for the real prince because the latter was washed overboard during the passage from Ireland. When this becomes known, he is persecuted and flees into the forest. Then a detachment of Irish warriors arrives to seek Gondla whose father, an Irish bard, has been elected king. But rather than return to his native land, Gondla, who has really fallen in love with his bride, attempts to convert the Icelanders to Christianity. When he fails in his attempts by the power of his word, he immolates himself on the altar of his cause by driving a sword into his own breast. Following his death, the Icelanders are converted when they kiss, one by one, the hilt of the sword which killed Gondla, while Lera, Gondla's bride, prepares to follow him into death by sailing with his body into the endless ocean.

Written in immaculately beautiful verse, the poem is a natural development of Gumilyov's religious attitude, which had already appeared so strongly in his war poems. Precisely for this reason it was severely criticized by a leading literary critic of Soviet Russia.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless it is one of the outstanding examples of the best in modern Russian literature.

After the revolution of March 1917, Gumilyov was sent to the Saloniki front, but he never reached his destination as he was ordered to remain in Paris. There he served as adjutant to the special commissar of the Provisional Government attached to the Russian troops on the Western Front. In the early spring of 1918, after the Bolsheviks had been in power for almost six months, Gumilyov returned to Russia.¹⁰² He was no longer in the army and he resumed his poetical activity as a civilian.

"I recall the alleys of the Summer Garden at Petrograd, the spring breezes from the Neva, the tramway bells from the Champs de Mars, the statues grizzled by time, and the quiet sarcasm of Gumilyov's discourse. This was in April, 1918 — our last interview . . . Gumilyov spoke of the Bolsheviks ironically, without hatred."¹⁰³ And he devoted his energies to teaching young poets how to write good verse. He was severely criticized at times then and since for his insistence (both with himself and with his pupils) that poetry should follow strongly defined canons. "But why should it be harmful to the poet to do what is absolutely essential to the musician or the painter, not

¹⁰¹ Volkov, *Poezija*, pp 207-208.

¹⁰² Lelevich, "Gumilev," *B.S.E.*

¹⁰³ Leonid Chatsky (Strakhovsky): "N Goumylev," *Russian Life*, No 2-3, 1921, p. 72.

one of his attackers has ever clarified. However, some of our critics who are still clinging to our old-fashioned Asiatic ways in which 'perhaps,' 'maybe,' and 'somehow' are revered as a commandment, have expressed in all possible ways their displeasure at the work of this laborious and cultured European in the dense thickets of the Russian artistic word."¹⁰⁴

During 1918 he published a new book of verse, *The Bonfire*,¹⁰⁵ his Abyssinian poem *Mik*,¹⁰⁶ and a collection of Chinese poems adapted from French and English translations under the title of *The Porcelain Pavilion*.¹⁰⁷

Of the 29 poems in *The Bonfire*, only three had been previously published in *Apollo*.¹⁰⁸ Among the others, four were inspired by Scandinavia, through which Gumilyov had travelled on his return trip to Russia from France, and only one by Africa. The tone of *The Bonfire* is subdued. As one Soviet critic remarked: "The October (November) revolution which destroyed the class to which Gumilyov was bound, strengthened his feeling of doom. The theme of despair and of death, which had sounded already before in Gumilyov's poetry, received now an even sharper treatment. This conditioned also Gumilyov's artistic evolution. After the October (November) revolution he veers sharply to the style of the symbolists and to a mystical content."¹⁰⁹ There is a nostalgic note in such poems as "Stockholm," at the end of which the poet exclaims:

And then I understood that I had lost my way
Forever in blind passages of space and time,
And that somewhere my native rivers flow,
The road to which is always barred for me.¹¹⁰

And in another, entitled "Trees,"¹¹¹ Gumilyov sounds a note almost of despair when he says:

I know it is to trees and not to us
The greatness of a perfect life belongs.
On this kind earth, a sister to the stars,
We live in foreign lands and they at home.

.

¹⁰⁴ Ivanov, Preface to *Pis'ma* by Gumil'ev, p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ N. Gumilev, *Koster*, St. Petersburg, 1918, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1922.

¹⁰⁶ N. Gumilev, *Mik. Afrikanskaja poema*, St. Petersburg, 1918; 2nd ed., Petrograd, 1921-1922.

¹⁰⁷ N. Gumilev, *Farforovy Pavil'on. Kitaiskie stichi*, Petrograd, 1918, 2nd ed. (enlarged), Petrograd, 1922.

¹⁰⁸ *Apollo*, No. 1, 1916, pp. 13-15.

¹⁰⁹ Lelevich, "Gumil'ev," *B S E*.

¹¹⁰ Gumil'ev, *Koster*, 2nd ed., p. 35.

¹¹¹ This and sixteen other poems of *The Bonfire* were reprinted in *Russkaya Mysl'*, No. 1-2, 1922, pp. 3-17.

Oh, if I could only find a land
 In which I need not weep, nor sing, nor suffer,
 While rising silently to lofty heights
 Through all this world's incalculable ages.¹¹²

But there are poems of a brighter mood also, full of genuine religious reverence, and yet very much of this earth, of which the following is one:

Second Canzone

Thy temple, Lord, is in the heavens,
 But earth is also Thy abode.
 The linden trees bloom in the forests,
 And birds upon them sing Thy glory.

Like the ringing of church bells, spring
 Comes over gay and emerald fields;
 And in the spring on wings of dreams
 The angels fly to comfort us.

If that is so, oh! Lord, I pray,
 If I sing rightly Thine own song,
 I pray, oh! Lord, give me a sign,
 That I Thy will have understood.

Then before her, who now is sad,
 Appear, oh! Lord, like Light Unseen,
 And to all questions she will ask
 Give her a dazzling reply.

Because more pleasant than birds' songs,
 More glorious than the angel's trumpet,
 To us are smiles of loved lips,
 And fleeting tremblings of eyelashes.¹¹³

On the whole *The Bonfire* reflects Gumilyov's changing and changeable mood of that time, although technically his poetry has taken still a step forward as compared with *The Quiver*.

In 1919, that "hungry," desolate year of war communism, Gumilyov published an immaculate translation of a Babylonian epic poem, "Gilgamesh,"¹¹⁴ which he had completed as early as 1918. It is not a "scientific" translation, as Gumilyov said himself, since he had used for his original the work of Paul Dhorme: *Choix de textes religieux as-*

¹¹² Gumilev, *Koster*, p. 6.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

¹¹⁴ *Gilgamesh. Vavilonski epos*, translated by N. Gumilyov, St. Petersburg, 1919.

syrobabyloniens. Transcription, traduction, commentaire, Paris, 1907,¹¹⁵ but it is a beautiful poetical work.

During the next two years Gumilyov devoted most of his energies to the publishing enterprise, *World Literature*, organized by Maxim Gorki for the purpose of publishing in popular form translations of all the masterpieces of world literature. He was a member of the governing board of this enterprise.¹¹⁶ But he was not forgetting his calling as a teacher of the younger generation of poets. In addition to a group of poets calling themselves "The sounding sea-shell," which united acmeists, symbolists and romanticists, and of which Gumilyov was "an honorary syndic,"¹¹⁷ he directed half a dozen proletarian poetry clubs, formed by workers of factories and mills, to whom he imparted his profound knowledge of poetical technique. Toward the end of this period he was drawn into the fatal conspiracy, which cost him his life. But shortly before his arrest, in the summer of 1921, he published almost simultaneously his two most important poetical works: *The Pillar of Fire*,¹¹⁸ dedicated to his wife, the poetess Anna Akhmatova, and *The Tent*,¹¹⁹ a collection of 16 African poems never before published.

The Pillar of Fire consists of 20 poems — each one a masterpiece. Here we see a perfect example of that "cult of the word as such, its valuation not on its musical properties alone, but as a complicated and indestructible unit, which formed the essence of acmeism."¹²⁰ This is best revealed in a poem entitled "The Word" — one of the best of all Gumilyov's poems — in which the poet laments about the misuse of this greatest human, nay divine, instrument:

In those days, when o'er his new creation
God was lowering his face, men then
With a word could stop the sun's own progress,
With a word destroy reluctant towns.

.
And for common life there were the numbers,
Like domestic, well-behaved cattle.
Since all shades of meaning can be rendered
By a clever number used with skill.

.
But we did forget that shining brightly

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Translator's introduction, p. 5

¹¹⁶ *Petrogradskaja Pravda*, Sept. 1, 1921.

¹¹⁷ Volkov, *Poezija*, p. 212.

¹¹⁸ N. Gumilev, *Ognennyi Stolp*, Petersburg, 1921, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1922

¹¹⁹ N. Gumilev, *Šater*, Reval (Tallinn), 1921; also Petersburg, 1921. The latter edition, published by "The Guild of Poets," is incomplete.

¹²⁰ Gleb Struve, "Pis'ma," p. 240

Is the word alone 'midst earthly ills,
That Saint John in opening his Gospel
Said to us· The word is truly God.

We, however, limited its greatness
By the limits of our present self.
And, like bees in an abandoned hive,
Dead words smell of death, decay and rot.¹²¹

In another — "Memory" — Gumilyov treats the problem of re-incarnation in reverse:

Only serpents cast their skins off,
So that the soul should mature and grow.
We, alas! are not like serpents,
We keep our bodies and change our souls.

With a giant's hand you, memory,
Lead our life like a bridled steed;
You will tell me who before me
In my body spent his earthly days.

Then the poet recalls the souls which had inhabited his body. First — a dreamer, next — a poet, last — an adventurer, a seafarer and hunter, the favorite of the three. But in his present incarnation of "a stern and stubborn architect erecting a temple in the gloomy mist," the poet cannot discern which of the three has prevailed. And he ends:

I'll cry out . . . but who can help it
So that my soul should live and not die.
Only serpents cast their skins off,
We keep our bodies and change our souls.¹²²

In the most talked-of poem of the book — "The trolley which lost its way" — a somewhat nightmarish, yet prophetic composition, Gumilyov "reflected the contemporary scene and his feeling of it."¹²³ One has a sense of unreality in it, almost of a glimpse into the great beyond. In it Gumilyov foresees his own violent death and then remarks:

I understood it now: our freedom
Is but a shining light from beyond.
People and shadows stand at the entrance
Into the Zoo of planets and stars.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Gumilëv, *Ognenny Stolp*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1922, pp. 16–17.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 9–12.

¹²³ Gleb Struve, "Pis'ma," p. 246.

¹²⁴ Gumilëv, *Ognenny Stolp*, p. 38.

The Pillar of Fire contains also a poem in blank verse (a rare form for our poet), entitled "My Readers," "in which can be felt the old Gumilyov"¹²⁵ and in which he gives a sort of analysis of his poetical work.

An old adventurer in Addis-Ababa,
 Who had conquered many tribes,
 Sent to me a black spear-bearer
 With a greeting composed of my poems.
 A lieutenant, who had commanded gunboats
 Under the fire of enemy batteries,
 Through a whole night in the South Seas
 Recited my poems by heart.
 A man, who in a crowd of people
 Had shot an emperor's envoy,
 Came to me to press my hand
 And to thank me for my poems.

Then he explains why they like his poetry, and by doing so gives a key to our own understanding of his philosophy of strength and will power:

I teach them how not to fear,
 Not to fear and do what one must.
 And when a woman with a beautiful face,
 The dearest face in the whole universe,
 Will say: I do not love you —
 I teach them how to smile,
 And to go away, never to return.
 And when their last hour comes
 And a steady red fog dims their eyes,
 I shall teach them how to remember at once
 This whole life, cruel yet kind,
 This whole earth, ours yet strange,
 And, having appeared before the face of God,
 Who has only simple and wise words,
 How calmly to await his last judgment.¹²⁶

There is no doubt in this writer's mind that *The Pillar of Fire* is one of the greatest books of poetry ever written. So is *The Tent*, which in itself is a unique phenomenon in Russian letters, devoted entirely to poems about Africa. In the rhythm of "Somaliland" one can almost feel the beating of native drums:

I remember that night and the dreary sand,
 And the moon in the sky just above that land.

¹²⁵ Lelevich, "Gumilev," *B S E*

¹²⁶ Gumilev, *Ognennyi Stolp*, pp 58-60

I remember that I could not turn my eye
From its golden way in the glittering sky.

And that evening as soon as the shadows grew long,
In my ears crept the sound of Somali's war gong.

Their leopard-like chief with a crown of red hair
Was the bringer of death to the white and the fair.

I knew well that at dawn would the arrows rain,
And I and my slaves would have fought in vain;
But I looked at the moon and thought through the night,
That there I would have no men to fight.

When the morning came near and the moon sank low —
No more as a friend, but a scarlet foe —

It was clear to me that it shone as a shield
For all the great heroes who fell in the field.

So I ordered my slaves to withdraw and to run,
And I trusted my soul to my Winchester gun.¹²⁷

But it is in the introductory poem, one of the most beautiful of the lot, that Gumilyov reveals his feelings of awe, reverence and love toward that great dark continent, the opening stanza of which reads:

Deafened by thunder and roaring,
Enveloped in smoke and fires,
Africa, about thee in whispers
In the heavens the seraphs are speaking.

The poet is ready to tell Africa's "frightful and wonderful story," and as a reward he asks:

And for this let me tread a path,
Where before me no man has been;
Let me name after me a stream,
A black stream uncovered as yet.
And at least, as a final grace
To speed me to the holy camp,
Let me die 'neath that sycamore
Where once Mary rested with Christ.¹²⁸

But fate was cruel to Gumilyov: his wish was not fulfilled. Instead he was shot, on August 24, 1921.¹²⁹ His indictment, as published at

¹²⁷ Gumilev, *Sater*, pp. 33-35.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6

¹²⁹ Vladislavlev, *Literatura*, p. 90; Georgi Ivanov gives the date of August 27 (Georgi Ivanov, "O Gumilëve," *Sovremennyya Zapiski*, XLVII, 1931, p. 308).

the time, read: "Gumilyov, N. S., 33 years of age,¹³⁰ philologist and poet, member of the governing board of the publishing enterprise "World Literature," no party affiliation, a former officer. Collaborated in the writing of proclamations. Promised to connect with the organization a group of intellectuals at the moment of uprising. Received money from the organization for technical purposes."¹³¹

From his prison cell, when he knew already that there was no hope of his surviving, he wrote to his wife: "Do not worry about me, I feel fine; I am reading Homer and am writing verse." To his tormentors, who asked him continuously why he conspired against the Soviet Government, he answered laconically: "Because I am a monarchist." And by the testimony of his own executioners, he faced the firing squad smiling and died unwaveringly like a hero.¹³²

Such is the tragedy of Russian literature that all of its best poets die young and by a violent death at that: Pushkin at 37, Lermontov at 26, and Gumilyov at 34. Pushkin and Lermontov died from bullets fired in a duel, but why did Gumilyov die?

"In the direct, in the exact meaning of these words Gumilyov sacrificed his life not for the restoration of monarchy, nor even for the regeneration of Russia — he died for the regeneration of poetry. He firmly believed that the right to call oneself a poet belongs only to the one who will strive in every human endeavor to be ahead of others, who, knowing more than the others of all human weaknesses — egotism, pettiness, fear of death — will show in his own example the daily victories over the 'feeble Adam.' He sacrificed himself for the immovable human will, for the highest conception of human honor, for the overcoming of the fear of death, for everything that, notwithstanding all the talent in Russian and world literatures of the last few decades, is completely lacking in them. Gumilyov died in an attempt to hold by his own feeble hands, by his own personal example, that greatest manifestation of the human spirit — poetry — on the brink of a precipice into which it was ready to crash."¹³³

Judging by the contemporary state of Russian poetry, particularly as exemplified by Constantine Simonov, Gumilyov's sacrifice was not in vain.

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¹³⁰ He was actually 34. Georgi Ivanov is also in error when he gives his age as 40 (Georgi Ivanov, Preface to *Čužoe Nebo*, p. 3).

¹³¹ *Petrogradskaja Pravda*, Sept. 1, 1921.

¹³² Georgi Ivanov, Preface to *Čužoe Nebo*, pp. 3-4.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

APPENDIX

THE WORKS OF N GUMILYOV

POETRY:

- Pu' Konkvistadorov* (The Way of the Conquistadors), St. Petersburg, 1905.
- Romanticheskie Tsvety* (Romantic Flowers), Paris, 1908; 3rd ed., St. Petersburg, 1918.
- Zhemchuga* (Pearls), Moscow, 1910; 2nd ed., Petersburg, 1918; 3rd ed., Berlin, 1921.
- Chuzhoye Nebo* (Foreign Skies), St. Petersburg, 1912; 2nd ed. (incomplete), with an introduction by Georgi Ivanov, Berlin, 1936.
- Kolchan* (The Quiver), Petrograd, 1916; 2nd ed., Berlin, 1923.
- Kostyor* (The Bonfire), Petersburg, 1918; 2nd ed., Berlin, 1922.
- Mik. Afrikanskaya poema* (Mik. African poem), Petersburg, 1918; 2nd ed., Petrograd, 1921-1922.
- Ognenny Stolp* (The Pillar of Fire), Petrograd, 1921; 2nd ed., Berlin, 1922.
- Shatyor* (The Tent), Reval (Tallinn), 1921.
- Ditya Allahha. Arabskaya skazka* (A Child of Allah. An Arabian tale), Berlin, 1922.
- Stikhotvoreniya. Posmertny sbornik* (Poems Posthumous collection), with an introduction by Georgi Ivanov, Petrograd, 1922; 2nd ed. (enlarged), Petrograd, 1923.
- K sinei zvezde. Neizdannye stikhi 1918 g.* (Toward a blue star. Unpublished poems of 1918), Berlin, 1923.
- Gondla. Dramaticheskaya poema* (Gondla. A dramatic poem), Berlin, 1936.

TRANSLATIONS OF POETRY:

- Emali i Kamei* (Emaux et Camées) by Théophile Gautier, St. Petersburg, 1914.
- Farforovy Pavil'on. Kitaiskie Stikhi* (The Porcelain Pavilion. Chinese poems), Petrograd, 1918; 2nd ed (enlarged), Petrograd, 1922.
- Gil'gamesh Vavilonski epos* (Gilgamesh. A Babylonian epic), with an introduction by V. Shileiko, St. Petersburg, 1919.
- Frantsuzskie Narodnye Pesni* (French folk-lore), Berlin, 1923.

PROSE:

- Printsiipy Khudozhestvennogo perevoda* (Principles of artistic translation), in collaboration with K. Chukovski and F. Batyushkov, Petersburg, 1919.
- Ten' ot pal'my, rasskazy* (The Shadow of a Palm — short stories), Petrograd, 1922.
- Pis'ma o russkoi poezii* (Letters about Russian poetry), with an introduction by Georgi Ivanov, Petrograd, 1923.

A LOST COLONY OF NOVGOROD IN ALASKA

By THEODORE S. FARRELLY

A SHORT TIME prior to the outbreak of World War I a group of scholars in St. Petersburg proposed plans to explore Alaska to rediscover the sites of the early Russian settlements. The outbreak of war, however, put an end to the effort, and it was not until ten years later that the subject of early Alaska was revived in America. About that time a report was received of the alleged founding by refugees from Novgorod, in approximately the year 1571, during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, of a colony in Alaska all trace of which had been lost.

The records of early Alaska originating from Kodiak, and later from Sitka, had been overlooked or forgotten until the two branches of the post-war Russian Church brought to the surface the question of collecting and codifying the official manuscripts which had been found in storage in New York and elsewhere. Through the good offices of the Library of Congress most of the records in the various Russian churches in the United States were forwarded to Washington for the purpose of cataloging. This led to the discovery that a large part of the original records from Kodiak had been sent many years ago to New York, and from there to St. Balaam's Monastery on the island of Valamo in Lake Ladoga, not far from St. Petersburg, and a receipt for them, signed by the abbot of this monastery, was found in the vault of a Russian church in New York City.

On inquiry to Valamo it was learned that among the published records of the monastery was a certain letter throwing light on the reported "lost town" of Alaska. This document was composed by a missionary named German, a member of the first mission which landed in Alaska only ten years after the founding of the then first-known colony by Shelikov in 1784.

The English translation of the letter reads as follows:

There are the following reports here about them [the Russians]: It is said that they are from Novgorod and that during the reign of Czar Ivan Vasilevich [Ivan the Terrible] they went to Siberia. They went down the Lena, came to Kolima and built seven ships. From Kolima they went to Anadyr. There one ship was wrecked. The people of that ship went out on the shore. They settled there, and built a church, the floor of which is still good. There the city Anadyrsk rose up. The other ships went out to sea. Five of these ships reached Izhiga, Yakum and Tansk. It is not known what became of the sixth ship. It has been conjectured that this sixth ship came to America and that the people who were on it now live in America. Just before sending this letter I

heard from some newly arrived persons of the Lebedev Company that those Russians lived not far from them. These Lebedev Company people had not seen the Russians themselves. But they had heard of the Russians and they had received through others big knives with inscriptions just like those the Russians had. It is said that they live near a large river, and that in this river there are fish which are to be found in Siberian rivers. There are no such fish in Kadyak. They also have Russian fish, pike and eel-pout.

In 1934, at the time of the publication of the English translation of this letter, telling of a long lost colony in Alaska of refugees from the city of Novgorod during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, there was no other known record whatsoever of the location of the colony. It had sunk into the mists from back of the beyond, and remained so until the year 1937, when the United States Government decided to make a survey of the hitherto unexplored area on the westerly slope of Kenai Peninsula for homesteading purposes. This peninsula, as the reader may recall, juts southwesterly from the mainland, and lies to the east of Cook Inlet and northeasterly from Kodiak Island. In the course of their work the surveyors came unexpectedly on the remains of a settlement which, apparently, are nothing else than those of the long lost colony founded by the subjects of Ivan the Terrible.

To put it in other words, the German letter recounts the story of a reported Novgorodian colony close to that founded by Lebedev and near a large river and presumably founded about the year 1571, or shortly thereafter, making its age over three and a half centuries. Therefore, by locating the site of the Lebedev colony as a reference point, it becomes a matter of determining if a neighboring colony existed nearby and, if so, was it founded three hundred or more years ago.

Accordingly, let us review the established facts of the case. To commence, the above mentioned "German letter," was written by the missionary German (also spelled Herman) from Kodiak about the year 1794, in which he states that there are reports current in Kodiak that Russians from Novgorod, during the reign of Tsar Ivan the Terrible, settled in Alaska and that the writer of the letter "... heard from some newly arrived persons of the Lebedev Company that those Russians lived not far from them." Owing to the publication in recent years of numerous works on Alaska, we now have a much better picture of the location of the original colony founded by the Lebedev (variously spelled Lebedeff and Leberdef, etc.) Company, and sometimes referred to as the Lebedev-Lastotchkin Company, after the name of its founder Paval Lebedev-Lastotchkin.

Therefore let us see what other writers have to say about the colony in question. The earliest standard authority on Alaska, Dall,¹ states, with the date of 1792, "A company of Russians, under Stepa Zaikov and Lebedev Lastochkin, established themselves in Cook's Inlet and Bristol Bay, claiming that this territory was not embraced in the grant of the Shelikov Company."

Turning to Andrews,² a modern historian, we find: "The traders and hunters of the Lebedev Company came into the port (Three Saints on Kodiak Island) on the ship St. Paul in 1786, and asked to be directed to the sea-otter grounds. In order to get rid of the unwelcome visitors as easily as possible, they were advised to go to Cook Inlet, where they went and placed a post at the Kisselof River At Nuchek on Prince Williams Sound, the Lebedev Company hunters established a port called Fort Constantine."

In attempting to locate the Novgorodian settlement reported to have been not far from the Lebedev colony, we can work by process of elimination. In regard to the references to the three separate Lebedev settlements at Bristol Bay, Cook Inlet, and Prince William Sound, we find the first and last located respectively on a bay and a sound, both wide arms of the sea; while the post on Cook Inlet is the only one of the three settlements which can be said to have had a location near a great river, the River Turn Again of Captain Cook, sometimes known as Cook's River. There were, presumably, no later colonies of this "Company," as it had but a brief life, being dissolved as an organization in 1797, or 11 years after its founding. Therefore, it is to the Cook Inlet Colony of the Lebedev Company that we must look in search for the nearby Novgorodians.

If you follow the western shoreline of Cook Inlet on a modern map of Kenai Peninsula, about half way up the shore of the peninsula and about twelve miles south of the settlement of Kenai you will note a village of Kasilov at the mouth of the Kasilov River. On this river, the outlet to Lake Tustumén, was where, according to available records, the Lebedev colonists settled. Let us now see what other mention is made of this colony by writers on Alaska, as it is important to uncover as much as possible of the background of the Lebedev colonizing efforts in order to obtain a clear view of the activity as a whole. Referring to Chevigny,³ we find numerous references, such as

Irkutsk (Siberia) plunged heavily into financing ships going to America

¹ William H. Dall, *Alaska and Its Resources* (1870), p. 315.

² Clarence L. Andrews, *The Story of Alaska*, pp. 47, 60.

³ See Hector Chevigny, *Lord of Alaska, Baranov and the Russian Adventure* (New York: The Viking Press, 1942), pp. 20-4, 56-7, 78, 117

and the Guild blossomed with partnerships, insurance pools, and corporations. The two largest firms were the Golikov-Shelekhov Company and the firm owned by Pavel Lebedev-Lastotchkin

The merchant Pavel Lebedev-Lastotchkin, the next largest firm, threatened to put up a rival colony and take the bloom off Shelekhov's accomplishments . . . even though Shelekhov held stock in the Lebedev Company.

Late in 1789, Shelekhov had perforce to return home. Reports from his colony showed that things had gone no better there than in Petersburg. Not once had an exploratory vessel stirred from Three Saints Bay (Kodiak) since he left, the only outpost was still the one he founded on Cook's Inlet; and the Lebedev-Lastotchkin had carried out his threat and planted a rival post, unfortunately also on Cook's Inlet.

Perhaps Baranov would have felt less confident had he known what was happening meanwhile on Cook's Inlet.

"Inlet" is too diminutive a word for this great arm of the sea. When Captain Cook entered it with his vessel, its size, rugged grandeur, and boiling tiderace convinced him that he was on a great river and that this must be the Northwest Passage at last.

Although Lebedev-Lastotchkin had told Kolomin to occupy some new place on the mainland, although Skelekov had instructed *his* managers to exclude rival traders from occupied places "by force if necessary," Kolomin stopped at Kodiak Island to ask about the best place to settle; and Delarov, with equal amiability, advised him not to put his small force in danger at any unknown place about to go on to Cook's Inlet where his own men had pacified the inhabitants.

Kolomin accepted the invitation, sailed his galiot to the mouth of the Kassilov River some fifteen miles from Fort Alexander, and put up his own stockade, setting over the gates a crude wooden carving of the imperial arms in imitation of the others and flanking them with his two little brass one-pounders on swivels.

He (Molokhov) strongly counseled abandoning Cook's Inlet to the Lebedev-Lastotchkin Company. Too many hunters, the sea otter was being exterminated.

Father Iosaph handed him (Baranov) another letter, his authority to mediate in the Konovalov affair signed by both Shelekhov and Lebedev-Lastotchkin.

Among other writers, the Lebedev activities are mentioned by Hallenthal,⁴ who states:

Pribilof, who made the discovery (of the Pribilof Seal Islands), was connected with the Leberdef Company in which Shelikof was a small share holder.

On Cook Inlet, however, he (Baranov) was confronted with a situation

⁴ See J. A. Hallenthal, *The Alaska Melodrama* (New York: Liveright Pub. Corp., 1936), pp. 91, 94.

that taxed his ingenuity. The Leberdef Company was trading on the upper end of the inlet.

Major General A. W. Greeley of the United States Army⁵ indicates the ethnological results of Russian colonization of the area under discussion and stresses the fact that many Creoles, part Russian and part native blood, are found on the Cook Inlet shore of Kenai peninsula:

The natives of this region (Cook Inlet) are of various tribes, and thus the visitor is able to contrast the characteristics of the different types. On the extreme northern coast, the interior Indians, the Athapascans, are found. On the southern shores are the Kodiaks, of an Esquimaux type, and at the end of Alaska Peninsula are scattering Aleuts. In addition there are Creoles on the west shores of Kenai Peninsula, of mixed Russian and native blood. The Creoles are scattered along the coast at Hope, Kasilof, and other small settlements, but the greater majority are at Kenai and Seldovia. They have schools and churches, under the Russian Church and make a living by hunting, trapping, fishing, and when occasion offers as laborers or guides. In addition to lighterage and placer mining, they form a considerable part of the working force at the salmon canneries at Kasilof and Kenai, and are also found at the local saw-mills and lumber camps.

Many extensive references, as mentioned, to the location of the Lebedef Colony in question would seem to establish it, without reasonable doubt, as being at Kasilov. Therefore, a colony "near them" which was at least three hundred years old, could be reasonably accepted as the one founded by the subjects of Ivan the Terrible. This brings us to the dramatic discovery made in 1937 by engineers employed by the United States Government as members of a surveying party of the General Land Office of the United States Department of the Interior, who found the remains of a settlement at least three hundred years old near the town of Kasilov. The approximate age could be determined scientifically by the depth of the forest residue, or detritus, which covered much of the site. Details of the discovery are given in a recent report published under the auspices of John W. Troy, the Governor of Alaska,⁶ which reads as follows:

In 1937 a party surveying 30,000 acres for homesteading purposes on the Kenai Peninsula found near Kasilof the remains of a partially buried village, covered by overburden estimated to be at least three hundred years old. A partial excavation showed 31 well-preserved houses, each about 15 by 22 feet and 14 feet high. The cabin walls were approxi-

⁵ A. W. Greeley, *Handbook of Alaska* (New York: Scribner, 1914), p. 205.

⁶ See Merle Colby, *A Guide to Alaska, Last American Frontier*, Macmillan (Federal Writers Project), New York, 1943, p. 318.

mately four inches thick, made of beach sand, bricks, logs, and sod. Each had a fireplace in the center. The odd thing about this lost village was that it was many miles from the coastline.

In the description, the "many miles" mentioned are to be considered in a comparative sense only, as the lost village is also described as being "near" Kasilov, which settlement itself is situated on the shoreline or coastline of Cook Inlet; so that the site of the Novgorodian settlement would still be considered in the terms of the German letter, as near, but not on, a great river.

The size of the individual houses described, "each about 15 by 22 feet and 14 feet high," alone precludes the possibility of their being Esquimo dwellings, even if Esquimos had lived in that area, of which there is no record; while the construction of the walls "made of beach sand, bricks, logs, and sod," indicates that they were not built by Aleuts, Athapascans, Thlingits, Kolosh, or other Indian tribe in Alaska, as far as is known, as such type of construction has not been reported as having been used by them for any large type of building. As there were no Europeans, other than Russians, reported in this part of Alaska, it is assumed these houses were built by them.

Where the inhabitants went and why is a mystery. One solution might be found in the frightful warfare waged on Cook Inlet between the Russian fur hunters and natives in the days of the Lebedev occupancy. Annihilation was often the price of defeat, and as the Novgorodian colonists were not involved in the feuds developed by the race for wealth, they may reasonably have withdrawn at that time to the interior of Alaska and have disappeared through intermarriage with the natives. This in spite of the fact that they had proved themselves capable of preserving their racial integrity as Russians for approximately two hundred and twenty years.

Reviewing the evidence from the German letter to the identification of the Lebedev colony, as being near Kasilov, and the recent discovery of the remains of the village in 1937, it would seem to warrant the conclusion that the report made from Kodiak to the Monastery near St Petersburg in 1794 was based on a sound foundation. In view of these facts and until evidence is produced to the contrary, it is safe to say that here in the fastness of the Chugach forest, in the benevolent shade of nature's evergreen canopy, was where the men and women from Great Novgorod apparently dwelled, to live out their allotted span of years secure at last from the mailed fist of Ivan, who was known as the Terrible

NEW YORK, N. Y.

TEACHING COLLEGE RUSSIAN

By SAMUEL H. CROSS

THE ARMY Specialized Training Program brought to the fore numerous problems connected with Russian instruction which, on the basis of the new experience gained, may now be profitably discussed, with some thought of formulating a standard or at least generally applicable procedure. Over the last fourteen years, I have taught beginner's Russian to some twenty-five classes, ranging from the conventional three hours per week schedule to intensive courses with one, two, or three class hours daily for periods of six to twelve weeks and, finally, to the nine months' Army program with fifteen contact-hours per week. At first glance this might seem like a respectable body of practice on which to generalize. But while the subsequent professional performances of many of our students during this period have been encouraging, I do not wish the present article to be regarded as unduly dogmatic. Looking backward, I think we should have been more ingenious in innovation, and certainly more productive of useful textbooks and other teaching aids. But here, until very recently, lack of time, money, equipment, publisher's interest, and competent assistance may serve in some sense as a valid excuse for defects in performance.

In certain respects college Russian had a preferred position before World War II. Classes were never unwieldy in numbers. The language was seldom taken by students with no linguistic flair. Quite the contrary, they were usually young people of high capacity, who generally knew Latin and a couple of continental modern languages. Linguistic terminology was familiar to them, and they possessed trained memories which made vocabulary growth easy. They habitually had, moreover, some real reason for studying Russian. As a result, their attention and application were exemplary. With such classes the quality of the elementary textbook used was of scant consequence provided forms and basic constructions were adequately presented. Such advantages naturally promoted a certain conservatism in procedure as long as results remained good.

On the other hand, rather more experimentation was actually undertaken in the Russian field than some enthusiasts in the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies are at present ready to give us credit for. In 1934 the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, then headed by Edward C. Carter (now of Russian War Relief, Inc.), who was ably seconded by Joseph Barnes (subsequently Moscow correspondent of the *New York*

Herald-Tribune and more recently prominent in O.W.I.), secured support for experimental intensive summer courses in Russian, of twelve weeks' duration, at both the beginner's and the advanced levels. These courses were initiated that year at Harvard, and continued in the two years following, with even better results, at Columbia and California. The courses were notable in that, for the first time in American college Russian teaching (so far as I know), the popular use of native drill-masters (currently called "informants") was systematically added to conventional class instruction. Numerous younger specialists now prominent in Russian matters received their initial training in the courses offered by the three universities concerned. More recently, early in 1942, just after Pearl Harbor, Harvard (like other institutions) also introduced a one-semester course of limited enrolment with fifteen contact-hours per week, which used no informants, but was followed by a six weeks' summer continuation under a native in which conversational ability was the main aim. Practically every member of this class is at present in some branch of the federal service. These classes were pursued by selected, able, and linguistically experienced students. A somewhat different problem was presented, however, by five young West Pointers of comparatively meager language-background, who were detailed to Cambridge during the last two pre-war years and, after preliminary instruction, were placed under the exclusive charge of a native teacher for three hours daily during the rest of their residence. These experiments served only to prove what might well have been already clear *a priori*: (1) that if more time is applied to a subject, the student learns faster, (2) that if conversation is practiced zealously, the student learns to speak; (3) that the use of competent native instructors *above the absolute beginners' level* is the best guarantee of adequate pronunciation, auditory comprehension, and vocabulary, active and passive; and (4) that, within the limits of the vocabulary assimilated, reading competence tends to increase with speaking ability. Despite extravagant claims, the whole intensive language program has proved nothing further.

At this point, however, it is only fair to observe that the amount of recent magazine publicity given to intensified language teaching in American colleges bids fair to deceive the general public as to the quality of the results obtained and the novelty of the techniques used. There has also been a concerted attempt on the part of a small group of professional linguistic theorists to belittle the efforts of trained language teachers who have been for years conscious of the possibilities of intensive instruction and literally panting for a favorable

chance to test it out. The work of innovation in intensive language instruction during the last two years (save for instruction in remote and uncodified idioms) was done, first and foremost, by several scores of college language teachers able to apply effective techniques at short notice as soon as the need arose. Only to a restricted extent was it carried on by hitherto cloistered philologists who gleefully issued forth to mount the bandwagon and sound the brasses as soon as they perceived that language-study had taken on a fresh wartime importance. The most conspicuous instance of propaganda in favor of the latter group is the anonymous article "Science Comes to Languages," *Fortune*, August 1944. The sources from which the author (authors) derived his (their) information are clearly indicated by the techniques, the institutions, and the individuals commended. No reasonable and informed observer would deny for a moment that yeoman service was rendered by them all. But such a limited and partisan certificate of merit constitutes a rank injustice to all other members of the language-teaching profession.

In forecasts on the volume of language study in this country once the war is over there are, it would seem, current signs of undue optimism as to its expansion. We have every reason to be confident of improved methodology, but little justification for expecting that the United States will turn over-night into a nation of foreign language speakers. There will be too many other heavy economic pressures on school and college curricula. Languages that are widely needed will be taught extensively and expertly. But for languages in remote and distant areas, what is most important is to have them equally well taught and to maintain a permanent and self-renewing structure of competent specialists capable of rapid increase whenever the need arises. In the case of Russian I thus seriously doubt whether it will ever be extensively taught at the high school level except where special conditions of population justify it. What we should hope for, rather, is that the colleges which recently introduced Russian will so strengthen their language instruction with general orientation courses on the Eastern European area and with specific offerings in Russian history, government, and economics (cf. my article "On Teaching Contemporary Russian Civilization," in the previous number of this quarterly) that a self-incrementing sphere of study may be created and better opportunities provided for stimulating and increasing student-interest.

For Russian is not an easy language to acquire: few native-born Americans even attain the fluency and precision in its spoken use that they often exhibit in French, German, or Italian. Russian is,

moreover, more frequently learned as a tool of research than as a means of communication. I should estimate that, of every three students who normally elect it, two desire to go no further than a reading knowledge. Many colleagues will, I am sure, recall young scientists or mathematicians who have assimilated all the Russian they need in a term or so and then go on to other things. It would thus not seem advisable to insist on speaking ability for every student — a thought not inapplicable to other equally important languages, despite the current enthusiasm for spoken command generally.

What are the chief difficulties of Russian as an experienced teacher repeatedly observes them?

(A) *Alphabet*. When many college students knew a little Greek, the Cyrillic alphabet was a smaller barrier than it is now, when practically all students are conditioned so exclusively to the Roman letters that their minds at first resent anything else. The chief recurrent confusions with printed tests arise from C and P (*s* and *r*), which beginners for some time persist in investing with their English sounds; from И (*i*), at first confused with Russian Н (*n*), from Г (*g*), confused with Roman *r* or *t*, from Л (*l*), confused with Russian П (*p*). Relatively less difficulty is experienced with specifically Russian letters like Ж (*zh*), Ш (*sh*), and Щ (*shch*), or with Ф (*f*) and Х (*kh*), but beginners often mix Ч (*ch*) and Ц (*ts*).

It might conceivably be suggested that for beginners the first lessons should be transliterated. But no generally accepted or entirely satisfactory system of transliteration exists, so that there is an appreciable risk of perpetuating a false visual memory. Some instructors, I know, use the international phonetic alphabet, but, to my thinking, this results in a duplication of effort, since the student can actually learn the Russian alphabet outright in rather less time than assimilation of the phonetic alphabet would require. Efforts to reproduce the pronunciation by English spelling are dangerous because confusing. The most practical and time-saving method seems therefore to consist in explaining the alphabet with as much clarity as the teacher can command, and then to follow up with precise reading drill during the first week of instruction, after which little further difficulty will be experienced. Charts are now available to expedite this process.

Some question may rise here as to the stage when use of Russian script should be introduced. I have personally tried two methods: (a) letting the students print at first, and introducing the script later on or (b) teaching the script as soon as the alphabet is firmly fixed. I happen to be a firm believer in the use of dictation and written composition as a means of vocabulary-building. I have also noticed that

students derive some complacency from their ability to write a foreign-looking script. I therefore prefer process (b), regardless of the fact that, through some defect in current elementary school handwriting instruction, the vast majority of college students now write an illegible and immature, not to say illiterate cursive. There is also the thought that, without familiarity with script, a student will have considerable difficulty in reading Russian italic (e.g., *m = t*). Confusions between *u* and *М*, *n* and *Н*, and *y* and *У* will be frequent at the start, and the initial loops on *И*, *М*, and *Я* require special emphasis. The test of efficiency in this department depends on the point at which the student can easily read back his own or someone else's script.

(B) *Pronunciation*. It stands to reason that hardly any foreigner who has learned Russian as an adolescent or young adult, no matter how precise his ear, shows a perfect Russian pronunciation. On the other hand, with the decline of Russian diction in the last twenty-five years and the large numbers from linguistic and ethnic minorities in the U.S.S.R. who have learned Russian as a second language, there is no reason why a foreigner cannot pronounce as well as at least half the local population. There are, after all, regional variations from the White Sea down through Leningrad to Moscow and farther southward into the Ukraine and toward Odessa or the Kuban which register divergencies fully as great as anything similar one might find among English speakers in England or in the United States. The chief desiderata for a foreigner are to speak clearly with a strong and accurate stress accent and relatively exact vowel values. The most important points of vowel quality always to be held up to the student are the characteristic *akanie* of standard Russian (i.e., *o*'s before the main accent = *a*'s, e.g., *gorodskói = garadskói*), the reduction of unaccented *e*'s to a somewhat indeterminate short *i* sound (e.g., the first three *e*'s in *neprerekáemyi*, and the change in quality of final *oi*'s when unaccented (contrast *rukói* with *právoi*). Students must accustom themselves to these factors from the outset, and will experience great difficulty in understanding spoken Russian if they do not. To these points should be added a strict training in palatalization and particularly in the pronunciation of the *ř* of the infinitive ending. Since the stress accent in English is relatively light, students may be confidently told that it is virtually impossible for them to hit a Russian stress too hard, and that, if this stress is properly applied, vowel reduction will largely take care of itself.

The variability of the Russian stress accent further complicates this problem, since there is, so far as I know, no satisfactory method by which even single phases of it may be reduced to binding rules. Here

the "informant" (drill-master) plays a crucial role, since one of his functions is to see that his class is thoroughly schooled in the accentuation of the words they encounter. We are at present handicapped in this respect because there is as yet no Russian-English dictionary in which vagaries of accent are exhaustively treated, though negotiations are in process toward satisfying this want. Particular care must be taken in teaching verbs with recessive accent after the 1st pers. sing. pres., since this recession conditions the accent of the past participle passive in-ennyi

(C) *Verb Aspects and Inflections*. Considerably more difficulty is often attributed to the aspects than they actually entail. It is, however, aggravated by what seems to me the mistaken procedure of both Bondar and Semeonoff in introducing only imperfectives before the tenth lesson. In any system of teaching, the theory of the aspects should, I believe, be explained as soon as verbs occur at all. The most essential forms of the Russian verb are, after all, the imperfective present and the perfective past. Using this fact as an approach, the function of the aspects may be developed from the basic conceptions of action continuing in the present (since any genuine present is by nature imperfective) and action completed in the past. The two futures (continuous, i.e., imperfective, and final, i.e., perfective) and the imperfective past can then be added to this foundation. The most practical method seems to lie in developing logically the series *ja pišu, ja pisal, ja budu pisat', ja napišu, ja napisal*, and it is advisable for students to learn both infinitives of each verb as soon as it presents itself. Idiosyncrasies like "čitali vy gazetu segodnja?" and perfective presents for sudden and even frequent occurrences in present time may be readily explained within this framework. At a later stage, same is true of imperfective gerunds attracted into the past with perfective past verbs. Contrary to F. Bodmer, *The Loom of Language*, p. 420, far from being "inflated by a wasteful luxuriance of verb forms," the Russian verb system seems to me one of the most economical ever evolved in any Indoeuropean language (contrast the multiplicity of forms in Greek, Latin, French, or any Romance language for that matter, to say nothing of Germanic compound tenses or modal auxiliaries, and the English progressive present), and should cause the student no particular pain if properly taught.

One phase of verb usage not satisfactorily treated in the existing beginners' books (completely omitted in Bondar) is the doublet verb of motion, e.g., *chodit' -idti, letat' -letet'*, etc. The distinction between abstract and concrete as used by Berneker constitutes the best approach, with the teacher demonstrating the difference among, say,

"rebēnok umeet chodit'," "mal'čik chodit v školu," "mal'čik idēt v školu." Once the essential distinction between abstract and concrete imperfective is mastered (plus the fact that all perfectives of verbs in this category form from the concrete imperfective), it is an easy step to the so-called "round-trip abstract," e.g., "ja jezdil v gorod" etc.

The conventional practice of first teaching imperfectives alone has the unfortunate result of creating in the student the impression that there is something invariably primitive or basic about the imperfective form as such. This impression would be useful if all imperfectives were formed by the simple use of a prefix, e.g., *s-delat'*, *na-pisat'*, which of course they are not. It is, moreover, confusing when the student encounters a number of simple verbs which are by nature perfective, e.g., *kupit'*, *stat'*, *sest'*, and doubly confusing if the textbook (Semeonoff) asserts, wrongly of course, that *vstat'* is derived from *vstavat'* by dropping out the infix.

It would probably be better to begin teaching the theory of aspect formation from the simple prefixed perfective verb (*delat'*, *sdelat'*), continuing with prefixed perfectives of changed meaning which necessitates a new imperfective (frequentative) retaining the prefix (the *kazat'*, *prikazat'*, *prikazyvat'* series is as clear an example as any), and concluding with the simple verbs just referred to (*kupit'*, etc.) and their various types of imperfective formation. It may be argued that this is too much mechanics for early classes. On the other hand, at the college level we are dealing with curious minds which welcome explanation and analysis. Since so much in language-learning has to be taken on faith anyway, it seems desirable to supply simple explanations when they are available without excessive expenditure of time.

Actually, the acquisition of the inflectional forms of the Russian verb is more difficult than learning the use of the aspects. Just how baffling this process is may be gathered from the fact that there are 17 type-verbs with infinitives ending in *-at'*, 10 types ending in *it'*, 9 types ending in *et'*, and 7 types ending in *-yat'*. Of the 66 type-verbs listed in Blattner's morphological appendix, 50 will probably appear in the student's reading during the first term of a semi-intensive course. The other 16 (*trepāt'*, *glodat'*, *drat'*, *silat'*, *kišet'*, *revet'*, *gnit'*, *zašibat'*, *kolot'*, *vjanut'*, *styt'*, *gresti*, *beret'*, *vleč'*, *tajat'*, *mjat'*) will, with rare exceptions, hit the student's eye before he has completed his second semi-intensive term. It goes without saying that no student can hope to speak fluent and correct Russian until he has almost automatic command of these verb forms, which cannot be deduced, but

must be learned *by rote*. On the other hand, it should be impressed on the student that he needs only to know the infinitive, the first and second person singular present, and the masculine singular past of any Russian verb (except *byt'*, *dat'*, *est'*) to be able to invent every other form with entire correctness, even to the accent. This means that, as new type-verbs appear, considerable energy must be devoted to drill on their basic forms, and their common analogs should be presented. During the second semi-intensive term the entire 66 verbs should be systematically reviewed at least twice at the rate of about 5 verbs per day. The chief advantage of drill of this sort lies in the fact that it gives the student examples of all the orthographical changes he is likely to meet, and offers an opportunity for the formulation of useful simple rules, e.g., for the formation and accentuation of the past participle passive.

(D) *Noun, Pronoun, and Adjective Declensions*. Both Bondar and Semeonoff introduce noun case forms piecemeal, and do not arrive at the full plurals till about the fourteenth lesson. In secondary school work this procedure may perhaps be advisable, but it seems unduly wasteful of time at the college level. There is, however, a widespread current prejudice against making college language students learn anything by rote. Yet, since such learning is a knack easily acquired and extremely economical of time, I have never been able to see the logic of rejecting it. After all, mathematicians and scientists learn formulae, actors learn their roles, sportsmen learn the sometimes highly complicated rules of their favorite games, football and baseball players learn signals, and many a youngster knows the percentage standing of the big-league teams and the batting average of his favorite baseball players day by day. This facility is equally useful in language teaching. It therefore seems to me that the Russian noun declensions should be taught as units, first in their most regular forms, later with the usual garnish of real or apparent irregularities. Naturally this is more easily accomplished with classes adequately grounded in Latin or in German. Failing this, the most untutored student knows the difference in English between horse-horses, mouse-mice, child-children, I-me, he-him, she-her, and they-them, and on this modest base a simple and binding command of case-theory may be erected, even if the student (like some of my own) knows nothing but French and Hebrew, and perhaps less. The o-declension should be taught first, followed by the a- and the i-declensions. "Soft" declensions should follow immediately upon each "hard" one, with adequate explanation of the features of palatalization.

Since the predicate adjective forms are so close to the nouns, these

may be filtered in as required. On the other hand, it seems preferable to introduce the third-personal pronoun before the full attributive adjective declension is encountered, since this declension and that of the various pronominal adjectives may be easily connected with the third personal pronoun itself.

The most baffling phases of the Russian adjective are the dissyllabic predicate forms with fugitive *o* (*e*) and shifting accent (e.g., *lëgok*, *legká*, *legkó*, *lëgkî*) which are so complex as to require considerable ingenuity on the part of both instructor and informant.

(E) *When should reading begin?* Since, except for the employment of *étoby* with the infinitive and preterite and the uses of participles and gerunds, syntax and word-order in Russian are comparatively simple for an English-speaking beginner, reading should, in principle, start as soon as the declensions and primary verb-forms are mastered. There is, in fact, at least one popular beginners' reader with most of the participial and gerund constructions weeded out. On the other hand, we are handicapped in this phase of instruction because no good word-frequency list exists, and there is accordingly no correlation between the vocabulary learned from the grammar and that presented in the most elementary readers available. The subject-matter of the readers now in print also leaves much to be desired. There is, for example, nothing to be gained by starting with simple children's stories from the Russian because, if undiluted, the text will be full of specific words commonplace to a Russian child but a closed book to an American college student and, if diluted, the text immediately becomes so banal as to provoke little besides derisive laughter from a class. What is perhaps most needed is a beginners' reader about Russia and the Russians which uses rather a larger proportion of naturalized foreign words (e.g., *industrija* for *promyšlennost'*, *produksija* for *proizvodstvo*, *inspirirovat'* for *vdochnovljat'*, etc.) than would occur in a normal Russian text, and gradually introduces the vernacular equivalents. There are now available in mimeograph several good graded texts on Russian economic geography which can be used toward the end of the first semi-intensive term, but they are not as easy as the text suggested would be and so far, except in one instance, do not have vocabularies attached. The best elementary reader for general purposes is at present the mimeographed and accented volume in the Cornell series, but here again the beginning is weak. When the book is printed I assume a page-by-page vocabulary will be added. When informants are used, it is important that the material in the reader should readily lend itself to conversational exercises. In wartime, with some prospect that a fair proportion of the

students may eventually have practical use for the language, there is some justification for almost exclusive employment of strictly practical reading in appropriate area materials, mimeographed texts of which are now available. Under more normal conditions, several good Soviet school anthologies provide abundant texts in classical and modern literature from Pushkin to Sholokhov. A competent reading knowledge of Russian may be conventionally defined as ability to read at sight any classic author (e.g., Turgenev, Tolstoi, Chekhov, Gorki), or any standard historical text (e.g., Platonov, Klyuchevski, Pankratova).

(F). *When should speaking begin?* With the present undue emphasis on speaking ability, there is a tendency to begin speaking exercises too early. These exercises thus reduce themselves to making the class commit to memory and to parrot phrases and sentences given them by the instructor or the informant. Experiments with even extremely simple phrases and sentences in the earliest stage of instruction show that the students wonder about the *why* of a given expression and are much more likely to assimilate it if they can analyze it. The same phrases reassigned three weeks later after the basic forms have been learned are, however, readily assimilated and become a part of the students' conversation among themselves. From this result I conclude that reading and speaking should begin at substantially the same time, and that the balance between active and passive vocabulary can and should be studiously maintained from that point forward. While I am convinced that work in this direction could be begun earlier if we possessed a Russian beginners' text based on the Ohio State method, I should still regard a minimum grammatical introduction as essential.

One effective method of vocabulary expansion is provided by dramatizing situations employing new words which the class is supposed to absorb. These situation sheets should be carefully worked over (as to constructions and vocabulary) with the class by the instructor before they become subject-matter for the informant, who bases class-conversation on them. The same procedure may be used with Russian press-releases when available. With such tools endless variety is open to any ingenious teacher with mimeographing equipment at hand, and the class vocabulary can be expanded at will in any desired direction by this method. In general, great flexibility can be assured in this respect by broad use of illustrative mimeographed texts of appropriate length, and special vocabularies can also be provided by the same means.

In the absence of Russian frequency lists, the numerical extent of

an essential Russian active vocabulary is somewhat hard to determine. As an *a priori* estimate, however, since the Basic English vocabulary rendered into Russian requires some 1,500 words, and the extremely practical current vocabulary given in Lyall's *Guide to the Languages of Europe* includes some 800 other words, it might be thought that, with due allowance for duplication, the minimum active vocabulary desirable for Russian would total approximately 2,200 words.

Second-Term Program. Apart from the first weeks of the beginners' course, the critical period of Russian instruction arrives during the second term of a semi-intensive course of 6 hours weekly or (for that matter) in the second half or last third of any 12-16 week, 15-18 hour program. It is precisely at this point that the techniques popularized by the A.S.T.P. experiments meet their most serious and revealing test. The fact is, all A.S.T.P. language courses were almost exclusively vocational training. In other words, in nine months it was possible to train up a class capable of speaking enough Russian to qualify them as interpreters for ground crews, for the purposes of A.M.G., for liaison with Soviet units, or for military intelligence. In the last third of this course these students could easily read the news items in the *Russki Golos*, the *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*, the *Pravda*, and the *Izvestiya*, or any straightaway historical, geographical, or economic text of moderate difficulty that might be used as a source in their area work. On the other hand if, at this period of their instruction, we put in their hands a page of Turgenev (to say nothing of Gorki, Novikov-Priboi, Sergiev-Tsenski, or A. N. Tolstoi), they were generally non-plussed. This observation led at least one university with a Russian A.S.T.P. group to introduce in these sections (entirely *ultra vires*, as a matter of fact, but with good results) about two weeks of reading in a brief anthology prepared *ad hoc*. It is scarcely possible in college work to confine students of Russian exclusively to training in purely practical vocabulary over a period of two terms or during an entire 12-16 week course conducted at the 15 hour rate. After all, a college has some cultural obligations to its Russian classes, who are not all going to issue forth as embryo diplomats or export contact-men. Furthermore, Russian literature, to put it mildly, has considerable humane and social significance. In normal times, then, it would seem hardly economical to have applied two terms of semi-intensive study or 12-16 weeks of super-intensive effort to Russian only to find that, without further special instruction, your students cannot read a piece of literary prose. For college purposes, therefore, an intermediate course (or its equivalent) without fairly extensive reading training cannot be

classed as more than 50 percent efficient. It accordingly seems advisable to begin feeding in a well-defined amount of literary reading at the intermediate level, so that the students may from then on read materials of their own choice independently with some facility and gradually increasing competence. If this procedure is not followed, no basis is provided for more advanced courses in literary history. Since this procedure is coupled with some retardation in the expansion of speaking ability, this phase of the student's training may be rounded out by a one-term three or six hour course in conversation conducted by a native.

Course Schedule. These considerations lead to some tentative conclusions as to what may perhaps be regarded as a practical and effective program of Russian language courses at the college level. Let us leave out of consideration the old-fashioned conventional three-hour beginner's course as dilatory and inefficient, though if properly organized and conducted it is nowhere nearly so bad as the reformers paint it. The modern beginner's course (1 term) should meet 6 hours weekly, distributed between theory and practice sessions (two hours of supplementary practice sessions may be added with profit if the staff is available). The intermediate course (second term) should run on the same schedule. The beginner's course, apart from basic grammatical initiation, should be as practical as possible. All feasible techniques of oral training should be applied to free the student from any inhibition against speaking, and the keenest attention should be devoted to developing auditory comprehension. The second (intermediate) course, while amplifying these features, should supply the first acquaintance with Russian literature. Some special provision (an extra section) may in some cases be necessary for training in scientific Russian, though it may be doubted whether any institution has as yet reached this stage. The third-term course (conversation and composition) will usually of necessity be a three-hour offering, since a six-hour course is excessively burdensome to the student's program unless he is a Slavic major (concentrator).

The six-hour course with two supplementary practice hours seems at present the limit of the language instruction which the current college curriculum can absorb in any given term. There is no limit, however, to the step-up and the stretch-out which can be practised if students are able and willing to devote a limited period to Russian, excluding everything else. On the basis of experimentation with 6, 8, and 12 week intensive courses, it may be suggested that the best intensive arrangement should provide for two consecutive sessions of 8 weeks each, with one week's breathing spell intervening. In this

period all the ends can be accomplished which were ever claimed for any A.S.T.P. class, and very possibly exceeded. It should, however, be borne in mind that application of this sort is gruelling work for both student and instructor, and in peace-time the demand for it is not likely to be heavy. There is some reason to suppose that provision of parallel and simultaneous summer courses of this nature by three institutions (western, central, and eastern) would, under normal conditions, cover all needs for some time to come.

Function of Informants. Readers of the preceding paragraphs may derive the impression that I am in some degree opposed to the suggestion set forth in Professor Leonard Bloomfield's valuable pamphlet *Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages*. Such is not the case, since for rapid *practical* acquisition of any *spoken* language there is probably no more efficient method than that which Professor Bloomfield lays down. I particularly second his observation that "the best teachers are the ones who act largely as informants, speaking the foreign language and leading their pupils to speak it," for this procedure should be adopted by every teacher of Russian. On the other hand, if I mistake not, the emphasis in Russian instruction at the college level is not quite at the aiming-point of Professor Bloomfield's pamphlet. He writes, for example (p. 3), "If one needs to acquire the conventional system of writing and the literary forms of the language, this should be postponed until one has a fair speaking knowledge, it should be dealt with as a separate task, which does not, for the most part, demand the services of an informant."

As I pointed out earlier (p. 42), Russian is more frequently learned in college as a tool of research than as a means of communication. It does not seem feasible, therefore, to delay an acquisition of a reading knowledge of the language until a term or so has been spent in working up some degree of spoken command. If you have a class full of young historians, economists, and scientists whose one chief aim is ability to read Russian texts and periodicals, such a policy would in no sense accord with their professional interests and needs.¹ This emphasis conditions some change in the function of informants. While recognizing the need of earlier training in reading than Professor Bloomfield would admit, I should still recommend the use of informants and practice sessions, if only for the sake of all-round instruction.

¹ This fact alone, it seems to me, vitates once and for all Professor R. A. Hall's recent *ex parte* claim (*French Review*, xvii, 381) that "a language is most quickly and effectively learned by speaking it first, and reading and writing it later." If what the student wants is to learn to speak Russian, by all means let him do so, and by the speediest possible means. If, on the other hand, he prefers to learn to read first, it would be utterly ridiculous to apply the oral method unmodified.

On the other hand, I do not believe that, in dealing with the more usual languages, the relatively illiterate informant has any place in the peacetime college classroom. College language instruction does, after all, entail something rather more inclusive than extracting data, say, on Winnebago accents from a Mr. Sam Blow Snake, and stands somewhat apart from the problems involved by emergency instruction in such hitherto relatively uncoded languages as, for example, Siamese or Burmese. The Russian informant should, it seems to me, more profitably be a person of education in order, by his conversation and fund of information, to supplement any cultural material which the regular instructor may provide. He will not usually be able to explain points of grammar and usage without special training from the instructor and, indeed, training natives as informants is one sound method of increasing one's staff of instructors. I should add, however, that my colleagues, Drs. L. I. Strakhovsky and Francis J. Whitfield, who are both practically bilingual (though one is Russian-born and one American-born) and have had abundant experience in all forms of intensive instruction, do not recommend the use of a special informant in the first term of semi-intensive college Russian, believing that a competent instructor can perform the same work more satisfactorily, though they admit the striking utility of informants in the second term. Particular care is needed in the choice of an instructor for the third term conversation course, where active and constant student participation is vitally essential. An untrained native is quite likely to think he is doing his duty here by studying the style of Pushkin's *Captain's Daughter*, which has about as much relation to modern everyday Russian as *Rasselas* has to *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

The methods here suggested will no doubt be viewed as unduly conservative by apologists of the extreme intensive school. They are frankly a compromise — but a compromise which works. There is, however, no item of methodology here which I should not abandon immediately if something demonstrably better showed up, and I venture to hope that some debate on techniques, not in broadly general terms but specifically related to Russian, may eventuate in the near future. One truth permanently holds good for all language instruction: there is no apocalyptic technique, no single perfect method.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

SLAVIC LANGUAGES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

By GEORGE RAPALL NOYES

SLAVIC LANGUAGES became a part of the curriculum of the University of California in 1901, when I was called there as Instructor in English and Russian. President Wheeler announced that instruction in Russian was established because trade relations between California and the Russian Empire were likely to develop. Whether that consideration was foremost in his mind I have some doubts, for less than five years later he established instruction in Sanskrit. Whatever his purposes may have been, commercial considerations proved of small consequence in the development of his Department of Slavic Languages.

As I look back on my early years in California I am impressed by the patience, tolerance, and forbearance of President Wheeler. He was certainly not a slave to numbers. In 1901-1902 I taught Elementary Russian to a class of five students in each term, Second-year Russian to a single student in each term, and Bohemian to a single student in the second term. So for the two terms the total registration in the courses in Slavic languages amounted to thirteen. It rose to fourteen in 1902-1903; then it slumped, twice being only five, but clambered up to fifteen in 1912-1913; it did not grow out of its teens until 1915-1916, when the bracing stimulant of the First World War raised it to twenty-eight. Nevertheless President Wheeler tolerated my efforts and even encouraged me to drop my English courses in order to devote all my time to Slavic subjects. This I did in 1907.

In an effort to attract custom I offered, beginning with 1904, various courses in Slavic topics for students who had no knowledge of any Slavic language: on Slavic literature, particularly the Russian novelists, on Russian political institutions, and on Russian history. But I cannot claim any great success for them as far as numbers go; up to 1916 the largest registration in any one of them was twenty-one. Such courses have always been useful to the department in various ways, but in themselves they have rarely induced a student to study a Slavic language.

In those old days, as later, there was much good fellowship among the students, and the best of them did excellent work. After 1905 there came to California through Siberia a trickle of Russian exiles, a few of whom entered the University. One of them, Lieutenant Petrovsky, a brilliant student of physics and a man of much personal charm, took the lead in forming a Slavic Society, partly of Russians,

partly of our American students. We met in the evening at various houses, spoke Russian, listened to talks in Russian on Russian topics, sat about a samovar, and drank limitless tea. The atmosphere reminded me of my student life in St Petersburg. For a short time a Koto Polskie also added to our general departmental hilarity.

The best student of those early years was Cornelius Van Hemert Engert, now United States Minister to Afghanistan. He was a youth of many talents, among them a definite purpose in life and a gift for languages. Aside from his work with me he exchanged conversation lessons with a Russian engineer then living in Berkeley and acquired a fair speaking knowledge of the Russian language.

One of my early students, Miss Florence Whyte, later a college teacher of Spanish, told me that she should like to make a written translation of a Russian drama. I selected for her a Russian translation of *Sabbatai Zevi*, by Sholom Ash, and she promptly set to work, reading her version to me while I followed on the Russian. This was the beginning of a sort of teaching that later occupied no small portion of my time. It is a laborious method, straining the patience of both pupil and teacher, but it gives a more exact knowledge of literary Russian than any other, together with excellent training in English composition. As his examination each student gave me a corrected, typed copy of his translation. Many of these translations I revised further, and a considerable number of them, including *Sabbatai Zevi*, have appeared in print.

At this time Leonard Bacon was teaching in the English Department at the University of California and we became warm friends. I suggested to him that I furnish him with a literal, line-for-line version of some Serbian ballads and that he transform my prose texts into English verse. Like the English translators of Homer, Bacon renounced any attempt to reproduce the verse form of his originals, which is essentially alien to the English language. Using a measure modified from that of Morris's *Sigurd the Volsung*, he entered into the spirit of Serbian folk poetry and produced versions that in my opinion have more of the true ballad vigor than have those of any other translator. — Bacon's favorite class was in verse composition and two of his pupils were attending my lecture course on Slavic literature. I mentioned to them the work that Bacon and I had been doing and told them that if they cared to try their hands at the same sort of thing I would make similar literal versions for them. So Miss Parish and Miss Havermale, without knowing a word of Polish — though Miss Parish knew a bit of Russian — started forth bravely to translate Mickiewicz's long poem *Konrad Wallenrod*. With my literal crib I

gave them indications of the number of syllables in each line and of the rime scheme, and I instructed them to steep themselves in Byron and to imitate his technique as best they could. The resulting version, almost entirely the work of Miss Parish, pleased me not a little; it was followed by numerous verse translations made in similar fashion. But my most constant and most skillful collaborator, Mrs. Dorothea Prall Radin, can read well both Russian and Polish.

The First World War brought with it many changes, great and small. Among its most minor results was an increase in the number of students of Russian all over this country. Russia was in the headlines of the newspapers and the American people respond readily to newspaper advertising. So my classes grew somewhat and President Wheeler gave me assistants in the department. The first was a Russian who shall be nameless, who for purposes of his own volunteered in the spring of 1916 to conduct a class in Russian conversation, free of charge, but who dropped out before the close of the term. The second was Lieutenant Milutin Krunich, a young man of brilliant literary gifts who had served in the Serbian army and taken part in the retreat through Albania; he taught Serbo-Croatian in the department from 1917 to 1921. A young woman named Zdenka Buben, who spoke Bohemian at home and who had studied Bohemian with me, chanced to be working for a teacher's certificate; in 1917 she was appointed Assistant in Bohemian, with permission to count her teaching, done without pay, as part of the requirements for her certificate. Most important, early in 1917 Alexander Kaun had come to Berkeley from Chicago, where he had recently graduated from the University of Chicago. He lectured on the Russian novelists in the Summer Session of the University of California in 1917 and in August was appointed Assistant in Russian, also entering the University as a graduate student. So for the year 1917-1918 we had a Slavic Department of four members, though I was the only one of them on full time. Alexander Kaun remained with us permanently, becoming a full-time instructor in 1919. Meanwhile in 1919 George Z. Patrick had come to the University as a graduate student and had promptly obtained a position in the French Department. In 1920 he became Associate in French and Russian and in 1927 Assistant Professor of Russian. From 1927 to 1943 our staff consisted of three full-time men: Professor Kaun, Professor Patrick, and myself; other appointments during that period were purely temporary, to supply the place of an instructor absent on sabbatical leave or through illness. The department and the University were fortunate indeed to secure without search, by pure good luck, in Professor Kaun and Professor Patrick

two men each of whom won distinguished success in his profession. In 1943, when I became emeritus, Dr. Oleg Maslenikov was appointed Instructor in Russian. During 1944–1945, after the sudden and deeply lamented death of Alexander Kaun in June, 1944, Professor Waclaw Lednicki, formerly of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, is aiding the University as Visiting Professor of Slavic Languages.

Meanwhile the number of our students wobbled peculiarly. The highest figures for the years between the wars were in 1920–1921, when we had 124 registrations in our language classes and 592 in our lecture classes. The latter large figure was due to courses on Russian Political Institutions and on Russian Commerce and Industry which we later abandoned, concentrating our efforts on language work.

The Second World War has naturally stimulated interest in Russia far more powerfully than did the First. At the University of California, despite the shrinking in the general university enrollment, the classes in the Russian language have greatly increased. The University has changed its calendar, offering three regular terms of sixteen weeks each, instead of two terms of sixteen weeks each plus a Summer Session and an Intersession not closely connected with the regular scheme of instruction. In 1943–1944 the number of registrations in the Slavic language courses for the three terms was 249, a figure which takes no account of Army Specialized Training Programs in Russian and in Serbo-Croatian that were conducted at the University.

I have laid stress on our petty statistics because I am reasonably sure that the story of our department, on the western rim of our country, corresponds closely, indeed exactly, to the general development of Slavic studies in the United States. During the years before the First World War, despite the wide circulation of certain Russian authors, notably Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, and despite a rather hazy consciousness that literature was not the only art in which Russians had won distinction, most Americans regarded Russia with condescension or even with contempt. Serious interest in Russian life and above all in the grotesque and unpronounceable Russian language, was accounted something freakish, the mark of an eccentric, almost unbalanced mind. During the last thirty years the swift rush of historical events has changed all that. Russia and the other Slavic countries now have a living interest for us, since we feel that they are connected with our daily lives just as are England and France. A desire to know something about Russia and the Slavs has become a sign of intellectual vigor; a desire to know the Russian language shows earnest intellec-

tual curiosity. The Russian language has gained ground during a period when language study as a whole has declined.

Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning*, describing the bloom of the renaissance in England, with its emphasis on literary style, style to be acquired through the study of classic models, writes eloquently:

Men began to hunt more after words than matter; and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment. . . . Then did Car of Cambridge, and Ascham, with their lectures and writings, almost deify Cicero and Demosthenes, and allure all young men that were studious unto that delicate and polished kind of learning.

But during the past hundred years the British and American successors of Car of Cambridge and Ascham, some of them men quite as worthy as they, have seen their subject constantly decline. Conversely, in the opening years of the twentieth century no teacher attracted many young men to the study of Russian, and probably no teacher could have done so; at present any college teacher of the Russian language is sure to have some following.

Our methods of work in the department — “our” refers primarily to Professors Kaun and Patrick and myself, the three permanent members of the staff — have always been of a conservative sort. We have never spent much energy philosophizing over aims and methods, but have followed a trial and error system, adapting our work rather to the character and the needs of the students than to our own tastes. When they study a modern foreign language American boys and girls normally wish to learn first how to read it, then, as they proceed further, how to write and to speak it. They are not primarily interested in literary criticism, in the history of literature, or in linguistics as a science. So we have made practical, utilitarian instruction in language our chief concern, and more than ninety per cent of that instruction has been in Russian. But our lecture courses have given some idea of Russian literature in its most important periods, and in our more advanced language courses the reading has been in the most important authors, both in prose and in verse, so that by his comments on the texts read the instructor has been able to give a bit of introduction to literary criticism.

Our elementary language courses have been, on the whole, of an old-fashioned type, training in reading, with emphasis on formal grammar.

Whether this conservatism has been well advised I do not know; this is no place to argue a complicated pedagogical problem. I do know that continually American-born boys and girls of Slavic parentage come to us who say that they can speak their parents' language, and sometimes they can really do so more fluently than in a year's time, in the usual class meeting three times a week, we could teach beginners to speak it by the conversational method. But such boys and girls, unless they have had much practice in reading as well as in speaking, will regularly translate the sentence, "*Mal'chika videl otets*" (or, "*Chłopca widział ojciec*," etc.), by "The boy saw his father." They are guided not by the grammatical endings, of which they may even be unconscious, but by the order of the words, and they transfer the habits of English word order to Slavic sentences; they cannot translate with accuracy even a simple newspaper article. And so we insist on grammar, which is merely another way of saying that we insist on accurate translation. On the other hand we have tried from the start to make our students feel Russian as a living language, not merely as a collection of printed symbols; no student translates a Russian sentence until he has read it aloud or heard it read by the teacher. Our only noteworthy innovation, perhaps, is that in addition to our regular elementary class in Russian, meeting three times a week, we have had a supplementary class, primarily in conversation, meeting twice a week. Students may take the three-hour class by itself or they may add to it the two-hour class; they may take the two-hour class only in combination with the three-hour class. In their first year students are supposed to cover the field of Russian grammar and to do elementary reading. In their second year they continue reading, but have to review the grammar. Composition and conversation are important parts of the work of the third and fourth years. At the end of the fourth year's work our better students, aside from being able to read Russian with fair speed, can understand Russian when it is spoken slowly and distinctly, can express themselves orally with some competence, and can write Russian in their term papers and at their examinations with reasonable correctness.

The number of students in Slavic languages other than Russian has always been very small, and of that small number the majority have been children of Slavic immigrants. We have aimed to rotate elementary courses in Polish, Bohemian, and Serbo-Croatian, one language each year; but we have made it possible for any worthy student who has begun work on one of those languages to continue it as long as he desires. Since the Serbs and the Croats form the largest Slavic colony in California, the classes in their language have been the most

popular. During forty-three years we have had just one request apiece for instruction in Bulgarian, Slovenian, and Lithuanian, and we have been able to grant each of them

After experimenting with various lecture courses we settled down to only two, on the Russian novelists from Pushkin to Tolstoy, and on recent Russian literature, beginning with the younger contemporaries of Tolstoy. In these classes, which have met three times a week, the emphasis has been on the reading done by the students. It is far more profitable for a boy to read *War and Peace* intelligently than to listen to the most brilliant series of lectures on Tolstoy. So the majority of our examination questions have been designed merely to enforce our reading requirement. The students can show whatever critical ability they possess through their term papers and to some extent on their final examinations. Though these courses have been designed primarily for persons unable to read Russian they have proved of great value for students specializing in our department.

We have found that students will resort to lecture courses of two hours a week or of one hour a week, not from any interest in the subject matter of the course, but merely to fill out their programs. We have thought such students not worth while. Besides this, the increase of our language work has left us little time to spend on lecture courses; and, with the increased attention given by the History Department to the history of eastern Europe, lecture courses in the Department of Slavic Languages are less needed than would otherwise be the case.

Our work with more advanced students of literature, particularly with those who come to us with a native knowledge of Russian or other Slavic language, has necessarily been individual. The student chooses a course of reading, writes papers on it in the language of that reading, and meets once a fortnight with the instructor for discussion and criticism. This type of work has been useful for candidates for the master's degree and for the doctor's degree.

Work in scientific linguistics we have demanded only of candidates for the doctor's degree, though naturally some other students have come to us for instruction in it. Our requirement of a reading knowledge of Old Church Slavic, a fairly accurate and thorough acquaintance with the grammar of that language, and a knowledge of the history of the Russian language (or any other of the main Slavic languages), seems to me moderate, but it has troubled seriously most of the students who have come our way. The mere ability to read Old Church Slavic is of value only to persons who wish to study medieval Slavic literature or history. On the other hand, a knowledge of the

phonology and the morphology of Old Church Slavic, and of the general linguistic principles involved in them, is the key to an understanding of the mutual relations of the Slavic languages, and of the relations of the Slavic languages to the other languages of the Indo-European family. These topics seem to me part of the essential intellectual equipment of any university teacher of Slavic languages, and they have been presented with admirable skill by Leskien in his *Handbuch* and his *Grammatik*, two masterpieces of scientific exposition. But I have found them most difficult topics for students of the present time, equipped with only small Latin, no Greek, and no notion whatever of linguistics as a science.

We have conferred the doctor's degree on only five students and only two of their dissertations have been printed: *Leonid Andrejev, a Critical Study*, by Alexander Kaun; and *The Aspects of the Verb in Serbo-Croatian*, by Rajko Hariton Ružić. Each of these books is the first large study of its own topic and each of them seems to me a worthy contribution to scholarship.

Good cheer and sociability have never vanished from the Department of Slavic Languages, though the original Slavic Society founded by Lieutenant Petrovsky proved short-lived. In 1916 the students organized a new Slavic Society, membership in which was confined to students in the Slavic language courses and to the instructors, which has endured to the present day. It has arranged more picnics and banquets than lectures, but it has nevertheless been a force making for righteousness and for sound learning. Later, in 1926, the students organized a Slavic students' honor society, the Dobro Slovo, the only Slavic letter society known to me, a deeply secret society that has likewise had a useful and honorable history. It is significant that both these associations owe their origin to students, not to instructors, but the instructors have co-operated with them to the best of their ability. In his relations with them Professor Kaun in particular showed rare skill; we mourn him as host and comrade as well as scholar, teacher, and writer.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

RUSSIAN STUDIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

By IVAR SPECTOR

BECAUSE OF THE great transformation of Asiatic Russia in recent years, and the rapid development of Alaska during the present war, the Pacific Northwest is so placed geographically that it should occupy a prominent place in the field of Russian studies in the years to come. Even before this war began, there was every indication here of increased interest in the Russian field, particularly as it pertained to the Far East.

Although, academically speaking, there were several desultory attempts to begin the study of Russian here in the Northwest at an earlier date, the permanent foundation of Russian studies was laid at the University of Washington in 1931 — significantly enough, the year the Japanese entered Manchuria. In the academic year 1931–1932, during the Winter and Spring Quarters, a course in Russian literature was offered in the English Department at the University. From the beginning it attracted a good enrollment. Since that time, including the Summer Session and Extension Service, in round figures, nearly 1000 students have taken Russian literature.

The course in Russian literature paved the way, two years later, for the introduction of Russian language and history — all three courses being offered by the Department of Oriental Studies (known since 1942 as the Far Eastern Department). Incidentally, although there had been no appreciable opposition to Russian literature, there were protests, both inside and outside the University, to the addition of the language, and in particular to the history. It should be understood, of course, that Russian studies were introduced in the Northwest during the worst years of the depression, before American recognition of the U.S.S.R., and at a time when many individuals and organizations still found it difficult to distinguish between information and indoctrination, as far as Russia was concerned. The situation here differed from that of the older Eastern and California institutions, where Russian studies enjoyed a tradition that antedated the Revolution. On the whole, however, and with few exceptions, the University administration was favorably disposed toward the development of the Russian field.

Undoubtedly the progress of Russian studies here in the Northwest has been handicapped, aside from ideological barriers, by the fact that the field has been buried for so many years in the Far Eastern Department, which almost inevitably stresses the Chinese and Japanese fields at the expense of the Russian. It was only in 1944 that

Russian was mentioned in the index of the University Catalogue. It is to be hoped that in the not too distant future a Russian or Slavic Department will be established, commensurate with the importance and the scope of the field. At present, however, Russian studies are a division of the Far Eastern Department.

Until 1942, Russian studies at the University of Washington were handled by one instructor. At present, three instructors handle the regular work, and one takes care of the evening Extension classes in Russian language. The courses offered by the University, exclusive of Extension work, are as follows: Eight courses in the Russian language, three of which are intensive (10 credits per quarter instead of 5); two courses in Russian history — one a survey course on Modern Russia, with emphasis on the Soviet Union — the other a course on Russian Expansion and Colonization, with particular stress on the Far East, the object being to integrate the Russian field with classes on China and Japan in the Far Eastern Department; two courses in Russian literature, one a survey of the Russian classics, and the other, introduced in the spring of 1944, on Contemporary Russian literature (from Gorki to Sholokhov). There is also a reading course, designed to meet the needs of two types of students — those who, after taking the literature and history, wish to continue with some particular phase of the subject, and those advanced students who feel the need to make a beginning in this field but have no other opportunity.

It should be understood that with the exception of three Russian language courses, all work offered in the Russian field is for upper division students. As soon as conditions permit, we hope to offer at least two more courses — a Freshman survey course, and one solid course on Russian drama. During the past year, this university has been attracting students from other institutions and we have several candidates for higher degrees.

From the above survey, it is apparent that originally we used the vehicle of Russian culture to produce a better appreciation of Russian studies. Today, our emphasis is laid first upon language, second, upon literature and third, upon history. However, recent events have contributed to an increased student interest in Russian history, even at the expense of the literature.

1. LANGUAGE

From the very beginning, in teaching the language, it was apparent that the available texts were far from suitable for the instruction of the average American undergraduate. In some other institutions,

where the teaching of Russian was confined, for the most part, to the specially gifted student, or to the advanced graduate student, the lack of a suitable text may not have been such a calamity. But we had to deal, on the whole, with students of average ability, who, after using texts cluttered up with rules and burdened from the beginning with a difficult and unfamiliar vocabulary, were soon confirmed in their suspicions that Russian was too difficult for them. Since Russian was not a required language, and lacked the tradition of French and German, we could not hope to hold many students throughout the year.

We were therefore faced with the necessity of preparing our own text, *College Russian*,¹ designed to meet the needs of students in our own region. Rightly or wrongly, we attribute much of our success with beginners to this text, in spite of its typographical errors and other shortcomings.

Instead of confronting students with a new alphabet and a new vocabulary, in which the linguistic roots were completely foreign to them, we sought to eliminate their preconceived fears of Russian by building up a vocabulary of cognate words, which looked and sounded familiar to them in both English and Russian, once they had mastered the alphabet. While our beginners were still enthusiastic at being able to read and understand some Russian from the very first session, we managed to put over the basic declensions — not one by one — a long drawn out process which is likely to exaggerate the differences between them in the mind of the student, but in one lesson, where they can be compared at a glance, and where they can be found for reference quickly. It has been our experience that students who do not fall by the wayside in the course of the first two weeks, and very few do, almost invariably continue throughout the year.

In addition to the text, our students in Beginners' Russian use a reader as collateral during the first Quarter, along with two or three Russian language newspapers, which invariably stimulate student interest. In the intensive course, records based upon the text are also in use.

We have also found that it is more important for beginners than for advanced students in Russian to have the best qualified instructor available. In fact, we have adopted the procedure of using, not just one instructor, but two or three in one class, in order that the students may become accustomed to more than one voice. Accordingly, the best qualified instructor stresses the grammar, a second emphasizes

¹ By Ivar Spector (Revised Edition, James, Kerns & Abbott, Portland, Oregon, 1944).

conversation, and a third introduces folk songs, which contribute much to the acquisition of vocabulary and idioms.

By these methods, many of our average students have been able to accomplish more in one year of Russian than they did in German or French. We have held enough students so that we are now in a position to offer four years of work in the Russian language. The war emergency has induced us to offer intensive work (10 hours instead of 5) to meet the needs of students whose time is limited. All in all, including the two Extension courses, we have had some 825 students enrolled in Russian, almost all of them civilians.

In addition to our regular Extension classes, we have offered since 1938 an elementary correspondence course in Russian. Although at first there was little response to this experiment, and few students completed the course, during the past two years, it has become an increasingly important branch of our work, and most of those enrolled are finishing it. This course has attracted correspondence students from almost every state in the Union, many of them at present in the armed forces. A recent example is the student who despatched his lessons from Normandy on D day. In general, although correspondence students seem to encounter few difficulties in completing the first quarter's work in Russian, we have so far found it much more difficult to carry them beyond that stage successfully.

In January, 1944, at the request of many students who found it impossible to attend either regular classes or evening Extension classes we offered a radio course of 20 lessons in Russian, based upon *College Russian*. This was a University program, carried on one of the local commercial stations. The course was sufficiently popular to be repeated, and its influence extended beyond the State of Washington into Canada. Listeners who were not studying the language were interested in the talks on Russian politics and culture, which were introduced from time to time. Altogether, the program was on the air for seven consecutive weeks. At the first opportunity, the radio course will be offered as a regular feature of our Extension Service, and the recordings for the radio lessons will become an integral part of the correspondence course, so that students may learn to speak and to understand, as well as to read, Russian by correspondence.

In November, 1944, a completely revised radio course was offered. The radio station concerned agreed, in the light of experience, to allot a one-half hour period once a week, instead of the fifteen minute program carried daily last winter. This has given serious students ample time to prepare and review their lessons before another broadcast. The revised program was arranged as follows:

Program Plan

Introduction and sign on:	2 minutes
Russian music:	3 minutes
Talk on Russia by Dr. Spector	8 minutes
Russian language lesson by Dr. Spector	14 minutes
Music and sign off:	2 minutes
<hr/>	
Total	29 minutes

The growing interest of the Northwest in the Russian field is further indicated by the gradual introduction of Russian into the High School curriculum. Bremerton schools have been offering evening classes in Russian for two years and plan to continue. Spokane followed suit in 1944. At the time of writing, Broadway High School, Seattle, has just introduced a Russian language course in the Night School curriculum with an enrollment of 45 students. Already, arrangements are being made to repeat the course, as well as to introduce it in other Schools, probably in the day school curriculum, in the near future. The same text, *College Russian*, is being used. So far we have been able to furnish the teaching personnel, students of Russian origin, who are our own products.

This account of how the Northwest is becoming Russian language conscious would not be complete without mentioning that, due to the arrival in Seattle and Tacoma of an ever-increasing number of Soviet ships, all our large department stores are now displaying printed signs in their windows as follows: ЗДЕСЬ ГОВОРЯТ ПО-РУССКИ.

2. LITERATURE

Although the organization of the Russian language work presented difficulties, the task of conveying to the average American undergraduate a real understanding of Russian literature in a very limited period of time proved even more complicated. In the beginning, the almost complete absence of library facilities was a serious handicap. Moreover, the works on Russian literature available in English were more suitable for collateral reading than for use as texts. Some of them, under the influence of American literary criticism, dealt almost exclusively with technique. Some Russian scholars, who were perhaps out of touch with the events that shaped the literature, wrote only of Russian literature as art. If Americans were to grasp the significance of Russian literature as the reading public in Russia did, it seemed essential that the Russian classics should be related to Russian political and social life, and that the student should discover what motivated the novelist and dramatist.

In brief, our purpose was twofold: to give the students an introduction to Russian culture, and second, wherever possible, to present the literature from a comparative standpoint, with particular stress on American parallels. The latter approach, especially, appealed to American students.

It was also difficult to determine how much of this literature should be presented to the American undergraduate in the course of a Quarter, while at the same time preserving some sort of coherence throughout. Since the students could not be expected to read all the major works, and since they ordinarily lacked any background in Russian literature, too much time seemed to be consumed in the classroom on biographical data, plots of novels and plays, and too little time remained for adequate analysis of the required reading.

Two years of such experience led to the conviction that a text was indispensable for our purposes — a text which would supply the background material the student needed, which would relate Russian literature to Russian life, and which, finally, would reveal the element of continuity which runs throughout the great classics. Thus the first draft of what is now *The Golden Age of Russian Literature*² was begun. The use of this text, the contents of which are not discussed in the classroom except for purposes of clarification, has made it possible to devote the lecture period to the analysis of those Russian classics which the students have actually read, and to the introduction of new material. The instructor can now look forward with pleasure to every session, since it contributes to his own information and understanding of the subject.

Some reference should be made here to the fact that in the Department of English at the University of Washington, Professor Joseph Harrison offers a course in Comparative Contemporary Literature. It is not too much to say that in his handling of this course, he has done a great deal to awaken the interest of students in Russian literature.

3. HISTORY

In the field of history, the absence as yet of adequate library facilities, together with the fact that there is no expert on early Russian history on the staff, has led us to place our main emphasis on contemporary Russian history. The Russian past, in other words, is presented as a background to the contemporary scene. In this connection, the importance of the Russian literary classics as primary sources for the history is stressed, in line with Russian tradition.

² By Ivar Spector (Revised and Enlarged Edition, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, June, 1943).

In general, the political and strategical interpretation of Russian history has taken precedence here over the economic, and much emphasis has been placed on Soviet foreign policy as the key to a better understanding of the U.S.S.R. This has not always met with the approval of other historians, or of those students who, after studying American history from the economic standpoint, preferred to look at Russia through American glasses. Until the war, it was difficult for them to realize that, in spite of Soviet emphasis on the Marxian dogma of economic materialism, events forced Soviet leaders to act differently.

The war, however, has done much to justify, first, our emphasis upon Soviet strategy, our stress upon the evolution inside the U.S.S.R. from militant communism to a collectivist and national orientation, and the growing strength of the Soviet Union. American students who formerly regarded the Five Year Plans simply as a program of economic expansion have discovered as a result of this war the political and strategic significance of the decentralization of Soviet industry and the careful provision that had been made for the conversion of factories and farm machinery to military purposes. It is to be hoped that our students will not find the U.S.S.R. to be the same puzzle and enigma which it has been to their economically trained predecessors in this country, and that they will not make so many flagrant mistakes.

Our enrollment in Russian history, including Extension work, has totalled approximately 1200 students.

4. EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Extra-curricular activities have played a significant part in the Russian field here, the object being to make the Northwest area conscious of the role of the U.S.S.R. in international affairs, especially in the Pacific, to counteract the prevalent misleading notions disseminated by ardent partisans and bitter opponents of Soviet Russia and to stimulate an interest in Russian culture.

One phase of this work, during the past six years, has been the publication of a weekly column on Russia in the *Tacoma News Tribune*, a conservative newspaper, widely read in this region. This column has also appeared for two years in the *Everett Daily Herald*, and is often reprinted in Seattle district and campus papers, and from time to time in Canada. The column is supplied gratis as a service of the University of Washington. It is doubtful whether any other newspapers in the United States, at least those conservative in tone, with no interest in propaganda, have, as a permanent policy, allotted space

for a weekly column on the Soviet Union and on Russian culture. This column has also served as the basis for discussion groups and for High School classes in current events in areas where the paper is distributed. It has, incidentally, forced its author to do more and more work in the contemporary Russian field.

One reason for resorting to the weekly column on Russia was the complete inability of the author to cope with demands throughout the Northwest for lectures and public forums in this field. Since June 22, 1941, more than 1100 such requests have been made to him directly, not to mention those addressed to the University Speakers' Bureau. Obviously, only a fraction of these requests could be honored, but the column which, it is estimated, had over 100,000 civilian readers in the Tacoma area alone, and which reaches the personnel of two important Army camps in the vicinity of Tacoma and Everett, has helped to make this region Russia-conscious.

It goes without saying that lectures on the U.S.S.R. have been delivered at Army Camps in this region, before Army Reserve Officers and the American Legion. In the spring of 1942, Captain Eric Barr, in charge of the N.R.O.T.C. at the University of Washington, arranged on the campus a series of lectures on the Soviet Union for Army and Navy officers stationed in this area. Some 500 officers, now serving on all the fighting fronts, attended each session.

5 MISCELLANEOUS

Seattle and Washington State planning agencies, including the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, have been giving serious consideration to the development of Soviet-American trade in the post war era. In line with their program, the Bureau of Business Research at the University of Washington has begun the acquisition of a library of works in Russian and English in the economic field. This Bureau is publishing, under the editorship of Dr. Robert Mossey, in pamphlet form, a composite work to which several faculty members have contributed, entitled "The Soviet Far East and the Pacific Northwest."

The University of Washington Library has cooperated in every way possible, especially during the past two years, to increase our library facilities in the Russian field by the acquisition of standard and specialized works in Russian and English on Russian literature and history. In building up the Northwest collection here, this Library has for some years been acquiring Russian books on Russian exploration and colonization in North America.

Other colleges and universities in the Northwest have become conscious of the growing importance of the Russian field. The University

of Idaho has for some time been offering courses in the Russian language. The Universities of Idaho and Oregon participated in the A.S.T. Program, during the academic year 1943-1944, and in each case the University of Washington was instrumental in supplying an important part of their teaching personnel. The University of Oregon is seriously considering the addition of Russian language classes to the regular curriculum, while Reed College and the College of Puget Sound have already made several attempts to do the same. During recent months the Canadian Universities of British Columbia and Alberta have made inquiries here about the introduction of Russian language courses.

All in all, it can be safely concluded that, in spite of the handicaps involved, sound foundations have been laid in the Pacific Northwest for the development of Russian studies. It should be understood that all that has been done here so far has been accomplished without financial assistance of any kind from the outside. With such assistance we could hope for much better results.³

THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

³ Since the writing of this article, the Rockefeller Foundation has made a grant of \$75,000 for Far Eastern and Slavic Studies at the University of Washington. It is also of interest to note that Washington High School, Portland, Oregon, has recently introduced a Russian language course in its regular daily curriculum.

GLUCK AND THE CZECHS

By JAN LÖWENBACH

THE STORY that Christoph Willibald Gluck was of Czech extraction is an old one and goes back to Gluck himself. The learned librarian of the Premonstratensian Monastery on Strahov hill in Prague, Bohumír Jan Dlabacz, in his *Lexicon of Bohemian Artists*,¹ which is based for the most part on reliable information, says that Gluck, "the famous reformer of French music," was born on July 4, 1714, in Weydenwang, Upper Palatinate, not far from the Bohemian frontier; and that "in Bohemia, especially in Prague, he laid the foundations of his musical education. Excelling in his ability to play different instruments, he found, in aristocratic Czech circles, some benefactors who supported him — as he often mentioned — in a lavish way. For this reason everywhere and through all his life he called the Czechs his compatriots and benefactors." The first biographer of Mozart, František Xaver Němeček² (Niemetschek) mentions in 1798 that Mozart met Gluck, "a Bohemian by birth" in Vienna. Also in Italy, Gluck was called, like Mysliveček, "il divino Boemo" — "the divine Czech."

All this would be merely hearsay. There are, however, more weighty indications relative to Gluck's origin. First of all, there is the allegiance of Gluck's ancestors to the noble Czech family of Lobkovic as far back as one can trace; secondly, there is the origin of the name Gluck.

To realize the significance of the feudal allegiance, one must return to Central European social circumstances at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The mighty aristocracy in Bohemia who had been able to save their property from the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) were supreme masters of their subjects, who were partly obliged to do agricultural work on big estates, and partly used for other personal services. Entire peasant families were in the state of "obedience" to a certain manorial noble family, and were subject to the commands of their feudal masters. They either worked or "roboted"³ — that is to say, toiled — for them in agricultural labor, or had to perform other more personal duties, as butlers, foresters, artisans and, of course, also as musicians. Only a part of their time,

¹ Gottfried Johann Dlabacz (1758–1820), *Allgemeines historisches Künstlerlexicon für Bohmen* (Prague, 1815), I, 469. He learned about Gluck from the scholarly Slavist and writer Václav Fortunat Durych (1735–1802), who in turn received his information from Gluck's widow, whom he met in Vienna.

² Fr. X. Niemetschek, *Leben des K. k. Kappelmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart* (Prague, 1798)

³ From which originates the word *robots*, now introduced into English from Karel Čapek's play *R.U.R.* (Rossum's Universal Robots).

depending upon their master's good will, could be used on their own work and on their own land. They still were permitted to possess a modest property of their own. They could, however, be shifted around, ordered to another section of the lord's property, or they could be given in exchange to another feudal family. They could not move freely on their own, but only upon order or consent of their feudal master.

One of the oldest and mightiest aristocratic families in Bohemia was the Lobkovic (Lobkowitz). The first owner of the village of Lobkovice who is known was Nicolas of Lobkovic, mentioned in 1409 during the reign of the Czech King Václav IV (Wenceslaus) whom he supported against his German rival, King Rupprecht of Pfalz. In 1424, this same Nicolas obtained the manorial estate Chomutov (Komotau), thus increasing his property in Bohemia.

At the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, the Lobkovics (who originally had been Hussites, or Czech Brethren, but later returned to Catholicism) were already one of the most powerful families in Middle Bohemia, north of Prague. There their main residence was the beautiful castle and town of Roudnice on the Elbe, as well as their estates in southwest and northwest Bohemia. They also owned estates outside of Bohemia, in the Upper Palatinate (Pfalz), in the section which had formerly belonged to Bohemia, and, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some land in the Duchy of Sagan (Zahaň) in Silesia. In the Pfalz, now a part of Bavaria, the Lobkovic family owned the principal county of Sternheim, to which also belonged the town of Neustadt an der Waldnab, the district town of Weydenwang.

In this town a certain Melchior Gluck married Catherine Kreuzer of Frauenberg on January 29, 1649.⁴ The son of this Melchior was Johann Adam (grandfather of C. W. Gluck), who was a Lobkovician Court Hunter, and a citizen of Neustadt. Consequently his son Alexander, the composer's father, was also under allegiance to the Lobkovic family, and one of its subjects. One can rightly assume that Johann Adam or some other ancestor of Gluck's had been ordered from the principal estate of Bohemia to the ducal service in Sagan, and from there shifted again to the Pfalz. Such a presumption is supported by other facts.

The registry of the Lobkovic archives in Roudnice had, during the time of our research, not been well enough organized to enable us to ascertain further and more exact dates about Gluck's ancestors. But

⁴ There are two places of this name in Bohemia; yet in Bavaria there are several more. Therefore, it is uncertain whether Ch. W. Gluck's great-grandmother had come from Bohemia or Bavaria. The first assumption has more probability and is admitted even by German musicologists.

some facts are nevertheless clear. In the music archives of the Roudnice Castle some trace of Gluck himself could be found.⁵ In Roudnice, there is (or at least, there was until it was taken over by the Nazis) an "obligation" of Ferdinand Philip Lobkovic, Duke of Sagan "dem capelmeister Christoph v. Gluck," dated January 1, 1767, for ten thousand florins, as well as Gluck's receipt in this amount, dated August 26, 1772.⁶

All these documents — in the archives of Roudnice — prove that there had been some closer contact between the Duke of Roudnice and the "conductor" Gluck. Gluck was evidently a subject of the Lobkovic family just as his father and grandfather had been, and the sum of ten thousand florins was either a loan or a wage which the prince had given him for support. Further there is in the Roudnice archives a "Cession called *Dobrá vůle*" (Goodwill), dated July 1, 1769, in which C. W. Gluck in very bad German transfers this obligation to "Herrn Joseph Carl Freiherrn v. Bender et Laitha — wegen mir diesfalls vollständig geleisteten barren erlaag und befriedigung." It would appear that Baron Bender had taken over the original obligation of Prince Lobkovic.

Then there is the name of Gluck himself. We can, of course, make no far-reaching conclusions from a family name alone, for names of Czech and German origin are intermingled in Czech and German sections of the country. Besides, orthography in the eighteenth century was none too strict. Moreover people often changed their general spelling or the spelling of their names just as they heard it or as it suited their pleasure. So it seems quite typical that the marriage contract (1688) of Gluck's grandfather uses his name once as "Gluckh" and twice as "Glukh," and that in the bill of sale of November 29, 1723, the heirs of this Johann Adam are called "die Kluckischen Erben." Among those heirs, the composer's father, Alexander, figures as a forester of Count Kinský, a relative of the Lobkovic family, in Kamenice, Bohemia, while his brother, George Christian, is mentioned as

⁵ There are copies of seven songs by Gluck for three voices, mainly from the eighteenth century (SIGN. xi. 10), with these titles "Einem Bach, der Fliesset," "Schlachtgesang," "Der Jungling," "Die Sommernacht," "Die fruhen Graber," "Die Neigung," "Schonste, dein Reiz." Further, there is the score and material of the opera *Ezio*, the first performance of which took place in Prague in 1750, first prints of a Viennese score of *Alceste* (1769), and of *Paride e Elena* (1790)

⁶ This Ferdinand Philip Lobkovic, born in 1724, was evidently Gluck's principal benefactor after the young musician was sent to Vienna for further education by the former's father, Filip Hyacinth. The Duchy of Sagan is in that part of Silesia which Maria Theresa, after the Seven Years War, was obliged to cede to Prussia. As a consequence, the Lobkovics in 1786 sold this duchy to Prussia but, by special decree of Emperor Joseph II, they were permitted to keep the title of "Duke" which was transferred to Roudnice, so that the family was not subject to Prussia but only to the Czech crown.

principal forester of the Lobkovics in Roudnice, Bohemia, as well as guardian of the youngest brother, Johann Christian, also of Roudnice. One can see how all the threads of the Gluck family are interwoven with the Lobkovic centre in Roudnice. By this bill of sale the heirs of Johann Adam sold their house in Neustadt an der Waldnab to another Lobkovic subject, the farm superintendent (Heuanbinder) Václav Plyhail (or Plyhal), the possessor of another typically Czech name. Obviously after the father's death, the children wanted to return to their relatives in their real place of origin, Roudnice, which also was the seat of their squires. From this contract it seems that Johann Adam had been sent from Roudnice to Neustadt an der Waldnab without ever losing contact with his relatives in the homeland. Also in the receipt of November 9, 1728, in which the heirs confirm the entire sum, they are mentioned as "Kluckische Erben." Among these was the composer's father, named as "Alexander Gluckh," who was already at that time forester of the Lobkowics in Eisenberg (Jezeř), Bohemia. The composer's grandfather's name was written "Adam *Kluck*," "hochfürstlicher Jägermeister."⁷

Therefore it is more than possible that the originally correct Czech spelling *Kluk* was later adjusted to the German spelling *Kluck*, which of course, could vary. The work "kluk" is certainly etymologically Czech and has two main meanings, both connected entirely with a submissive profession or attitude. It means either a boy, fellow or lad ("boys," i.e., minor servants on farms, in woods at hunting parties, etc.); or — and this seems to me now to be more likely for a traditional forester's family — it means a man who has cleared a place in the forest of trees and stumps (a stump, a clearing, a cleared spot, or the man who does such work). There are several places in wooded parts of Bohemia which are called by the plural "Kluky" (newly cleared places in the woods) or by a combined form, e.g., "Středo-kluky."⁸ Let us add that the Czech "k" is not aspirated like the Ger-

⁷ These two documents are quoted by Anton Schmid in the appendix to his *Christoph Willibald Gluck* (1854, pp. 466-472), yet from them he draws no conclusions as to Gluck's origin. Schmid further states that on the baptismal certificate the composer's name is spelled "Gluck." But on page 11 he shows that the father used to sign as "Kluckh," and that in other documents other variations such as "Kluk" and "Kluckh" appear. Later on, according to Schmid, the name was signed "Gluckh" and only at the very end as Gluck (p. 14). In the legend of the parish of Waidenwang about the composer's baptism—dealt with in the *Revue Musicale* S.I.M. (Paris, 1914) the word is spelled "Gluck" and it seems certain that it is from this document that the composer eventually decided to take the spelling of his name.

⁸ Julien Tiersot in his study "Les premières operas de Gluck," *Gluckjahrbuch* 1913, based on the manuscripts of the Paris Conservatory says that, of eighty-two signatures, twenty-five are spelled "Cluch" (which is the Italian orthography), twenty-three "Cloch" (the corrupted Italian way), two "Cluck," two "Gluk," one "Cluk" and twenty-nine "Gluck."

man "k," so that the Czech word *kluk* (English pronounced approximately as "Clook") could well be heard and spelled by Germans as "Gluck."⁹

Anton Schmid has until the present doubtless given the most concrete information on Gluck's ancestry by reproducing two of these documents. With this he gave a further clue as to Gluck's origin. His research, moreover, corrected the previous statements of Gerber and Fétis about Gluck's birth,¹⁰ coming to conclusions which, as a whole, were also taken over by later biographers such as Welti, Reissmann and others. Schmid, however, does not approach the origin of the family in a more definite way, though he says that "Bohemia may be proud of having bred and educated this hero of dramatic music."

As to his education and the influence of Czech surroundings and Czech masters upon Gluck, it is far more definite than generally known. From his third to his twenty-second year (1717 to 1736), surely the most impressionable time for all formative external influence and further development, Gluck lived and studied in Bohemia. In 1717 his father was transferred to the shooting box of Count Kaunic in Nové Zámky (Neuschloss), and from this moment on the boy must have been surrounded by Czech people, Czech songs and dances, Czech landscape and nature, and folk as well as manorial music.

While not much is known as to the music which might and must have been performed at Nové Zámky during Gluck's stay there (for it was the convention in those days to produce a great deal of music at these feudal seats), we know that, after a very short sojourn in Česká Kamenice, his father went back to the music-loving family of Lobkovic. In 1724 he was transferred to the castle of Eisenberg, which is really the longest stay anywhere during Gluck's youthful years. Situated amid charming woodlands not far from Chomutov (Komo-tau), at the foot of the Krušné Hory (Erzgebirge), built in Renaissance style with three towers, during the past it had frequently changed its aristocratic owners until in 1623, during the Thirty Years

Tiersot expressively remarks that for the time being he avoids any conclusion which might be drawn from this statement. — Don Diego Tufarelli, in a letter of 1752, also spells "il famoso Kluck."

⁹ The Czech philologist Jan Gebauer, in his *Old Czech Dictionary*, *Staročeský Slovník* (Prague, 1904), cites four different ancient meanings of the substantive "kluk": (1) arrow; (2) boy, lad; (3) flock, tow; (4) plot of land with remnants (flocks) of roots. A certain Ješko de Kluck is mentioned (according to Gebauer) in a document of Bělá, Bohemia, as early as 1348, in the fourteenth century the same name in the plural (Kluky) is used to mean a spot in the woods (in the Executioners Book of the Lords of Rosenberg, Bohemia, 1348-1409).

¹⁰ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (1790), 514; F. J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, IV. — In the second edition (1878), Fétis corrects his date according to Schmid.

War, it came into the hands of the Lobkovics, to whom it belonged until the outbreak of the present war in 1939.¹¹

This, doubtless, was the milieu and the atmosphere in which Gluck came in touch with as much folk and artistic music as there was in those days. That the Lobkovics were from olden times famous for love of music and the sponsorship of it is proved by the Roudnice music archive, and later on, by Beethoven's associations with this family.

In the elementary schools, young Gluck attended classes in music which, according to the custom of the period, was taught as well as performed. Surely before arriving at special and systematic studies he already knew how to sing and to play the violin. Where and when he received his secondary education has not been determined with certainty. According to Dlabacz's original version, he studied *humaniora* (i.e., the higher grades) in 1726 at the Jesuit College in Chomutov (Komotau). In 1732, he came to Prague for more advanced work. Also—Schmid, Reissmann and Welti considered Gluck as a pupil of the Komotau Jesuit College. No direct documentary proof, however, has been offered for this, and our own efforts to obtain such documentation were in vain. Pater T. Fasse, in his essay in commemoration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Komotau College, in 1891, even denies that Gluck had ever been there, because, in the catalogues, only Gluck's brother, Franz, is mentioned (in 1736) as one of the "Grammatists."

Music, mainly ecclesiastic, was a very important curriculum faculty in this school. There even was a school band of about thirty pieces. Therefore, it is quite possible that C. W. Gluck, although attending another school, was an "externist" at Komotau for music alone. That Gluck did not study at Komotau has been further confirmed by H. Schürer.¹² But one may generally and safely assume that Gluck's later studies were undertaken in Prague, probably at one of

¹¹ During the war it was confiscated by the German government, together with the other property of the Lobkovic family in Bohemia, because the fact became known that two members of the Lobkovic family were in the service of the Czechoslovak government in exile. The history of the family is described by the former recorder — Dr. Josef Dvořák, in Otto's Encyclopedia (*Ottův Slovník Naučný*, xvi, 229 f. [Prague, 1900]). Concerning the Lobkovic castles, see F. B. Mikovec, *Malersisch-historische Studien aus Böhmen* — Eisenberg is supposed to be the place described in a wonderfully graphic way in Goethe's romantic phantasy, *Die Novelle*, as proved by Spiridion Vukadinović in his inaugural dissertation, Prague (about 1910). About those members of the family devoted to music and musicians see also: Alexander W. Thayer's and Richard Vesely's article "Lobkowitz" in *Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. III, Third Edition (New York, 1941).

¹² In an article published in *Komotauer Bote* (January 24, 1914).

the Jesuit colleges.¹³ However, here also, all our research endeavors in the archives were without a positive result.

If Gluck, as we might presume, had been a pupil of the Prague Jesuit College (for all "humanistic" education was then in the hands of the Jesuits), certainly he would have benefited greatly by their sound musical training. It is said that he was often an auxiliary chorister at the Jesuit Church of St. Ignatius. This would seem to indicate that he was not a regular pupil or alumnus of the college, but that he just studied music there and was consequently used as substitute member of the choir and orchestra.

In Prague he devoted himself entirely to music. He played and sang in the choirs of other Prague churches as well as in nearby villages, played for dances at inns, in the town and suburbs, gave lessons in singing and violoncello. During vacation times he walked through the Bohemian countryside from village to village as a musician with his violin, in order to make a little money. At that time in Bohemia not only was music a basic factor in the elementary school schedule but it also formed an integral part of the life of the people. Therefore one can easily understand that it was a most important subject in the curriculum of the Catholic colleges, which gave training not only in ecclesiastic but in secular music, for theatricals with music were performed as well as oratorios.

At this time in Bohemia when the victory of the Habsburgs and of Catholicism was complete, but maintained by force and by no means fully accepted by this stubborn, faithful people, it was significant that in many Catholic churches and monasteries, in an effort to be popular, the Catholic priesthood even tolerated traditional Hussite music of the fifteenth century. At least its familiar melodies which were so deeply rooted and beloved, were allowed to be sung in churches, provided, of course, that suitable Catholic words, free from all objectionable matter or taint of heresy, were substituted.

So in this period of a general musical blossoming in Bohemia, Gluck lived at its center in Prague and became the pupil of the then greatest living Czech composer, Bohuslav Černohorský (1684-1740). Černohorský, at that time a monk of the Minorite Order, was the organist of the Monastery Church of St. James. He was born in the Czech town Nymburk, became a master of music in Italy, was for a time regenschori in Padua, organist in Assisi and finally returned to Prague. One of the greatest musical connoisseurs of the era, A. W.

¹³ It is more likely that he was enabled to pursue such comparatively expensive studies through the bounty of the Lobkovic princes, of which we learn from Dlabacz's reliable quotation of Gluck, confirmed by the above mentioned documents.

Ambros¹⁴ says of Černohorský: "In his works are solved all the secrets of simple as well as of double counterpoint in the most audacious and spirited manner." Unfortunately, only a few of his organ compositions have been preserved, most of them having been destroyed in 1754 in the fire at the Minorite Monastery in Prague. Giuseppe Tartini and the Czech masters, František Tuma, Josef Seger, and Jan Zach, the Polish composer Czesław Klackel — all were his pupils. Under his tutelage Gluck studied theory of music, singing and organ.

He played in many churches, such as the Týn Church, St. Agnes and at the Order of the Cross. The link between Černohorský and the old Czech tradition is acknowledged even by German musicologists just as his technical achievements were in Italy. Both these qualities certainly supplemented each other, and worked beneficially upon his pupil Otto Schmid¹⁵ says that Černohorský's compositions have a sweep and grandeur showing how his spirit struggled to rid itself of the ties of scholasticism. According to Schmid in all his basic traits, mainly in the stressing of individualistic expression, in the mighty style of musical ideas, in the plastic working out of themes and motifs, in a clear outline of the entire structure, his work in the realm of sound is comparable to that of the great Protestant Master, Johann Sebastian Bach. Kretzschmar, too, calls him the "Czech Bach." Otto Schmid explains explicitly in his thesis that the astronomer-philosopher Johannes Kepler had greatly influenced Černohorský's school. Similarly, this astronomer and mystic prepared the liberation of the new inductive natural science from the chains of mystical natural science. Therefore this Czech musician became one of the precursors of Viennese classicism, freeing it from its previous formalism. According to Schmid, Gluck, the great individualist and admirer of the antique, developed much farther through genuine thinking of his own, that is to say, by realizing the mighty influence of music when closely linked to poetry. Thereby he almost fully concurred with the movement and creed of the Renaissance spirit. Gluck's favorite antique ideal manifests itself by a supremacy of fate over men. Again according to the German musicologist Schmid, Gluck, who lacks all real German qualities, thus could not become a composer really popular with the German people.¹⁶

Comparing Gluck's music with the basic style and spirit of Černohorský's work brings us to investigating the influence of Czech folk

¹⁴ Ambros-Branberger, *Konservatoř hudby v Praze* (Prague, 1911), p. 8.

¹⁵ *Die böhmische Altmeisterschule Czernohorskys und ihr Einfluss auf den Wiener Klassicismus* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 44.

¹⁶ See Schmid, *op cit*, pp. 54 and 62.

music on Gluck's creative work. The studying of roots and sources alone may be sufficient for the present to point to the existence of such influences on concrete examples, resulting from what was said about the directness in which the immediate near folk atmosphere worked; while on the other hand, it came indirectly from Černohorský's medium. This influence is acknowledged even by German musicologists.¹⁷ Czech authors, of course, although in a quite general way up to now, have remarked upon this affinity of some of Gluck's music with Czech folk music. Thus, for instance, Dr. Ludevít Procházka (1837-1888), a pupil of Smetana and a person well acquainted with Czech folk songs, says in his general article on Gluck (1864): "His music shows in its foundations its relation to our national music, so that we may say that Czech folk songs left a mighty resonance, the brand of which was never quite effaced within his sensitive soul."¹⁸

The influence of Czech folk music on Gluck is even admitted by the Czech aesthete, Otakar Hostinský (1847-1910), who otherwise is skeptically critical toward theories of how folk songs and dances influenced "artificial" music, and conversely, how the performance of manorial music, bands and orchestras, affected folk music. He says, in his study "On Our Secular Folk Song":¹⁹ "Knowing that Haydn, in the service of Count Morzin, once spent some time in Southwest Bohemia, and finding in the finale of one of his later symphonies (in the 'London D-minor') the theme of the folk dance 'Obkročák'; and seeing Haydn's imitation of the local bag-piper in the accompaniment, it seems too evident that here we have a reminiscence of a Czech folk dance. This suite may be quite similar to some motifs akin to our own songs which we find in Gluck, especially in his ballets. Here, too, we are entitled to presume that it is some reminiscence from the master's youth." But neither Hostinský nor anyone else since has made an attempt to compare, analytically and systematically, these reminiscences which occur in Gluck's works.

So, in addition to the music and serious method of Černohorský, which was fostered in the colleges, other music, too, had its effect on Gluck — music he heard in the country, in the streets, public places and houses; and music which had a local, popular expression, favoring mainly brass instruments and drums; "Turkish music."²⁰

Merely perusing Gluck's most popular operas, we find, indeed,

¹⁷ See Stefan Wortsman: "Gluck und Bohmen," *Komolauer Anzeiger*, Dec. 31, 1913.

¹⁸ *Národní Lusty*, Prague, Dec. 15 and 16, 1864.

¹⁹ In the Czech folkloristic Review *Český Lid* (Prague, 1892), p. 359.

²⁰ See Cyril Straka, ed., "Extractus historiarum Joannis Christopher Vogt consistorialis cursoris ab anno 1725-1758," *Hudební Revue*, XIII, 217 (on the basis of the Ms. of the Strahov Monastery).

some melodic and rhythmic details characteristic of Czech folklore. For example, the aria "Chiamo il mio ben" in *Orfeo* is outspokenly Czech in its manner. Even foreign listeners would see a melodic analogy between Orfeo's first song and the opening bars of Dvořák's Fourth Slavonic Dance, making allowance, of course, for certain rhythmical differences. The resonance of Czech music is also apparent in Eros' aria "Gli sguardi trattiente," and in the ballet of the second act, before Euridice sings her first aria. The same holds true at the beginning of Orfeo's aria, in the third act ("Che faró senza Euridice"). In *Alceste*, too, there are passages reminiscent of Czech melodies as well as rhythm, such as in the Moderato of the big aria of *Alceste*, Act I, "Et sur l'excés de mon malheur" and in the first and second chorus of *Iphigenie in Aulis*, Act II, which has in its ballet (No. 11) a clear reminiscence of the old Czech folk song "Já mám svou panenku v Roudnici" ("My honey is far away in Roudnice"). Is this just a casual coincidence? How did Gluck in *Iphigenie* come to think of a girl at Roudnice, were the thought not deeply connected or at least an impression upon his youthful mind? The following *Grazioso*, in the same opera, is also on the type of a Czech folk dance. Even so, No. 3 (Air Gai) has a rural Czech character. The Allegretto in the ballet of Act II, and the last ballet are of Czech folk dance type, the latter being a "Sousedská." Also in *Armide*, in the chorus "Au temps heureux" and in the minuet which follows, there are marks of Czech folk dances.

Of course, we realize that it is not in single details that national reminiscences and types are decided, but that it is the whole general rhythmical and structural character of these pieces which matters, and which is the inspirational source of what is obviously Czech and of the folk.

Doubtless Gluck was influenced, even if indirectly, by Italian operas, then frequently performed in Prague.²¹ Italian operas then were often performed at Count Spork's Theatre, and from 1723 to 1737 the Stagione in Prague was conducted by Antonio Denzio of Venice, who performed, with rather mingled success, sixty operas, mainly by Albioni, Vivaldi, Constantini, Bioni, etc. A great event was the performance of the opera *Costanza e fortezza* by J. J. Fux, performed in Prague, in 1732, and an Italian opera based on Czech mythology *Praga nascente di Libussa e Primislao* the author being Antonio Denzio himself. Also Metastasio (*L'Olimpiade*, 1735) was then staged on the Prague Stagiones program.²²

²¹ See Löwenbach, "Italo-Czech Musical Relations," *Tempo, Listy Hudební Matice*, II (Prague, 1921), 214.

²² See Teuber, *Geschichte des Prager Theatres*, I (Prague, 1883), p. 111.

In the chronicles of the Prague Theatre, Gluck, as a composer (then originally spelled Cluck) was first mentioned in 1746, during the season of Mingotti, and then as a collaborator in the opera *La finta Schiava*, with two Italians, Vinci and Lampugnani. When the company of Giovanni Battista Locatelli came to Prague in 1748, Gluck's operas appeared more often on the program. The carnival of 1750 saw the first performance of *Ezio* well prepared and staged by Locatelli²³

The libretto of *Ezio* was printed in this same year (1750) in Prague, and its original copy is preserved in the National Museum. In the introduction the fact is mentioned that the music is a "nuova composizione del celebre and rinomato Maestro Gluck," but on the theatre hand-bill it says, in bad German: "Die music ist eine der sichreichsten compositionen des Hrn Kluck" (sic!). In this same year there was the performance of *Ipermestra* and in 1752 *Issipile*. The librettos of these, still preserved, were also published in Prague.

As years passed, Gluck remained to be a permanent guest of the Czech theatre František Škroup (1801–1862) the first composer and conductor of Czech operas in Prague, performed *Iphigenia in Aulis* in 1843, and *Alceste* in 1846. Berlioz, present at one of the performances, remarks in his *Memoirs* that, though orchestra and chorus were insufficient, the soloists were very good. A great event in 1864 was the first Czech performance of *Orfeo*, which left a deep impression and was thereafter kept in the repertory. Smetana during his conductorship also performed Gluck frequently from 1866 on.

When Gluck left Prague he was, of course, too young for his own influence on Czech music to have been as important as that of Mozart. Mozart later found a soil better prepared to accept him, and where he acquired many followers. Therefore, there is no such permanent continuity of a Gluck tradition as there was a Mozartean. Nevertheless Czech music and the leading masters of opera, Smetana, Dvořák, and Fibich, honored Gluck highly, and his pure dramatic style could be traced frequently in Czech music.²⁴

²³ From which it is evident that *Ezio* was not composed as late as 1763, as is usually stated.

²⁴ The main material for this paper was already collected by the writer in Bohemia in 1914 on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of Gluck's birth, and was worked up more elaborately in Czech in a broad article in *Hudební Revue*, VII (1914), No. 10. A small part of its material was used by Camille Maclair in his essay "A travers la vie de Gluck," *La Revue Musicale S.I.M.* (Paris, June, 1914) That article is, however, now used here for the first time in another language, but considerably altered and amended by many new details and documents.

Otherwise, of the older Czech literature on Gluck, the short monography by Otokar Hostinský (Prague, 1879) deserves mention and Richard Veselý's in *Hudební Revue* VII (1914) In the period when he was still a music critic (1863–1864) B. Smetana never ceased

Recent German biographers are influenced rather by preassumed ideological considerations than by facts. Arend²⁵ says that Gluck's grandfather and father were German-speaking Czechs (Bohemians) and he himself, in spite of being born in Bavaria, is rightly called a Bohemian ("Daher waren Gluck's Grossvater und Vater deutsch-sprechende Böhmen, und er selbst wird, obwohl in Bayern geboren, mit Recht als Böhme, von den Italienern als 'der göttliche Böhme,' bezeichnet"). He admits indeed "a certain Slavonic blood touch . . . , however, we meet this touch in a very weak blood admixture" (einen gewissen slavischen Bluteinschlag . . . wir begegnen aber diesem Einschlag als einer sehr schwachen Bluteinmischung"). In spite of that "blood admixture" he considers Gluck as of "pure German race." In Arend's opinion the reason is that Gluck did not speak or write Czech. This, of course, in those days is quite beside the point. Even if it were true, it would have to be pointed out that Czechs in the eighteenth century were not allowed any higher schools; all higher education in Bohemia, a province of the Habsburg empire, was then in German and Latin. Opera performances were held in Italian, later also in German and only from 1806 in Czech. Even Salieri's utterance that Gluck's mother tongue was Czech is explained by Arend with arguments of German mentality.

Eventually Arend admits that Gluck's family both from his father's and his mother's side, originated from Bohemia and returned to Roudnice, further on that Gluck studied with Černohorský and that the influence of his musical surroundings and of the education in Bohemia was very strong.²⁶

Einstein in the introduction to his Gluck biography²⁷ says with a slight allusion that Gluck belongs likewise to the Italians as well as to French and German history of music though "Czech national pride also claimed him for its own." Einstein does not consider the occurrence of Slavonic rhythms in Gluck's music as an awkward racial problem, but he means that such rhythms simply pleased him. He also admits that Gluck's family came from Bohemia and returned back there again. He stresses the importance of the musical surroundings

quoting Gluck as an example of dramatic truthfulness. Otherwise Czech literature is weak on Gluck, and his relations with Czech music and musicians were not studied until this writer left Prague in 1939. There is only Vladimír Helfert's study "Die Jesuiten-Kollegien der Böhmisches Provinz zur Zeit des jungen Gluck," *Festschrift für Johannes Wolf* (Berlin, 1929).

²⁵ Max Arend, *Gluck* (Berlin, 1921), pp. 18 and 19.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 22 f.

²⁷ Alfred Einstein, *Gluck* (London, New York, 1936).

and the influence of Černohorský and of operatic performances in Prague.²⁸

Eventually we have to mention that in Cooper's biography it is also admitted that Gluck's name and family are of Czech origin. Cooper says that "he spoke affectionately of Bohemia and the Bohemians all his life and he seems to have felt himself as far as he was conscious of any definite nationality as much Bohemian as an Austrian."²⁹ He further quotes Tiersot who mentions that the operas *L'Arbre Enchanté* and *L'Île de Merlin* contain "airs which bear a strong resemblance to Czech folk songs, and they may well be reminiscences of the days when Gluck toured the country towns of Bohemia." Two of those arias of "an unmistakable polka swing" are reprinted in Cooper's book.³⁰ The difference in the attitude toward nationalism in Gluck's time and in the early twentieth century, is expressed rather adequately by Cooper in the statement that Gluck, who "180 years later would have been in all probability a Czech nationalist composer, living in Prague and suspicious of Vienna, was regarded in 1750 as an ordinary Austrian citizen. His Czech origin would only be remembered occasionally, regarded lightly and casually, as a joke most probably, and certainly never traced into his music."³¹

As a matter of fact nationalism in music is a very complex problem and has undergone many changes in history.³² However, it would be inexact to place its beginnings only in the nineteenth century. Traces of a distant national expression are discernible in Czech music at least from the thirteenth century on and very clear since the Hussite period. On the other hand, Czech musical talent and culture prepared and fertilized the development of European music in the eighteenth century to such a degree that in this respect also its contribution to the great reformatory work of C. W. Gluck is undoubtedly of basic significance.

²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 1, 5, 7 f.

²⁹ Martin Cooper, Gluck (London, 1935), pp 38, 39.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77 f. — To that I can only add that the first piece quoted by Cooper is in its rhythm and even in melody an evident double of the old Czech folk dance "Kanafaska."

³¹ I cannot assert whether and how far these writers knew anything about my first essay on Gluck, published in 1914. However, as a matter of fact, all their books were published later.

³² See Ralph Vaughan Williams: *National Music* (London, New York, Toronto, 1934 — Lectures originally delivered at Bryn Mawr College, Pa.)

TALVJ'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH JAMES GATES PERCIVAL

By ARTHUR P. COLEMAN

I

THE PURPOSE of this paper is to fill out, with items found in the United States, the portion of Professor Max Vasmer's chronicle, "Bausteine zur Geschichte der deutsch-slavischen geistigen Beziehungen, I," published in the *Proceedings* of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for 1939,¹ which deals with the German translator Talvj.²

The *Bausteine* of Professor Vasmer's study are, of course, the members of the first, and so far the greatest, generation of European scholars and men of letters, German and Slav, to take a serious interest in Slavic matters, especially in Slavic philology, antiquities, and and folk poetry. To this generation, it is unnecessary to point out, belonged on the Slavic side such figures as Dobrovský and Kopitar, Šafařík and Karadjich, on the German the brothers Grimm, the historian von Ranke, and even Goethe himself.

Not the least valuable portion of Professor Vasmer's study is the record it supplies and elaborates of the scholarly correspondence carried on over the period between about 1825 and 1845 on Slavic matters. It is this section which the present paper will fill out, adding three new Talvj letters.

Up to the present there have appeared in print three separate collections of Talvj letters.³ These are, in order of publication, her letters to Kopitar, her correspondence with Goethe, and her exchange of letters with Jacob Grimm. References to her occur in the letters of many of the scholars of her day, especially in the correspondence of Kopitar with Grimm and in the letters of the former to his master Dobrovský.⁴

¹ *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1939, i-xliv and 168 pp., with Indexes by Elsa Vasmer.

² Therese Albertine Louise von Jakob (1797-1870). There is no good biography of this woman. The standard work by Irma Voigt, *The Life and Works of Mrs. Therese Robinson* (Urbana, 1913), 148 pp., is inadequate, being written from the German-American point of view. To the bibliography of Talvj's works appended to this, pp. 145-147, must be added the following items: "Slavic Popular Poetry," *North American Review*, XLIII, (July, 1836), 85-120; "Romaic Popular Poetry," *ibid.* (Oct., 1836), 337-356. "Spanish Popular Poetry," *ibid.*, LIV (Apr., 1842), 419-446. There are undoubtedly many more items yet undiscovered which should be credited to her.

³ (a) *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, 1883, CIII, 462-489; (b) *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 1891, pp. 33-37; (c) *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1894, LXXVII, 345-366.

⁴ Max Vasmer, "B. Kopitars Briefwechsel mit Jakob Grimm," *Abhandlungen der Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1938, xxxviii+217 pp.; Jagić, *Briefwechsel zwischen Dobrowsky und Kopitar* (Berlin, 1885). See also, Vasmer, "Bausteine," *op. cit.*, passim.

To the Talvj letters already published must now be added the three new items discovered by Mrs. Coleman, in the course of Percival research, among the still only partially collated manuscripts of the Percival Collection at Yale University. These three letters, together with the replies which they evoked from the talented, if temperamental, New Haven poet, James Gates Percival, to whom they were addressed, constitute probably the first serious correspondence on Slavic matters to be carried on in the United States, while Talvj, who wrote them, must be regarded as the first *Baustein*, to use Professor Vasmer's term, in German-American intellectual relationships in the Slavic field

II

Talvj — Therese Albertine Louise von Jakob, to use her full and correct name — was introduced to the Slavic world for the first time in 1806, when, as a nine-year old child, she was taken by her parents from her native town of Halle, in Prussian Saxony, to the south Russian town of Kharkov. Talvj's father occupied a position of honor and distinction in the University of Halle, and abandoned this to accept a call to the rather primitive Russian university only from a determination to escape the humiliation of performing military service in the French army which occupied his homeland after the battle of Jena.

Thanks to her residence in Kharkov, it was the Ukrainian speech of the family servants and the Ukrainian songs of the local peasants that constituted Talvj's earliest experience of the Slavic languages and literatures.

In 1810 Talvj's father left Kharkov to accept a position in St. Petersburg, and here the daughter was exposed to a second Slavic tongue, Great Russian. Here also she began to study the language seriously, to note the customs and especially to take cognizance of the popular songs of the people among whom her life seemed likely for a long time to be cast.

With the liberation of Germany following 1813 and 1815, the von Jakobs returned in 1816 to Halle, where Talvj's father resumed his professorship. Talvj was now nineteen, a brilliant as well as beautiful young woman. What was she to do with her life?

The most natural thing for her to do was to write. At first she composed bits of original verse, published (under a pseudonym) essays on literary criticism, and wrote a few short stories. In order to earn pin-money for herself, she translated Scott's *Old Mortality* and *The*

Black Dwarf. For seven years the Slavic thread of her life was broken off.

Then in 1823 came the great vogue in Germany for Serbian popular poetry, a vogue stimulated by the collections of Serbian national song assembled and published by Vuk Karadjich.⁵ A chance reading of some of Jakob Grimm's comments on Vuk and his work, coupled with a desire on her own part to lose herself in some cause, in order to forget her sorrow over the death of a beloved sister, sent Talvj to learning Serbian so that she too might have a part in the pleasant furor the Serbian songs were causing. With her knowledge of Ukrainian and Russian, Serbian proved relatively easy for her to master, and the translation of the songs was a distinct pleasure, not only in itself but also for the scholarly friendships which the work gradually brought her.⁶ The first tangible fruit of her Serbian studies appeared in 1825, in the two-volume *Volkslieder der Serben*, a translation of many of the songs found in Vuk.

In 1828 occurred a second breaking off of the Slavic thread of Talvj's life, with her marriage to Edward Robinson, an American classical student from Southington, Connecticut, who had been sent abroad to learn the technique of German scholarship and to perfect himself in biblical learning. An earnest and attractive young man, three years older than Talvj, Robinson seemed the ideal husband for the brilliant German woman, and the marriage was looked on with favor generally. That it would lead to further study on Talvj's part in the folk poetry of the Slavs did not, however, seem likely.

And for years it did not. During the first two years of her married life, which were spent in travel and study on the continent, and the subsequent three years which she spent in Andover, Massachusetts, Talvj the scholar was silent, satisfied, apparently, to be "just a wife." Her husband, meanwhile, made a name for himself as a biblical scholar and as a professor of Bible at the Andover Seminary.

Then in 1834 Talvj emerged from retirement, first with a German translation of a treatise by John Pickering on Indian dialects, which

⁵ In its final form the collection of Vuk (1787-1864) was entitled *Srpske narodne pjesme*. The songs began to appear in 1818. The first semi-complete collection came out in three volumes in Leipzig, 1823-1824, the fourth volume of this following in 1833.

⁶ The record of these friendships is to be found in the various collections of her correspondence, for which see Note 3. See also the works referred to in Note 4. In addition mention must be made to Talvj's debt to the popular and engaging Wilhelm Müller (1794-1827), father of the British philologist Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900), and the popularizer, through his *Neugriechische Volkslieder* (1825), of Claude Fauriel's famous *Contes populaires de la Grèce moderne* (1824-1825). The theme "Talgj and Wilhelm Müller" deserves thorough investigation and can not be dismissed in a footnote.

she published in Leipzig,⁷ next with two long and serious articles in her husband's journal, *The American Biblical Repository*.⁸ Entitled "An Historical View of the Language and Literature of the Slavs," the two articles constituted a kind of claim-staking on Talvj's part. In them the author emphasized insistently the importance of "those productions, existing now or formerly, which *proceed from** and *operate on* the common people,"⁹ and thus they served to establish her as the one person above all others to be consulted in our country when an authoritative word in the field of continental folk poetry was required.

"The Europeans mistake greatly," Talvj was to declare in 1852, "in thinking the fresh mind of the American unsusceptible to Poetry and the Fine Arts. We have accustomed ourselves to the opinion, inherited from our forefathers, that the Americans in the United States are an active, enterprising nation, but moved exclusively by material interests. No view can be more partial or unjust."¹⁰

It may have been partly for the very purpose of proving beyond question the soundness of her own intuition about the American people, expressed in the above words, that Talvj undertook the series of studies which appeared from her pen from 1834 on. She saw the American people craving intellectual nourishment and spiritual stimulation, and she felt herself to be the one "called," as it were, to give it to them. She was too sincere a scholar to be pretentious in her fulfilment of this mission, and too earnest about her calling to display any airs. As one study after another was asked for by the leading literary journal of the day, *The North American Review*, Talvj set quietly to work to produce these, endeavoring always to make her work, if not original, at least representative of the best continental opinion of which she was aware and to which she had access in her new homeland.

III

What, in the meantime, of the other member of the pair responsible

⁷ *Über die Indianischen Sprachen Amerikas* (Leipzig, 1834). A translation of the article John Pickering wrote on this subject for Francis Lieber's *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1831, vi, 580-600.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, iv (April, 1834), 328-413, and July, 1834, pp. 417-531. Talvj drew heavily, in the two articles, on Šafařík's *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur* (1826). Later she reworked the material in these and her other Slavic articles (see Note 2) and published the expanded and revised work which resulted in book form as *An Historical View of the Language and Literature of the Slavs*, New York: Harpers, 1850.

* Italics here and throughout are Talvj's, not mine.

⁹ *North American Review*, XLII, 42 (April, 1836), 274, in an article on "Teutonic Popular Poetry."

¹⁰ *The Exiles* (1853), p. 240. This is an English translation of *Die Auswanderer* (1852).

for our first American scholarly correspondence on Slavic matters in this country? What of Percival?

James Gates Percival, the first American, so far as we are able to determine, to study the Slavonic tongues seriously and over a period of time, was born in Kensington, Connecticut, in 1795, the son of a country physician. Graduated from Yale University in 1815, Percival followed in his father's footsteps to the extent of obtaining a medical degree in 1820. Instead, however, of practicing medicine, he preferred rather to try for a career in poetry. For a while he enjoyed a flattering reputation, not only in his own country but even in England. Soon, unfortunately, the sudden flame of this was snuffed out by the whirlwind of William Cullen Bryant's much greater fame. When this happened, Percival fled for solace to the study of languages, a field that had fascinated him from the beginning, and through his uncanny competence in this field, at a time when foreign tongues were little understood in New England, especially in New Haven, scraped together a bare living at various hack jobs.

The first of the Slavic tongues to claim Percival's serious attention was Serbian, probably thanks to the preference of John Bowring, his mentor and guide in Slavic matters, for this branch.¹¹ In 1833 he placed his first order for books in Serbian, these being the three principal works of the above-mentioned Karadjich, namely his *Srpske narodne pyesme*, *Kleine serbische Grammatik*, and *Lexicon serbico-germanico-latinum*. When these had been delivered — it was by now the autumn of 1834 — Percival found his appetite not satisfied but only whetted, and proceeded to place a further order. This time his choice fell on Talvj's *Volkslieder der Serben*. Apparently Percival had in mind to enter the Serbian domain by way of the German gate, a procedure he was also to follow later when he came to study Russian.

As soon as Talvj's two volumes arrived, Percival hastened to study them carefully and to compare the German translations with the Serbian original which he found in Vuk. He was not long in discover-

¹¹ For a full and detailed account of Percival's progress in Slavonics, see, A. P. Coleman, "James Gates Percival and Slavonic Culture," *Slavia* (San Francisco), xvi, No. 3, (June, 1941), 65-75. John Bowring (1792-1872), the British Benthamite and polyglot, author of many volumes of translation from the Slavonic, notably *Serbian Popular Poetry* (London, 1827), figures largely in this. For more about Bowring and the Slavs, see, A. P. Coleman, "John Bowring and the Poetry of the Slavs," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, lxxxiv, 3 (May, 1941), pp. 431-459. This contains a full bibliography of Bowring's writings on the Slavs, as well as a list of articles in English periodicals commenting on Bowring as a translator. See also, Miloš Sova, "Sir John Bowring and the Slavs," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. xxi, No. 57 (Nov., 1943), pp. 128-144. The author of this article takes no account, unfortunately, of my earlier and somewhat exhaustive study, mentioned above.

ing that certain of Talvj's verses had no counterpart in Vuk. What was the trouble? Percival determined to find out.

That Talvj herself was in the United States Percival could not help but know, for he had certainly seen her two articles in the *Biblical Repository*. That she was the wife of Edward Robinson he also could not help but know, and this was for him a piece of good fortune, for Dr. Robinson was actually an old school mate of his, the two having shared books and benches with each other at the old Wolcott (Connecticut) Academy.¹²

Too shy to write Talvj directly, Percival approached her through her husband, addressing the inquiry he wished to make to him, along with a request for light on Semitic verbs. This first letter of Percival has been lost, but Talvj's reply leaves us in no uncertainty as to what it contained. This reply, written in German script, and dated Boston, March [sic] 28, 1835, is the first of the three Talvj letters found at Yale and published here for the first time.¹³

Hochgeschätzter Herr!*

Da der erste Theil Ihres Briefes mich betrifft, obwohl an meinen Mann gerichtet, so will ich ihn selbst beantworten. Die vier Serbenlieder, nach denen Sie fragen, sind aus der Auflage von 1814,¹⁴ die in Wien herausgekommen. Sie blieben in der zweyten weg, weil Wuk Stephano-vitsch darin den [sic!] Grundsatz folgte, nur diejenigen Stucke aufzunehmen, die er selbst vom Volke hatte singen horen. Doch sind jene, die ein Freund von ihm sammelte eben so zuverlässig, und Hajkunas Hochzeit¹⁵ ist gewiss eins der schönsten Stucke der Sammlung. — Das kleine Liedchen "Ajde¹⁶ etc." ist ebenfalls von der viel schöneren Version der ersten Ausgabe ubersetzt. — Bowrings *Paraphrase*¹⁷ ist allerdings nur

¹² For the details of Percival's life we are indebted to many items, such as letters and bills, as yet unpublished, which are to be found in the Percival Papers at Yale, as well as to the excellent unpublished *Biographic Study of James Gates Percival* by Harry Redcay Warfel, on file at Yale University Library. Professor Warfel deserves our gratitude also for his work in collating the Percival Papers, from which we have profited greatly.

¹³ Permission to publish the letters has graciously been granted us by the Trustees of Yale University Library, to whom we hereby express our thanks.

* For his help in the revision of my transcription of these letters I should like to express my thanks to Professor Vasmer.

¹⁴ *Mala prostonarodna slaveno-serbska pyesmaritsa* (Vienna, 1814). This contains 100 "women's songs," "Frauenlieder" as Talvj called them, and 6 "heroic songs," "Heldenlieder" in German, "yunachke pyesme" in Serbian.

¹⁵ For Talvj's correspondence with Goethe about this poem, see *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 1891, pp. 34-38. Talvj's version of it is to be found in *Volkslieder* (1825), II, 275-279. Bowring's version is in his *Servian Popular Poetry*, pp. 27-34.

¹⁶ For Talvj's translation of this, see *Volkslieder*, 1825, II, 51.

¹⁷ Talvj's opinion of Bowring, based on his Serbian translations, was a low one. See her letter to Kopitar, *Sitzungsberichte*, cited in Note 3, a, pp. 480-481. Later she modified her view somewhat, as we see in her rather favorable mention of him, as compared with Lockhart, in her article on "Spanish Popular Poetry," cited in Note 2.

nach meiner Uebersetzung gemacht. Aber ist Ihre Kritik nicht eigentlich gegen diese letztere gerichtet? — Ich ward bewogen das "Bild" zu suppliren, weil ein Serbe mir sagte, die Sangerin meine diess, im Gegensatz mit der Beschreibung im Buche. Allein ich fühlte selbst nachher, dass dem nicht so sey. Sie meint ohne Zweifel nur den Namen. "Wenn ich Dich in meinen Aermel stickte," wäre aber im Deutschen ganz unsinnig. Die interrogative Form wählt' ich absichtlich, weil sie den Sinn klarer macht, ohne nur in etwas ihn zu verändern. Denn die zweyte Zeile und die dritte heissen nicht "the sleeve *would* tear in pieces and thy name *would* etc."¹⁸ sondern die erste ist ganz positiv: der Ärmel *wird* in Stücken reissen und Dein Name wurde mit ihm untergehen. Das *wenn* im ersten Verse würde mich zu einer Aenderung der Form im dritten genothigt haben. Mein erster Theil ist nicht ohne Irrthumer. Mein zweyter ist viel besser. Dürft ich Ihnen wohl eine Bitte an das Herz legen, werther Herr? würden Sie wohl ein Paar Liederchen die ich in einem Aufsatz "über Volkspoesie"¹⁹ als Proben zu geben denke, für mich übersetzen oder in Verse bringen? Zu gleicher Zeit ersuch' ich Sie, mich wissen lassen, wo Ihre slavischen Uebersetzungen zu finden sind, weil ich, wo möglich meine Proben für diesen Theil der Lieder aus ihnen nehmen möchte.

The letter concluded with a brief explanation by Talvj's husband, in English, of course, that his wife had as her "object," "popular poetry as springing from and existing among the common people, — and not as connected with the written literature," as Percival was already aware from his study of her introduction to the *Volkslieder*.

That Talvj should turn to Percival for help at this time is somewhat surprising, for she knew very little about him, especially about the degree of competence he possessed in Slavic. He had published nothing, so far, from the Slavonic tongues beyond the few fragments which he used to caption the "Slavonia Sonnets" published in *The New England Magazine* (February, 1835).²⁰ Yet Talvj must have believed Percival had possibilities as a translator, else she would never have turned to him in her need, as she did here, nor would she have expressed satisfaction when Leonard Woods, Dr. Robinson's old colleague at Andover, asked her²¹ if she approved his choice of Percival

¹⁸ The poem under discussion here is the one which Talvj translated (*Volkslieder* [1825], I, 56) as "Irdische Denkmaler" and which Bowring (*Serbian Popular Poetry*, pp. 167-169) called "The Young Shepherds." Bowring had a guilty feeling about this translation, for, as he admits in a footnote, he has wandered much farther from the original here than is his custom. In order partially to make amends for this, he offers the Servian original of the last stanza. Thus Percival had before him three versions of the poem, Vuk's, Talvj's, and Bowring's, in Serbian (transcribed), German, and English, respectively.

¹⁹ This is, of course, the article which appeared in the *North American Review*, XLIII (July, 1836), 85-120.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp 85-90

²¹ Letter from Woods (1774-1854) to Percival, March 9, 1835, among the Percival Papers at Yale

as the one to review her Slavic articles (in the above-mentioned *Biblical Repository*) for his own journal, *The Literary and Theological Review*.²² Perhaps the explanation is that Percival's reputation as a linguist was much greater than his achievement, and Talvj had heard great tales of his wizardry in this field, perhaps from George Ticknor or some other of her Boston friends who knew and admired Percival.

Percival answered Talvj with a promise to do what he could for her, given his inadequate equipment. This letter also has been lost and we are obliged to rely for our information concerning its contents on Talvj's reply of February 15, 1836. This second of her letters to Percival is, like the first, written in German, but, unlike that, in English script.

Werthester Herr!

Erinnern Sie wohl dass Sie mir vor ungefähr einem Jahre Ihre Hülfe bey einer vorhabenden Arbeit zusagten? Da Ihre Zusage mit der Bemerkung verknüpft war, Sie sehr beschäftigt seyen, so nahm ich mir gleich vor, Sie nur im Nothfalle in Anspruch zu nehmen. Ich habe mir bey nun mehr als halb vollendeten Werkchen "über Volkspoesie" so gut wie möglich selbst geholfen, theils mich selbst in englischen Versen versucht, theils Andre benutzt. Jetzt bin ich eben an die Serben gekommen, und da mir daran liegt die Proben ihrer Volksdichtungen *recht gut* und *treu* übersetzt zu haben, ich überdem weiss dass der Gegenstand Sie interessiert, so wende ich mich noch einmal an Sie, werthester Herr! Haben Sie Musse und Lust mir die folgenden Stucke die ich als Proben der Frauenlieder zu geben wunsche (Einige andre die als Illustrationen zum allgemeinen Character slavischer Volkspoesie dienen hab' ich schön in der Einleitung angeführt) zu übersetzen? Blagoslov,²³ V. I-þ[sic] No. 151, in meiner Übersetzung: Des Jünglings Segen, V. I, p. 53; Devoika i litse, v. I, No. 185, Selbstgespräch, V. I, p. 9; Tri naiveche tuge, 283. — Grabt mir ein Grab, V. I, p. 61; Rastanak, 291, Abschied, V. I, p. 38 (eine der frühesten und daher freisten meiner Übersetzungen), Prelja i Tsar, 377, Die Spinnerin und der Zar, V. II, p. 3, und die Kleinigkeiten: Devoika moli Djorjev Dan, 192, — Deutsch V. II, p. 61; Ajde, dushe etc. þ- 243 (Deutsch nach der ersten Ausgabe wo es mir viel besser gefiel) Stelldich-ein, Vol. II, p. 51; und endlich das unvergleichliche: Naiveche sladost, 288, Deutsch Nachgeschmack, V. II, 55.

Was die Heldenlieder anbelangt, so bitte ich mir Ihren Rath aus. Ich kann nicht gut mehr als eins, oder höchstens zwey zur Proben geben. *Welches scheint Ihnen das charakteristischste?* Ich denke besonders an die

²² Woods edited this from 1834, when it was founded, through 1837, four volumes in all. He did not publish in this time any review of Talvj's work

²³ These items are to be found on the pages given by Talvj in both the 1825 and 1835 editions of her *Volkslieder*. In the revised, 1853, edition, they are on different pages. The Serbian originals are in the 1823-1824 edition of Vuk's *Srpske narodne pjesme*.

ältern Gesänge. Meinen Sie nicht das der bolestan Doitschin darunter gehört? Marko's Tod²⁴ ist gewiss schöner allein es ist durch Bowrings mangelhafte Übersetzung bekannt, und da ich nur zwey gebe, so wünschte ich *neues* zu geben. Wählen Sie für mich zwischen den kranken Doitschin,²⁵ Auszug und Schlacht, oder eins von Marko's Abentheuern, was Sie zu übersetzen Sich am meisten aufgelegt fühlen oder vielleicht vorrätig haben. Von den neuern scheint mir die Schlacht auf dem Mischarfelde von besonderer Schönheit. Der Tod des Meho Orugdschitsch hat echt homerische Stellen.

Was Sie mir immer von Ihren Übersetzungen wollen zukommen und zur Benützung überlassen wollen wird mich äusserst dankbar finden. Je mehr je besser. Ich will Sie wegen der Zeit der Übersetzungen nicht treiben. *Allein ich bitte Sie, mir so bald als möglich zu schreiben ob Sie meine Bitte erfüllen wollen oder nicht, weil ich im letztern Falle andre Massregeln nehmen muss.*

Haben Sie wohl je die curiosen Übersetzungen gesehen die in den London Quarterly Review, No. 69, stehen?²⁶ Da sind die serbischen *yunachke pyesme** in ächte metrical romances verwandelt.

Ich habe erst vor ungefähr einem halben Jahre den vierten Theil von Vuks herrlicher Sammlung erhalten.²⁷ Die Vorrede enthält manchen interessanten Aufschluss über seine Quellen.

Erfreuen Sie mich bald mit einer günstigen Antwort. Was Sie mir zu schicken haben, bitt' ich *mit der Post, unfrankirt*, zu senden. Nur ja nicht mit Gelegenheit! — Mein Mann empfiehlt sich Ihnen bestens.

Mit vollkommenster
Hochachtung!

THERESE ROBINSON
geb. v. J.

BOSTON, den 15ten febr. 1836.

Circumstances had altered radically for Percival in the year elapsed since Talvj's first request and his own half-promise of help. He had

²⁴ Goethe himself had thought this fine enough to translate, in *Kunst und Alterthum*, v, No. I, pp. 84-92. For Bowring's translation, see *Servian Popular Poetry*, pp. 97-106.

²⁵ For Talvj's translations of the poems referred to in this paragraph, see the 1825 edition of her *Volkslieder* as follows "Der kranke Doitschin," I, 98-108; "Tod des Königssohnes Marko," I, 254-259, "Auszug und Schlacht," I, 125-131; "Die Schlacht auf dem Mischarfelde," II, 337-343, "Der Tod des Meho Orugdschitsch," II, 344-355.

²⁶ John Gibson Lockhart, "Translations from the Servian Minstrelsy," *op cit.*, xxxv, No. 69, pp. 66-86, January, 1827 Percival replied to this question as follows "Such versions are not at all to my taste They seem to me a poor sort of literary trifling. I would recommend the writer to stick to his punning Jongleurs and not deform the simple native poetry of the Servians." See the letter of Percival published on pp. 444-453 of Wartel, *Unpublished Biographic Study*, mentioned in Note 12. Bowring refers to these translations in a more flattering manner, in a footnote on p. 28.

* Serbian for "heroic songs"

²⁷ This appeared in 1833, as mentioned in Note 5.

been appointed State Geologist of Connecticut in the meantime, and was already mired in reports to the State Legislature on the rock formations of New Haven County. Thus, though eager to lend a hand, he was obliged to put Talvj off with the vague statement that, if she could wait until May, he might be able to do something for her. The letter in which Percival made this statement²⁸ reveals the poet in a new mood from that in which Talvj had caught him in 1835. Under the pressure of work and of interests outside himself, he had so far banished poetry and languages from his mind as actually to have lost confidence in his ability to do a satisfactory job, either of translation or of versification.

That Serbian folk verse still fascinated him, despite his preoccupation with the geological survey, we know, however, from the fact that, in the midst of his refusal to become Talvj's translator, Percival kept returning, nevertheless, to the Serbian verses, and in several cases showed Talvj how he would render them if he had the time. In the same letter, also, he laid down his own guiding principle as a translator, using Talvj's insistence on "*recht gut und treu*" as his starting point for quite a sermon on the subject. A translation should, he declared, be first of all "*recht treu*," and then, if possible, "*recht gut*," "*strictly faithful*," that is, "though a little inferior in composition," rather than "perfect as a composition, yet unfaithful to the original."

Talvj was disappointed indeed when Percival's letter arrived. To his letter of February 26, she replied on March 11, appealing to him to be definite as to whether he could help her or not, and taking up with him, at the same time, the matter of principles of translation in general and of those employed by Percival in particular in a sheaf of his own translations into the German, which he had evidently sent her for appraisal.

Boston, März 11, 1836.

Werthester Herr!

Ich entschliesse mich freilich nicht gern zu warten, da mir die Beendigung meiner Arbeit aus mehreren Gründen sehr am Herzen liegt, allein wenn es so seyn muss, so will ich warten, da ich die Ueberzeugung habe, dass niemand, der es sonst für mich thun könnte, es so mir zur Genüge thun wird, wie Sie. Wenn ich mich nur aber *insofern* auf Sie verlassen kann, dass Sie die Arbeit im May wirklich vornehmen werden! *Darf ich das?* — wenn dem so ist, so will ich, wie gesagt, viel lieber warten, als mich an jemand anders wenden. — Dass Sie die Sache nicht nach meinem Sinne ausführen sollten, fürcht' ich nicht. Ich will nicht behaupten dass

²⁸ The letter referred to in Note 26

mir Ihre Übersetzung *durchaus* zusagen werde — dies ist wohl nie der Fall bey Übersetzungen aus Sprachen mit denen wir selbst vertraut sind, und niemand ist von den Mängeln und Unvollkommenheiten meiner eignen serbischen Uebersetzungen mehr durchdrungen wie ich — allein ich weiss dass es nicht leicht einer machen wird als Sie, und so mache mich gern in Voraus anheischig, Ihre Übersetzungen aufzunehmen, Sie mögen ausfallen wie Sie wollen. Aber ich frage noch einmal, darf ich mich auch gewiss auf Ihre gutige Hülfe verlassen, verehrtester Freund? Das Ausbleiben derselben wurde mich nachher in die grosste Verlegenheit setzen.

Ihre Grundsätze beym Uebersetzen sind ganz die meinen,²⁹ nur mit der Verstärkung, dass ich keine Uebersetzung für *gut* halte, die nicht *treu* ist. ~~Im Ganzen~~ Nur halte ich Grimms *bloss* wortliche,³⁰ nicht geistige treue, nicht für die wahre Uebersetzer treue. Es ist mir unbegreiflich wie sich ein solcher Mann so tauschen kann! Seine Uebersetzungen aus dem Serbischen sind so affectirt, so steif und holzern, dass man sie kaum lesen kann. Ich selbst hatte zwar, als ich meine Uebersetzungen herausgab, im Wesentlichen dieselben Grundsätze, die ich jetzt habe, nemlich dass *geistige* Treue das erste, *wortliche* Treue das zweyte, *wohlklingende* Verse aber erst das dritte Bedingniss einer guten Uebersetzung sey, allein im einzelnen würde *ich jetzt* viel treuer seyn *Wohlklingende Verse* können in einigen Fällen zur geistigen Treue gehören, z. B., bey manchen Spanischen und Italianischen Stücken. Unter geistiger Treue versteh' ich besonders eine Reproduction des Eindrucks den das Stück im Original macht, in so fern dies möglich ist, und stolpernde Verse müssen natürlich einen ganz verschiedenen hervorbringen von der Melodie der Originale, besonders derer, in den südlandischen Sprachen, beym Serbischen ist das wohl nicht so wesentlich, doch auch nicht ganz zu übersehen. — Das Versmass — — — — —, so beliebt im Serbischen, ist durchaus nicht statthaft im Deutschen. Ich habe es mehreremal versucht, es nahm sich aber unangenehm aus. Ein Paar Stucke schickt' ich (doppelt übersetzt) Gothen³¹ zur Entscheidung zu, er verwarf aber den Dactylus am Ende ganz entschieden. Der Austausch mit den fünf Trochaen schien mir auch um so unverfänglicher, als diese letzteren nicht bloss in den Heldenliedern vorkommen, sondern in eben so viel Frauenliedern als das Mass von vier Trochaen und einem Dactylus zum Schluss. In meiner Uebersetzung Spinnerin und Zar,³² scheint die Veränderung willkürlich. Ich

²⁹ A further statement by Talvj of her principles as a translator is to be found in her article on Spanish Popular Poetry, *North American Review*, LIV, 421. "A strict adherence not only to the form and to the genius of the original as a whole, but also to the peculiar modes of expression, so far as these constitute the individual feature of its physiognomy — this is what we now require from a translator of poetry."

³⁰ Percival had probably seen Grimm's translation of the ballad on the building of Scutari, "Die Aufmauerung Scutari's," *Kunst und Alterthum*, v, No. 2, pp. 24-35, and compared it with Talvj's own translation and with Bowring's. Grimm was, of course, the one responsible for Talvj's interest in Serbian folk poetry in the first place, as is well known.

³¹ See her correspondence with Goethe, especially the portion cited in Note 15.

³² *Volkslieder*, II, p. 3.

weiss selbst nicht mehr, was mich dazu bestimmte, wahrscheinlich blosser Bequemlichkeit. Wenn Sie, werthester Herr, serbische Lieder hätten von Serben *lesen* hören,³³ würden Sie wie ich, diese Veränderungen als unwesentlicher betrachten. Das originale Versmass verschwindet ganz zum Lesen, ich meine, der Versfall, an dem [sic] Deutsche und Engländer gewohnt sind. Beym Lesen klingen die serb. Verse mehr wie die Italianischen³⁴ ottave rime, wo nur ein gewisser Tonfall beobachtet wird. Darauf bezieht sich meine in der Vorrede³⁵ zum zweyten Theil meiner Uebersetzung ausgesprochne Verlegenheit ueber die Behandlung der Namen. Die Regeln der Scansion sind so verschieden von dem Accente dass sich ein Ausländer nicht leicht ganz darin finden wird.

Leider habe ich Ihre Uebersetzungen aus dem Russischen,³⁶ etc., noch nicht zu Geschichte bekommen können. Mein Mann hat mir versprochen Dr. Hayward³⁷ aufzusuchen, allein noch nicht dazu kommen können. Ich möchte sehr gern *wo möglich* etwas von Ihren Russischen Uebersetzungen benutzen, mit meinen bin ich nichts weniger als zufrieden. Bowring hat wenig eigne[n] Volkslieder übersetzt; auch übersetzt er zu f[re]y. Doch greif' ich leicht dass er sich für einen treuen Übersetzer hält, nach dem ich Lockharts Spanish ballads³⁸ gesehen. Ist es möglich dass *solches Verfahren* in der englischen Literatur für Übersetzen gilt? Haben Sie jemals Spanische Romanzen übersetzt? Wie würde ich Ihnen danken wenn Sie mir eine aus dem Cyclus der zwölf³⁹ pairs übersetzten.

Sie wollen eine Beurtheilung Ihrer deutschen Verse von mir. Zu einer vollständigen Critic habe ich jetzt nicht Zeit, auch liesse sich die besser mündlich als schriftlich geben. Ein Dichter werden Sie in jeder Sprache seyn, so viel aber habe ich wohl selbst bey dem flüchtigen Durchblick gesehen, dass Sie sich manche Lizenzen erlauben, die nicht statthaft sind. Für manche können Sie vielleicht Autoritäten in den deutschen Dichtern finden, allein deswegen kann die Critik sie doch nicht billigen. Auch die

³³ She herself heard them from the lips of Vuk himself. He visited Halle as a guest of the celebrated grammarian Johann Severin Vater (1771–1826) in 1823. See Vasmer, "Bausteine," *op. cit.*, p. 87.

³⁴ The above mentioned Wilhelm Müller was one of the first foreigners to become interested in Italian popular poetry. See his *Rom, Romer und Romerinnen* (Berlin, 1820), I, 47 seq. It was probably from Müller himself and from this work of his that Talvj became interested in it, in turn.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. vi–vii.

³⁶ The translations from the Russian referred to by Talvj are Percival's English versions of some of the folk poems in Otto von Goetze's *Stimmen des russischen Volks in Liedern*, Stuttgart, 1828, which Percival owned. The translations had been published in the *Connecticut Journal*, New Haven, May 1, 8, and 15, 1832.

³⁷ Dr. George Hayward (1791–1863), a well known physician of Boston who, like George Ticknor, often befriended Percival.

³⁸ She is referring to the 1842 edition of John Gibson Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic*, reviewed by herself later in the *North American Review*. See Notes 2 and 17.

³⁹ Grimm's *Silva de romances viejos*, 1815, introduced Talvj to this in 1823; see Vasmer, "Bausteine," *op. cit.*, p. 47.

Syntax ist in mehreren Fallen undeutsch, der Artikel manchmal ausgelassen wo er nicht ausgelassen werden darf, . . etc. *Wünschen Sie* eine vollständige Critik, so will ich sie bey mehr Musse vornehmen, allein in diesem Falle machen Sie sich auf vollkommne Aufrichtigkeit und einige Scharfe gefasst, denn ich achte Sie zu sehr, um mit Ihren geistigen Producten *nachichtig* zu seyn

Es bleibt bey *Kranken Doitschin*,⁴⁰ bey *Marco* etc., und *der Schlacht auf dem Mischarfelde*. Eine Uebersetzung von dem kostlichsten aller Gedichte, viz., *Marco's Tod*, konnten Sie mir noch als Zugabe geben. B's Uebersetzung ist gar zu schwach.

Mr. Robinson empfiehlt sich Ihrem Andenken. Mit vollkomner Hochachtung Ihre ergebenste

THERESE ROBINSON
geb. v. J.

Percival's reply to the above must have been that he could not possibly make a definite commitment, whereupon Talvj must have abandoned at once all idea of waiting for him, for in her article on Slavic folk poetry, which appeared in the *North American Review* for July (1836), there are no translations from the Serbian by Percival. The article did, however, contain translations of his,⁴¹ made years earlier, from Goetze's German versions of Russian folk songs. Evidently Talvj got hold of these, finally, probably from Percival himself in response to her appeal in the above letter and, lacking better material, decided to use them, even though they had not been translated directly from the original, as she would have preferred.

Percival's complete absorption in his duties as State Geologist now made further collaboration, or even correspondence, with Talvj impossible. It is a pity that this friendship had to be broken off so quickly for it is conceivable that, if it had been permitted to develop, something worthwhile might ultimately have been produced from it. It would have rescued Talvj from the feeling she must have had that, in dealing with Slavic matters, she was working in a vacuum, and Percival it might have cured of his waywardness and lack of persistence. Talvj might have administered exactly the right mixture of encouragement and discipline his brilliant but erratic mind needed: we see a foreshadowing of this in her reaction to his German verses. Unfortunately the two discovered each other too late. In 1835 Percival's cloistered days, when he had the time and energy for linguistic research and study, were already at an end, and he was ready to embark

⁴⁰ See Note 25.

⁴¹ The three translations by Percival were. "Thine Alone till Death," *op cit*, 101-102. "The Postilion," p 105, and "The Boyar's Execution," pp 108-109

on that "active employment"⁴² which President Dwight of Yale had years before urged him to pursue

Talvj longed above all to propagate the fruits of German scholarship and research in the field of folk poetry in her new homeland. She yearned to "aid," as she said, "in the wider coinage" of "the gold which the accomplished miners of our day, Grimm, Muller, etc., with such tireless energy and with characteristic discernment, have brought up from the depths of the mine shaft."⁴³ She hoped, when she discovered Percival, who also would have liked to perform this service, that she had found the one who could make her dream a reality. But Percival was a poor reed to lean upon, as everyone found who tried to work with him, and she was doomed to disappointment and disillusion. What she accomplished in her chosen mission she was obliged to do alone, without help from anyone.

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⁴² Julius Hammond Ward, *Life and Letters of James Gates Percival* (Boston, 1866), p. 39.

⁴³ *Versuch einer geschichtlichen Charakteristik der Volkslieder der germanischen Nationen* (Leipzig, 1840), Vorwort, p viii

THE IMPROVISOR¹

BY PRINCE VLADIMIR ODOYEVSKI
(Translated from the Russian by Jeannette Eyre)

“Es möchte kein Hund so langer leben,
Drum hab’ ich mich der Magie ergeben.”

GOETHE

THE LOUD NOISE of applause sounded through the room. The improvisor's success exceeded the expectations of his hearers, and even his own. A theme had hardly been assigned him when exalted ideas and touching sentiments, expressed in sonorous verse, burst from his mouth like fantastic apparitions from a magic altar. The artist did not pause to think even for a moment: in one instant the idea came to birth in his head, went through all its periods of growth, and was transmuted into expression. The ingenious form of the piece, the poetic images, the elegant epithet, and the obedient rhyme, all appeared simultaneously. And this was not all: he was given two or three completely different subjects at once: he dictated one poem, wrote a second, and improvised a third. Each was beautiful in its own genre: one evoked rapture, a second moved to tears, a third made one die of laughter. But he seemed hardly interested in his work — he constantly made jokes and talked with the audience. All the elements of poetic composition were at his fingertips like men on a chess-board, which he moved carelessly, with only a perfunctory glance.

At last both the attention and the amazement of the listeners grew weary; they suffered for the improvisor; but the artist was cold and composed — not even the slightest weariness could be discerned in him — yet on his face not the high satisfaction of the poet content with his creation could be seen, but only the simple self-satisfaction of the prestidigitator who has astounded the mob with his dexterity. With a smile he looked upon the tears, the laughter he had called forth; he alone, of all those present, did not weep nor smile; he alone did not believe his words, and treated inspiration like a frigid priest who has long since become accustomed to the mysteries of the cathedral.

Hardly had the last listener left the room, when the improvisor

¹ Vladimir Fyodorovich Odóyevski (1803–1869) was the most learned and the most distinguished among the Russian romanticists. An able public servant, musical critic, editor, scholar, and philosopher, he contributed to Russian literature a number of short stories marked by the influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann. As in the present story, Odóyevski often raised his voice against the mechanization of life and the deleterious affects of material progress and comfort on genuine culture. “The Improvisor” is offered in English translation as his most representative work.

hastened towards the money which had been collected at the door, and set about counting it with the eagerness of a Harpagon. The collection was very considerable. The improviser had never before in his life seen so much money, and he was beside himself with joy.

His rapture was excusable. In his extreme youth, cruel poverty had begun to press him in her icy embraces like the statue of the Spartan tyrant. Not songs, but the moaning of a sick mother had lulled his infant slumber. At the dawn of his understanding, life had appeared to him in no rainbow garb: the cold skeleton of want had welcomed his unfolding fancy with an immovable smile. Nature was somewhat more generous to him than fate — she, in truth, endowed him with a creative gift, but condemned him to search in the sweat of his brow for the expression of his poetic ideas. Book-sellers and journalists paid him something for his poems, money which might have sufficed to keep him had not Cipriano been obliged to spend endless time on each of them. Rarely in those days did some dim idea, like a barely visible star, come to birth in his fantasy; and when it was engendered, it grew lucid slowly, and long was lost in mist. Only after incredible labors did it attain some unclear form or other. Here a new work began: expression flew away from the poet behind myriad worlds; he could not find words, and if he did find them, they did not go well; the meter did not scan, a clinging pronoun dragged after every word; the long-bodied verb got confused among the nouns, the cursed rhyme hid itself among inharmonious words. Each verse cost the poor poet several gnawed pens, torn-out hairs, and broken finger-nails. His exertions were all in vain! Often he wanted to abandon the profession of poet and change to the lowest of all trades; but mocking nature, together with the creative gift, gave him all the poet's oddities as well: that innate passion for independence, that unconquerable aversion to any mechanical occupation, that habit of awaiting moments of inspiration, and that carefree inability to calculate time. Add to that all the poet's irascibility, his natural inclination to luxury, to that English abundance, to that small tyranny by which, in despite of society, nature loves to distinguish her own aristocrat! He could neither translate nor work on time or order; and whereas his confreres gathered up substantial sums of money from the public for some work or other which happened to awaken its curiosity, he still could not resolve to apply himself to work. Book-sellers stopped giving him orders; not one of the journalists wanted to take him as a collaborator. The money which he received from time to time for some poem or other which had cost him half a year's work was usually snatched up by creditors, and again he was in the direst need.

There lived in that town a doctor, Segeliel by name. Thirty years ago he had been known by many for a fairly learned man; but he was very poor then, and had such a small practice that he decided to give up the medical profession, and entered trade. For a long time he voyaged through India (so it was said), and at last returned to his native land with bars of gold and a multitude of precious stones. He built a huge house with a great park and equipped it with a large number of servants. People noticed with surprise that the years and his prolonged travels in hot climates had not effected any change in him. On the contrary, he appeared younger, healthier, and fresher than before. It seemed no less surprising, too, that plants of every climate grew well together in his park in spite of the fact that there was no supervision at all. Furthermore, there was nothing out of the ordinary about Segeliel; he was a handsome, stately man, well-bred, with fashionable black whiskers; he wore clothes that were loose but smart; he received the best society, but himself almost never went out of his huge park; he lent young men money without asking for pledges; he kept an excellent cook and wonderful wines, loved to sit long at table, to retire early and to get up late. In a word, he lived in the most aristocratic luxurious idleness. What is more, he even did not give up his science of healing, although he applied himself to it unwillingly, like a man who does not like to trouble himself; but when he did undertake it he performed wonders. Whatever the disease — a fatal wound, or the last convulsive spasms — Doctor Segeliel had hardly come to look at the patient, asked two words about him of his family (as it were for form's sake), taken some sort of fruit-beverage out of his pocket, ordered the patient to take it — and the next day it was as if the sickness had never existed. He took no money for his treatment, and his disinterestedness, combined with his singular skill, might have attracted the sick of the whole world to him, if he had not stipulated very strange conditions for his cures. These were, for example: to show him signs of respect, which bordered on the basest humiliation; to commit some very repugnant act or other; to throw a considerable sum of money into the sea; to tear down one's house, to leave one's native country, and so forth. It was even rumored that he sometimes had asked a payment which . . . about which discreet tradition had not kept any information. These rumors chilled the enthusiasm of relatives, and after some time no one hurried to him with a request, the more since it was observed that when those who made a request did not agree to the doctor's proposal, the sick person invariably died. The same fate befell whoever conducted a lawsuit with the doctor, or said something unfavorable about him or merely did not

please him. As a result of all this, Doctor Segeliel contracted a great number of enemies. Some of them began to investigate into the sources of his incredible wealth; physicians and apothecaries said that he did not have the right to cure by illicit means; a large number of them accused him of the greatest immorality, and some even said that he had poisoned those individuals who had died. The general complaint finally obliged the police to submit Doctor Segeliel to an examination. The most thorough search was conducted. The servants were questioned. Doctor Segeliel consented to everything without any opposition, and allowed the police to do everything that they wished. He did not interfere in anything, hardly deigned them a glance, and only smiled scornfully from time to time.

As a matter of fact, they found nothing in his house except gold dishes, rich incense-burners, comfortable furniture, arm-chairs with pillows and springs, extension-tables with various devices, several beds surrounded by perfumes and set on the sounding-boards of musical instruments — in the style of the beds of Dr. Graham, who often collected hundreds of pounds sterling from English voluptuaries for permission to spend the night in them. In short, they found in Segeliel's house only the intentions of a rich man, a lover of sensual satisfactions, only all that goes to make up a comfortable, luxurious life; but nothing, absolutely nothing which might awaken the slightest suspicion. All his papers consisted of commercial correspondence with bankers and prominent merchants of all quarters of the world, some Arabic manuscripts, and bundles of papers covered with figures from top to bottom. At first these last-named objects greatly rejoiced the police officials; they thought they would find a letter in code in them; but on careful examination it appeared that they were simply accounts in rough-draft, accumulated, according to Segeliel, from trade dealings of long standing — as was very probable. In general, Segeliel answered all the points on which he was accused very clearly, satisfactorily, and without any confusion; in all his words and actions there was discernible more vexation at being bothered for such nonsense than fear of getting into trouble by his answers. To explain his wealth, he referred to his papers, in which the whole history of his commerce could be seen. This trade, in truth, he carried on with magical success, and, what is more, did not include one evil deed. To the doctors and apothecaries he replied that his doctor's diploma gave him the right to cure whomever and how he wished; that he did not press his curing on anyone, that he was not obliged to declare the contents of his medicine, and, what was more, they could analyze it as they liked. And, he went on, since he was not proffering his services

to anyone, he had the right to designate whatever pay he liked; and that if at times he set down strange conditions, which everyone was free to accept or not, it was only to deliver himself of the tiresome crowd which was disturbing his quiet — this was the only goal of his wishes. Finally, on the question of poisoning, the doctor countered that, as was known to the whole city, he treated for the most part people who were complete strangers to him; that he never inquired the name of the patient, nor the name of the person who came to ask him, nor even his dwelling-place; that the patients, when he refused to treat them, died because they had come running to him only when they were already at the last gasp. In conclusion, he said that his enemies had probably died in the natural course of events, and, moreover, proved by eyewitnesses and proofs that neither he nor anyone from his house had even the slightest relation with the deceased. Segeliel's servants, examined one by one with every judicial trick, bore up all his testimonies word for word. In the meantime the investigation went on, but everything they discovered spoke in Dr. Segeliel's favor. The learned council which had subjected Segeliel's medicine to chemical analysis announced after long deliberation that this famous medicine was nothing more than simple river water, and that the action supposedly produced by it must belong to the realm of fairy-tales, or be attributed to the imagination of the patients. The testimony collected about the illnesses of the people of whose death Segeliel was accused showed that not one of them died suddenly, and that the greater part of them had died of chronic or hereditary diseases. Finally, in the post-mortems conducted on the persons who were most strongly suspected of being poisoned, not even the trace of poisoning was revealed, and only the familiar, ordinary signs of common illnesses were revealed.

This suit, which attracted a great throng of people to the city, was spun out over a long period of time, since the accusers made up almost a half of its inhabitants. But at last, since the judges were not forewarned against Dr. Segeliel, they were obliged to declare unanimously that the accusations which had been brought forward against him had no basis whatsoever, that Doctor Segeliel should be released from the court and from every suspicion, and that the complainants should be assessed for costs according to law. When the sentence was pronounced, Segeliel, who had maintained complete indifference up to this time, appeared to become animated. He brought into court at once unquestionable proofs of the damages inflicted by this suit on his extensive trade relations, and asked that they be investigated together with his accusers, from whom, moreover, he demanded satis-

faction for the disgrace inflicted on him. Never before had such indefatigable activity been observed in him: he seemed regenerated; his pride vanished. He went in person from court to court, paid untold sums of money to the best lawyers and sent messengers to all quarters of the globe. In short, he used all the means he found in the law, in his wealth, in his connections, for the sure destruction of his accusers, of all members of their families down to the last man, and of their relatives and friends. At last he achieved his aims: many of his accusers were deprived of their situations, together with their only means of livelihood; all the property of several families was delivered over into his possession by the courts. Neither prayers nor tears of the ruined people moved him; he drove them cruelly out of their dwellings, destroyed their houses, their establishments into rot; he tore out the trees by their roots and threw the harvest into the sea. It seemed as if nature and fate aided his vengeance: his enemies to the last man, their fathers, their mothers, and their children, died a death of torment. In one family a contagious fever appeared and consumed all the members; in another place an ancient illness, long dormant, sprang up anew; the smallest bruise in youth, an idle prick of the finger, an insignificant cold — all turned into mortal illnesses, and soon the very names of whole families were stricken from the face of the earth. The same thing happened to those who fled from the punishment of the laws. And this was nothing: if a storm arose, or a whirlwind, the clouds went past the fortress of Segeliel, and burst on the houses and barns of his enemies. Many people at that time saw Segeliel come out on the terrace of his park and merrily touch glasses with his friends.

These proceedings at first evoked a widespread horror, and although Segeliel, after his lawsuit, moved to the city of B., where he began to live anew just as luxurious a life as before, many of the inhabitants of his native place, who knew in detail all the circumstances of the lawsuit and were angered by Segeliel's actions, did not give up their plan to destroy him. They turned to old men who still remembered earlier suits on witchcraft, and, after having talked with them they drew up a new accusation. In this they explained that, although in accordance with the existing laws Doctor Segeliel could not be prosecuted, it was impossible not to perceive in his actions some sort of supernatural powers, and therefore asked that the old witchcraft laws be revived, and the matter be investigated anew. Fortunately for Segeliel, the judges into whose hands this petition fell were enlightened men. One of them was famous for his translation of Locke into his native tongue; a second, for a very important work on jurisprudence, to which he applied the Kantian system; a third had ren-

dered significant services to atomic chemistry. They could not refrain from smiling to read this strange petition, and returned it to the complainants as unworthy of consideration. One of them, out of the goodness of his heart, added thereto an explanation of all the cases which had seemed extraordinary to the complainants. Thus, thanks to European enlightenment, the doctor Segeliel continued to lead his luxurious life, to gather the best society around him, and to cure according to the conditions he laid down himself. And his enemies, as before, continued to fall sick and die.

It was to this fearful personage that our future improviser decided to turn. As soon as he was admitted, he threw himself on his knees before the doctor and said:

"Master Doctor! Master Segeliel! you see before you the most unfortunate man on earth: nature has given me a passion for poetry, but has deprived me of all means of pursuing this inclination. I have the ability neither to think nor to express myself; I want to speak, and I forget the word; I want to write, and it is even worse; God could not have condemned me to such eternal suffering. I am convinced that my misfortune is the result of some sort of illness, some sort of moral tension, which you are able to cure."

"See, sons of Adam," said the doctor (this was his favorite proverb, when he was in a good humor), "children of Adam! They all remember their father's privilege; they would like to get everything without working for it! And it is better for you to work in this world. But still, so be it," he added, and was silent for a minute, "I will help you; but you should know that I have my conditions. . . ."

"Whatever you like, master Doctor! whatever it is you propose, I will agree to it all; anything is better than to die each minute."

"And you are not frightened by what they say about me in your city?"

"No, master Doctor! you cannot imagine anything worse than this situation I am now in." (The doctor smiled.) "I shall be frank with you: it is not only poetry, not only the desire for fame that attracted me to you, but another, a tenderer feeling. If I am more adroit in writing, I can secure my position, and then my Charlotta will be better disposed towards me. . . . Do you understand, master Doctor?"

"That's what I love," exclaimed Segeliel, "like Mother Inquisition, I love frankness and trust in myself, to the point of death; misfortune befalls only the man who wants to play tricks with us. But I see you are an upright and candid person; and you must be rewarded according to your deserts. And thus we will agree to fulfill your request and give you the ability to *produce without labor*, but our first condition

will be that this ability will never leave you — are you agreed to that?"

"You are making fun of me, Master Segeliel!"

"No, I am a frank person, and I do not like to hide anything from people who commit themselves to me. Listen to me and understand me well: the ability that I give you shall become a part of yourself; it will not leave you one moment in your life; it will grow, mature, and die with you. Are you agreed to that?"

"What doubt is there, Doctor?"

"Very well, my second condition consists of the following: you will see *everything*, know *everything*, understand *everything*. Are you agreed to that?"

"Truly you are joking, master Doctor! I do not know how to thank you. . . . Instead of one good, you give me two . . . how could I not agree to it?"

"Understand me well — you will know everything, see everything, understand everything."

"You are the most beneficent of men, master Segeliel!"

"Then you are agreed?"

"Without a doubt: do you need a receipt?"

"It isn't needed! That was all very well at the time when bills of exchange did not exist between people; but now folk have become clever; we'll go without a receipt; you will not cut out the spoken word with an axe as you can the written. Nothing on earth, my dear friend, *nothing* is forgotten or destroyed."

With these words, Segeliel put one hand on the poet's head, and the other on his heart, and recited these words in the most solemn voice:

"From secret magic take thou the gift: to ponder on everything, to read everything on earth, to speak and write, lovely and light, sad and in fun, in verse and prose, in heat and cold, awake or asleep, at table, in dust, with knife and pen, by hand, by tongue, in laughter and tears, in all languages. . . ."

Segeliel pressed some sort of paper into the hand of the poet and turned him towards the door.

When Cipriano went away from Segeliel, the doctor cried out with a laugh: "Pepe! the frieze coat!" "Ahu!" resounded from all the shelves of the doctor's library, as in the second act of *Freischütz*.

Cipriano took Segeliel's words for an order to a servant; but he was surprised that such a strange garment was meant for the elegant, luxurious doctor. He peeped through the crack and what did he see! — all the books on the shelves were in motion; from one of them leaped out the figure 8, from another the Arabic Alif, and then the

Greek Delta: and more and more, until finally the room was filled with lively figures and letters. They stooped convulsively, grew longer, swelled up, interlaced their awkward legs, jumped, and fell. A countless number of dots circled among them like infusoria in a sunny microscope, and an old Chaldean polygraph beat time with such force that the frames rattled in the windows. . . .

The frightened Cipriano hastened to flee headlong. When he had calmed down somewhat, he unfolded Segeliel's manuscript. It was an enormous roll, written over from top to bottom with incomprehensible figures. But hardly had Cipriano looked at them when he was animated with supernatural powers, and understood the meaning of the wondrous writings. In them was reckoned up all the forces of nature. the systematic life of the crystal, the unbounded fancy of the poet, the magnetic palpitations of the earth's axis, the passions of the infusoria, the nervous system of languages, and the capricious changes of speech. Everything lofty and moving was brought into arithmetical progression; the unforeseen was expounded in the binomial of Newton; poetic flight was defined by a cycloid; a word, born together with a thought, was changed into logarithms; an involuntary ecstasy of the soul was made into an equation. Before Cipriano all nature lay like the skeleton of a beautiful woman which the prosector has boiled out so skillfully that no living fiber remains on it.

In one instant the high secret of the conception of an idea seemed to Cipriano a very easy and ordinary affair; a devil's-bridge with Chinese rattles extended for him over the abyss which divides thought from expression, and Cipriano began to speak in verses.

At the beginning of this tale we saw Cipriano's remarkable success in his new profession. In triumph, with a full wallet, but somewhat tired, he returned to his room. He wanted to refresh his congealed mouth; he looked in the glass; it was not water that was in it, but something strange; two gases were struggling with each other, and myriad infusoria were swimming through them. He poured out another glass with the same result. He flew to the spring; from a distance the waves poured forth like silver — he approached, and it was the same as in the glass. The blood rose to the head of the poor improviser, and in desperation he threw himself on the grass thinking that in sleep he might forget his thirst and his sorrow. But he had hardly lain down when suddenly beneath his ears resounded a noise, a clatter, a squeaking — it was as if a thousand hammers were beating on anvils, as if rough pistons were rubbing through a heap of stones, as if iron rakes were catching hold of a smooth surface and sliding along it. He got up and looked; the moon lit up his little garden; the

striped shadow of the garden gate stirred softly on the leaves of the shrubbery, nearby the ants were building their hill. — Everything was calm and quiet. He lay down again, and the noise began anew. Cipriano could sleep no more; he passed the entire night without shutting his eyes. In the morning he hastened to his Charlotta to seek rest, to confide in her his joy and sorrow. Charlotta had already learned of her Cipriano's triumph, and was waiting for him. She dressed herself up, fixed her light-red hair, twined a rosy flower in it, and looked into the mirror with innocent coquetry. Cipriano flew in, hurried up to her—she smiled, and held out her hand to him. Suddenly Cipriano stopped, fixed his eyes on her . . . In very truth, it was curious! Through the cellular membrane, as through muslin, the three-headed artery called the heart began to tremble in his Charlotta; the red blood rushed out of it and, reaching the capillary vessels, produced that tender whiteness which he used to love so much. . . . Unhappy creature! in the beautiful eyes, filled with love, he saw only a species of camera-obscura, a net-like membrane, a drop of revolting liquid; in her graceful walk, he saw only a mechanism. . . . Unhappy man! he saw the gall-bladder, and the action of the food-receiving apparatus . . . Unhappy man! Charlotta—this earthly ideal, before whom he had prayed and received his inspiration—had become for him an anatomical preparation.

Cipriano left her in horror. In a nearby house there was a picture of the Madonna to which Cipriano had been accustomed to fly in moments of discouragement. Its harmonious countenance used to quiet his suffering soul; he ran to it, threw himself on his knees, and began to pray—but lo! it was no longer a picture for him. The colors moved on it and he looked into the creation of the artist—it was only chemical fermentation.

The unfortunate man suffered incredibly. Everything—sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch—all the senses, all his nerves received microscopic faculties, and in a given focus the smallest speck of dust, the smallest insect, which would not exist for us, oppressed him and left him no peace. The fluttering of a butterfly lacerated his hearing; the smoothest surface tickled him. Everything in nature analyzed itself before him, but nothing united in his soul; he *saw everything, understood everything*, but between him and other people, between him and nature was an eternal gulf. Nothing on earth was sympathetic to him.

If he wanted to forget himself in a lofty piece of poetry, or to come upon a profound thought in historical researches, or to rest his mind in a well-built philosophical edifice—it was all in vain: his tongue

lisped the words, but his thoughts presented something entirely different to him.

Through the delicate shroud of poetic expressions he saw all the mechanical props of composition: he felt how the poet became weak, how many times he broke off the verses, that seemed to have poured spontaneously from his heart. At the most pathetic moment, when as it seemed all the internal forces of the poet were at play, and his pen seemed unsuccessful on account of the words, and the words on account of the ideas—Cipriano saw how the poet stretched his hand for the “Academic Dictionary” and sought out an effective word, he saw how in the middle of a ravishing depiction of quiet and the world of the soul, the poet boxed the ears of a capricious child who was bothering him by his crying, and held his own ears against the force of his wife’s vociferatory power.

In reading history, Cipriano saw that elevated consoling thoughts about the general fate of humanity, about its constant process of perfection, as well as profound conjectures on the subject of great movements and the character of one nation or another, which, it seemed, proceeded themselves from historical researches—in reality were maintained only by the artistic concatenation of the powers of the latter—as this concatenation was maintained by that of authors who wrote on the same subject, and that, in turn, on the artistic concatenation of the chroniclers, and that on the mistake of a clerk, on which the jugglers balance their edifice as on a needle.

Instead of being amazed at the symmetry of a philosophical system, Cipriano saw how first of all there was engendered in the philosopher a desire to say something new. Then he chanced on a happy, impassioned expression; and as he adds an idea to this expression, so to the idea he adds a whole chapter, to this chapter a book, and to the book a whole system. And where the philosopher abandoned his strict form, carried away, as it were, by a powerful feeling, and entered into a brilliant digression, there Cipriano saw that his digression only served to screen the middle of a syllogism, and that the philosopher felt the play of words himself.

Music ceased to exist for Cipriano. In the rapturous harmonies of Haydn and Mozart he saw only the aerial expanse, filled with countless little spheres, which one sound moved to one side, another to another side, a third to a third; in the wail of the oboe, so moving to the heart, in the sharp sound of the horn he saw only mechanical friction; in the singing of the Stradivariuses and Amati, only intestines, over which horse-hairs were gliding.

In the presentation of an opera he felt only the torment of the composer of the music, of the Kapellmeister. He heard the instruments tuning up, the roles being learned — in short, he perceived all the delights of the rehearsal. In the most pathetic moments he saw the frenzy of the regisseur behind the wings, his quarrels with the supers and scene-shifters — hooks, staircases, ropes, and so forth.

Frequently in the evenings Cipriano fled out of his house into the street. Shining carriages flashed past him, people with jolly faces returned under the peaceful family roof from their daily labors; in a lighted window Cipriano looked at a picture of quiet family happiness, on a father and mother surrounded by capering children — but he did not even have the satisfaction of envying this happiness. He saw how through a retort of social conditions and proprieties, rights and obligations, the sense and rules of morality, a family poison was perfected which burned through the nerves of the soul of each member of the family. He saw how the children wearied the gentle, solicitous father; how the thoughtful son impatiently awaited his father's death; how passionate spouses, holding one another by the hand, reflected on which of them would first be taken from the other.

Cipriano lost his senses. Leaving his native land, in hopes of finding salvation from himself, he fled through various countries, but everywhere and always he continued as before to see everything and understand everything. Hardly had his microscopic faculty become stilled for a moment, when verses poured forth from his mouth like water; hardly had he checked his frigid inspiration, when again all nature became animated for him with a dead life, and appeared to his eyes unclothed, indecent, like a naked woman with shoes on. With what sorrow did he remember that sweet suffering when in the past rare inspiration came to him, when nebulous forms came before him, became agitated, and flowed one into the other! Then the forms grew clearer and clearer; a swarm of poetic creations extended to him from the other world, slowly, like a long kiss of love; they drew near, an unearthly warmth breathed from them, and nature fused with them into harmonious sounds — how delicately, how freshly in the soul! Oh vain, oh grievous memory! It was in vain that Cipriano wished to conquer the struggle of the inimical forces of Segeliel; hardly had an imperceptible impression touched the irritated organs of the sufferer when the microcosm vanquished him anew, and the immature idea burst forth into expression.

Cipriano wandered for a long time from land to land; sometimes want obliged him anew to have recourse to the pernicious gift of Segeliel. This gift obtained abundance for him, and with it all the

material satisfactions of life; but there was poison in each of the pleasures, and after each new success his suffering increased.

At last he decided to make use of his gift no longer, to smother, to crush it, to buy it by the price of want and poverty. But too late! After protracted struggles the edifice of his soul was shaken — the delicate bonds which unite the mysterious elements of thought and feeling — and they fell in pieces like glasses filled with caustic acid. In his soul neither thoughts nor feelings remained; there was left only some kind of phantoms, discharged in the form of words which he himself could not understand. Poverty and hunger tormented his body, and he wandered long, living on charity, he knew not whither. . . .

I found Cipriano in the village of a landowner of the steppes. There he exercised the office of buffoon. In a frieze overcoat, girded up with a red kerchief, he constantly delivered verse in some language mixed of all languages. . . . He himself told me his history, and complained bitterly of his poverty, but even more of the fact that no one understood him, that he was beaten when, in the heat of poetic rapture, he carved up tables with his verses for lack of paper. But even more he complained that everyone laughed at his only sweet memory, which the hostile gift of Segeliel could not destroy — of his verses to Charlotta.

A SHORT WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE SLAVS¹

By FRITZ T EPSTEIN

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¹ Originally prepared at the suggestion of Mr Louis Adamic, this basic bibliography is printed here as a possible aid to journalists and research-workers generally.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

GEORGE L. TRAGER, *Introduction to Russian, a Course for College Students* Preliminary Edition (Published with the support of the American Council of Learned Societies), New Haven. Department of Oriental Studies, Yale University, 1942.

"THIS WORK" — its Preface says — "is intended to fill the need for a beginners' textbook in Russian based on the application of the principles of linguistic science to the problems of teaching a language. It is . . . believed to be accurate as far as it goes."

Among the numerous foreign manuals of the Russian language there are many a pedagogically and scientifically valuable handbook compiled by linguists, specialists in this language, as e.g. *Spoken Russian* by S. C. Boyanus and U. B. Jopson (London, 1939), A. Pedersen's Danish textbook, O. Broch's Norwegian, S. Kopecký's Czech, R. Košutić's Serbian, L. Tesnière's French, E. Berneker's (in K. Vasmer's revision) German. But even aside from these highly-qualified handbooks, it should not be difficult to name several decent occidental textbooks. Though they often suffer from an insufficiently scientific approach or lack of pedagogic experience, one can at least rely upon their imparting elementary information on the sounds and grammatical forms of Russian. At present it is truly easy to state the basic data on standard Russian, inasmuch as Russian orthoepy as well as the grammatical norm, are codified with sufficient preciseness and stability (save some subsidiary details) and circumstantially set forth in a whole line of textbooks for both Russians and national minorities, for both lower and higher schools of the Soviet Union, for both pupils and teachers. To be sure, it is possible and necessary scientifically to make more accurate and profound the comprehension of Russian sounds and forms, but in an introduction to standard Russian by no means is it possible to pay no heed to the existing linguistic canon, taught everywhere and disseminated by the theatre, films, radio, literature and press — the Canon resting in the first place upon the tradition and living speech of Moscow. It is sufficient to open the excellent explanatory dictionary of the Russian language compiled by the most eminent contemporary Russian specialists under the editorial supervision of the "celebrated Russian scientist and teacher" Professor Ushakov (cf. *Language*, xviii [1942], 307) and published in 4 volumes by The State Institute "Sovetskaya Enciklopediya" (Moscow 1935-1940),¹ it is sufficient particularly to run through the rules of Russian pronunciation and morphology given in the introductory paragraphs to avoid the great majority of errors and slips which bespeckle Trager's new book. These countless errors partly against standard Russian, partly against the Russian of Russians in general, cause us to view this manual with the gravest suspicion.

For simplicity's sake, in both the quoted and our own examples we retain Trager's transcription, phonemic as well as phonetic, setting the

¹ *Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka*.

latter apart in square brackets after his own pattern. We have allowed ourselves but a single change of symbols in the phonetic transcription. Trager renders by [ǎ] the pretonic, and by [a] the qualitatively and quantitatively reduced vowel of the other unstressed syllables: [galǎvá], but the superior arclet over a letter is the universally accepted sign of brevity, and, accordingly, complying with tradition, we have taken the liberty of deviating on this point, and we render the first variant simply by [a] and the second by [ə]: [gəlavá].

Trager uses the letter *j* only for marking the palatalization of a consonant, and there is nothing to say against this procedure. But if scientific linguistics fought for the "emancipation from spelling" (Sweet) and justly condemned the paper rules of ancient Russian school grammars speaking of ending-pairs *a-a*, *y-yo* etc., it is still more absurd to apply such paper formulas when using phonemic transcription — for we employ it instead of traditional spelling just in order to forego a paper approach. And yet again and again the author applies such formulas e.g. "the Pl. ending (of the past) is *ji*, not *i* as in the short adjectives" (152), though what should have been said is that the ending in both cases is the same but the consonant at the end of the stem is palatalized in the former case but not in the latter. To say that in Locative "jé becomes é after *c*" (132) is equivalent to speaking of the ending "he" after alveo-palatal sounds (which the author renders by *sh*, *zh*, *ch*)¹.

The place of stress is one of the most pertinent differentiating means of the Russian word. In a manual of Russian for foreigners it is therefore important to place the word-accent accurately. Yet in a great many cases Trager locates the accents altogether arbitrarily. For instance we turn to p. 144, and find there such accentuations as *djishiví* (inst. of *djóshivi*), *vjisjílí* (for *vjésjili*), *tjimjón* (for *tjómjin*), *múdrjin*, *N múdrjina*, *F múdrjina*, *Pl. múdrjini* (for *mudrjón*, *mudrjinó*, *mudrjiná*, *mudrjiní*), and on the next page: *krjiví* (for *krjívi*), *daragí* (for *dóragi*), *krasjivéyi*. True, forthwith the author remarks that "the comparative may also be *krasjívjiyi*." The trouble is that the first form is used only in skits mimicking alien speech. At every turn in the Introduction we come upon such unheard-of forms as VII *úchashchiksa*, 63 *Pl. sjtjiní*, 174 *fjíta*, 191 *xrjsjtjýanjín* and even in the paradigm examples: 63 *Pl. sjtjiní* (for *stjéni*), 130 *Pl. glubjiní*, *glubjinám* etc., — "like *glubjiná* are declined all nouns in -á of three or more syllables, except three-syllable words in which the first two syllables contain the phoneme-sequences *ala* or *ara*" (in this rule everything is inaccurate and mixed up, cf. *glubjini* etc., *krasóti* etc., *pastjili* etc., further *sjérjidi*, *zhéljizi*); 132 *GPl. cháyif* (for *chiyóf*); 133 *krjépasjtjiy*, *krjépasjtjam* etc. (for *krjipastjéy* etc.); 220 *cérkvam* etc. (for *cirkvám* etc.), 170 *miljítj* (for *míljitj*), *udváyítj* (for *u-dvóitj*). Along with invented accentuations we repeatedly find in the book obviously dialectal accentuations, alien to standard Russian, e.g., 152, 154 *bálavatj* etc., 146 *adverb tjómna*, 132 *A gúbu*. . . .²

² S. Obnorski, *Imennoe sklonenie v sovremennom russkom jazyke* (Leningrad, 1927), p. 270.

As is well-known, Russian distinguishes two types of composition — the so-called free and the close: compounds with two accents and with a single accent. Compounds belong to the first type (a) if the first member retains its grammatical ending, (b) if the first member is a compound, or (c) if there is no syntactical subordination between the two members³ But altogether arbitrarily and in defiance of living Russian pronunciation, Trager ranks among two-accent compounds also such formations as 126 *ftòra-sjtjipjénny* (for *ftara- . . .*), *kròva-praljtjiya* (for *krava- . . .*), 187 *bjèla-rúskiy* (for *bjila- . . .*), 189 *plòda-ródnij* (for *plada- . . .*), 95 *na-sàma-ljótax* (for *sama- . . . [səmaljótəx]*), but alongside *na-paraxódax*, 104 *f sùxa-pútnij* (for *suxa- . . .*), *xlàdna-króvjija*, but alongside *puljmjót* etc “Medial stress” has been invented by the author both for these formations and foreign words like 45 *rádjiò*, 97 *pòéma* which are sporadically pronounced with an *o*, but of course with no subsidiary accent.

The author commits no fewer slips in marking the gradation of accents in word-groups. Unfortunately he has not availed himself of the copious literature on the rhythm of Russian prose and he supposes that this question “is entirely new” (III) A grave blunder of the handbook is that it constantly confuses the accentual relations within the word and within the word-group, whereas in Russian these two kinds of relations, as is well-known, sharply differ in both their phonetic nature and their role in language. Such transcriptions as 192 *palnatà-zakòna-dàtjiljnay-vlástji* are likely to bewilder any student for, in the first place, there is no “medial stress” on the component *zakana-* [*zakəna-*], and, secondly, the word *zakana-dátjiljnay* is linked much more closely with the subsequent word than with the preceding and according to Russian prosodic investigations these three words form a single “member” (or “colon”) of two “stress-groups” (or “speech-bars”): one word — in the first, two — in the second. The accent of *vlástji* is the peak of the word, of the “stress-group” and of the “member,” the accent of *palnatà* is the peak of the word, of the “stress-group,” but not of the “member,” and, finally, the accent of *zakana-dátjiljnay* is merely the peak of the word. Either one has to give the students a correct idea of the accent-distribution in a Russian phrase or to omit this matter, but it is inadmissible to give them utterly incorrect information. Just this unhappy confusing of the laws of word and word-group explains the author’s erroneous idea that in monosyllabic accessory words the vowel is subject to the same changes as the stress-less vowels of a polysyllabic word, and he operates with such invented forms as 71, 73, 117 *na* “but” [*na, nə*], e.g. [*abjèt-prastóy, nafkúsnyj*], 95, 97, 117 *ta*, e.g. *ta-rabòchij-davóljin*], 77, 78 *chim-*, *tjim-*, 58 [*ə-, a-*] “but, and,” (inst. [*no, to, chem, tjem, a*]). Finally Trager’s assertions about the distribution of force within a word run counter to all testimony of Russian phonetics and Russian verse: 89, “in *záftrakayu* the *-yu* is the weakest syllable.” Cf. the direct-contrary observations of

³ (a) *chitirjòx-arshínnyj*, *sarvjì-golova*; (b) *paravòza-straftjiljnij*; (c) *sjevjrà-zápat*.

the renowned Korsh and other Russian metricians concerning the propensity of the final vowels toward a subsidiary accent in such forms as *prijpíjsavalji*.

It may be generally said that in treating the phonic side of Russian the Introduction gives either quite erroneous or, at best, inexact and incomplete rules. We shall venture to confine ourselves to a few examples so as not to copy whole chapters.

According to Trager's assertion (37) and phonetic transcription, the stressless [a] is not subject to reduction into "mid-central mean" only in the immediately pretonic syllable, and thus, he imposes the pronunciation 83 [əgarót], 72 [ə-pazdátj, əpjúljsjín], 67 [ə-djívátse, ət-lazhnóy] etc. And yet in standard Russian at the absolute beginning of a word [a] is always heard here ([agarót] etc.), while in the few popular dialects where this *a* has undergone a reduction, it has mostly changed into [i] or [u]. The pronunciation with initial [ə] is peculiar to foreigners with a limited mastery of the Russian language, who produce such forms under the influence of combinations such as [v-əgarót, on-əpazdál] Trager notes that "some speakers use *a* . . . in all initial syllables whether pretonic or not," but such things, too, are observed only in a superficial and poor mastering of the rules of standard Russian pronunciation (1) by persons with a non-Russian mother-tongue and (2) half-literate Russians accustomed to speak such northern popular dialects as not only preserve the stressless [ə] but in general are unacquainted with the reduction of unstressed vowels.

Instead of these "some speakers," there is much rather noteworthy the vigorous and ever-spreading Leningrad variant of standard Russian, a variant which in the immediately pretonic syllable has against Moscow's [a] the sound [ʌ] which phoneticians relate to the vowel of English words such as *sun*.

In a pretonic syllable after so-called "soft" consonants⁴ and after *sh*, *zh* there occur in Standard Russian nowadays but two phonemes — *u* and *i* — with which *e* has coincided in the Moscow and Petersburg Standard Russian during some recent decades. In a manual of the Russian language either the newest or the more archaic vocalism may be used as a starting point, but Trager uses a third way — he devises an arbitrary system: in his conception of the Russian language *i* corresponds to the historic *e*, but the historic *a* has become *i* only between two soft consonants; in other positions the pretonic *a* has been preserved and, accordingly, Trager writes e.g. 157 *tjanútj*, 197 *s-vjazátj*, 191 *yazík*, 72 [chasóf], further 74 [zharkóyə], 156 *zhaljétj*, 133 *lashadjéy*, but, on the other hand, for some unknown reason 84 [tjizhóliy] It must be said that such distribution between pretonic *a* and *i* (*tjanútj*, but *sjíló*, *pjítjí*, *ljítjétj*) does not exist and did not exist either in Standard Russian or

⁴ This term usually denotes the Russian consonants produced by flattening the mouth resonator and subsequently marked by a raised timbre, cf. S. C. Boyanus, *A Manual of Russian Pronunciation* (London, 1935), p. 13 ff.

even in any of the Russian dialects. As for pretonic *a* after soft consonants, in Muscovite literary monuments of the xiv–xvth centuries we already find numerous clear proofs of its change into *e*,⁵ and the Russian orthoepic norm of the xviii century presents forms like *pljesátj*, *yezík*, etc. Trager becomes still more entangled in rendering post-tonic vowels after soft consonants and *sh*, *zh*.

The description of the pronunciation of stressed vowels is full of vagaries. Untrue is the allegation that *sh* and *zh* affect the preceding or subsequent vowel as do the “soft” consonants (91). Here Trager has muddled two essentially different facts—the distribution of vowel phonemes and the distribution of contextual variants (allophones) of one and the same vowel phoneme. The choice of vowel phonemes after *sh* and *zh* is the same as after soft consonants, but the choice of variants of a vowel-phoneme is the same as when adjoining “hard” (non-soft) consonants. True, on page 32, the author modifies his assertion: in their phonetic influence on the adjoining vowel, *sh* and *zh* count in the class of palatalized and palatal consonants only “in Central Russian (Moscow standard) and Southern Russian, but in Northern Russian (Leningrad standard) *sh*, *zh* do not count as one of two palatalized consonants surrounding a vowel.” Thus, according to Trager’s assertion, Moscow standard prescribes [yesh] with a mid-front narrow vowel, the same as in the word [yéy] or in [vjésj], whereas Leningrad Standard — [yéy], but [yésh]. However, “Moscow” pronunciation [yésh] etc rests completely on the author’s conscience. All Russians, save in those single popular dialects where *sʹ*-sibilants and *s*-sibilants have coincided in intermediate sounds, pronounce [yésh] exactly as [yé̯m]. However, Trager contradicts also himself at every step: on page 29, for instance, contrary to his previous citations, he justly ascribes to the sounds *sh*, *zh* together with the other hard consonants an influence exactly opposite upon *e* following them: “in these positions the vowel is lower and less tense than elsewhere”—[shést, cén]. But Trager errs grievously in ranging with them also *ch* and *y*. In reality these consonants affect an adjacent *e* in the same sense as do the other soft consonants: the vowel in [yést] is the same as in [mjést], whereas Trager lumps together [yést] and [shést], despite all data of Russian phonetics. Similarly confused as well are Trager’s remarks on the pronunciation of the other stressed vowels. For illustration let us cite the amusing transcription 65, 68, [prə-vazháyt] (but [prə-vazhátj]), 72, 74 [zhárjitj], 81, 83 [gərazhánjin] with [ə] “low-front narrow just about the same as English *a* in *hat*” (31). And yet the vowel of this set is pronounced in Russian only between two softs—vzjátj, somewhat farther back in sequences like vzját, njiljzjá, still farther back when between a preceding hard and subsequent soft consonant—skazátj, zhátj, zhárjitj, and farthest back—out of the vicinity of softs—át, zát, zhát, kazá.

The characterization of such cardinal phenomena of the Russian con-

⁵ *istezaju*, *svetogo*, *vezati*, etc

sonantism as the difference of softness and hardness is full of shortcomings. The description of articulation is particularly superficial and slowly. As Baudouin de Courtenay has already shown, foreigners, in whose language there is no contrast between soft and hard consonants, are inclined to identify an unfamiliar category of softs with some utterly different, but to them habitual category, e.g., with voicing; to this sort of erroneous interpretations belongs Trager's assertion that "the voiceless palatalized consonants give the effect of an aspiration" (38). The author's affirmations (cf. 18) to the contrary notwithstanding, neither palatalization of consonants nor emphatic speech are linked with aspiration in Russian. Nay, any kind of aspiration of consonants is utterly foreign to Russians, in the Germanic languages they master it with difficulty; and, any foreigner's attempt to aspirate some Russian consonants produces a sharply unnatural impression upon natives.

The Introduction speaks of the velarization of the Russian hard *l* but repeats the usual mistake of foreign handbooks when it passes by in silence the tendency toward labio-velarization as a characteristic feature of Russian hard consonants in general: foreigners have to be taught how to pronounce not only the soft but also the hard Russian consonants

In the Introduction, the distribution between hard and soft consonants is frequently erroneous, e.g., Trager writes 190 *sjévjirj* (for *sjévjir*), 173, 174 *el* (for *elʲ*), 166 *pjismó* (inst *pjisʲmó*), 89 *tmá* "multitude" (inst. *tʲmá*), 53 *f.*, 147 *sjémj*, *vósjim* (yet Moscow standard Russian preserves the softness of the final labial in both words, and in those provincial varieties of Russian where *vosjim* is heard, *sjem* is likewise pronounced). Inexact is the author's affirmation that soft *k* [*kʲ*], "occurs only before *e*, *i*, and *y*." Cf. [tkjot], and in words of foreign origin [xʁənjikjór, kjuvjétkə]. Trager's reading in such cases -kyu, kya (39, 179) are wholly arbitrary, cf. [kjáxtə] and [lukjýán].

The distinction between etymological softness and hardness of consonants (except *l*), in the position before soft dentals and labials, does not occur so that to consonants in the afore-mentioned position we are entitled to apply Trager's formula that here they "are functionally indifferent as to palatalization: though phonetically they may be palatalized or non-palatalized, or one or the other depending on circumstances" (89). It would seem this formula is fully applicable to the Russian treatment of consonants before softs, the more so as in passing from a phonetic to a phonemic transcription, Trager sets forth the following sensible rule: "Remember that all you are doing is simplifying the writing. The pronunciation remains as always, and you must remember how and where to pronounce the special varieties of sounds you are no longer to write" (93).

But contrary to this rule, Trager himself excessively complicates his phonemic transcription, when he persistently represents the softening of a consonant before softs. Yet, if we know, e.g., that dentals are palatalized before palatalized dentals or labials, there is no purpose in transcribing *sjvjisjtjétj*, but it is sufficient to write *svjistjetj*, just as in phonemic

writing the author does not denote the narrow variant of *e* — *sjvjisjtjetj*, wherefore we must merely remember the rule that between two palatalized consonants *e* is represented by the narrow variant — [*e*]. But what matters here is not economy alone. The crux of the matter is that softness of consonants before another soft is not opposed to hardness; it is devoid of a differentiating function; it is simply a phonetic anticipation of the following palatalization; and this mechanical anticipation can offer all possible grades of palatalization, all possible degrees of the resonator's compression from the zero stage, i.e., hardness, through various intermediate half-hards or half-soft variants up to complete softness. Instead of a stable norm which the author would like to impose upon the students, we observe here various individual vacillations, even more, one and the same person in the same utterance freely varies his pronunciation: [*sjvjisjtjetj-svjisjtjetj-svjistjetj-svjistjetj*] and a whole gamut of intermediary grades. Even Trager feels constrained to acknowledge a series of such fluctuations: 41 [*chérjtji*] or [*chértji*], 178 *djvérj* or *dvérj*, *tvjórdiy* or *tjvjórdiy*, *fúntji* or *fúnjtji*. The author writes: "[*sjrjédnjiy*] — note *d*, not *dj*, before *nj*" (41). But this is utter arbitrariness. Just before a soft *r* initial dentals are always hard in standard Russian. There are no fluctuations here, and in any manual of Russian phonetics or orthoepy Trager would find enough illustrations. Per contra "a group of faucal consonants+soft *n* constitutes one palatal whole,"⁶ and no Russian who pronounces [*e*] between two softs will say [*sjrjédnjiy*] with wide [*e*]. Similarly, and again contrary to Trager, are pronounced the groups *d* or *t*+soft *l*, and again the preceding *e* is perforce narrow [*e*]. If Trager were to be believed, labials "are not palatalized before another consonant," yet in such groups as [*ljubvjí*, *ímjbjírj*, *djéjkkji*], in standard Russian, as is well-known, for the most part softening is observed. In a word, any rule in the manual is dead ballast which finds no confirmation in the facts of the language and is capable of implanting a jumble in the students' heads. In spots the author's subtilizing transgresses all boundaries in its baseless arbitrariness: e.g., he introduces the distinction — 101 *vasjpji-tájilj* "educator," but *vas-pjitánjiya* "education," *vas-pjítivatj* "to educate," or 125 *razvjítjiya* "development" but *raz-vjítj* "to develop," (and in the vocabulary 101, the author gives *raz-vjítjiya* in spite of his own rule). Pity the credulous students!

The impression is created that the author wished to turn every relation exactly inside-out. Thus at the end of a word, hardness and softness of consonants are strictly distinguished in Russian regardless of what follows, but Trager invents a rule that in word-groups such as [*vjèsj-sjimjéstr*] "the whole term," "any palatalized consonant becomes the corresponding non-palatalized" — [*vjès-sjimjéstr*] (118). Phonetically we have here in reality "a long palatalized sound," then why must we identify this combination [. . . *èsjsj* . . .] with a different combina-

⁶ A. Shakhmatov, *Očerķ sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka* (Leningrad, 1925), p. 70.

tion [. . . essj . . .] in cases such as [vjès-sjljítŕi] "the weight of salt-peter" and transcribe both different sequences quite identically—vjès-sjimjéstŕ and vjès-sjljítŕi!?

The author possesses a striking faculty for tangling up, by incorrect rules, even the simplest matter such as, e.g., the question of voiced and voiceless consonants. He says that a voiced can be preceded only by a voiced consonant; "the only exceptions are that *p*, *t*, *k* as well as *b*, *d*, *g* precede *v* and *vj*" (46). Trager thus forgets the widely-current groups *xv*, *sv*, *shv*. "In Southern Russia most speakers pronounce the inherent final voiced consonants as such" (90). However, it is a generally-known fact that the unvoicing of all voiced consonants at the end of a word is a peculiarity common to both the southern and the northern varieties of the Russian language.⁷ Only in archaic dialects of a few villages of the North and South has the sporadic preservation of final voiced consonants been observed. As for the "Southern Russian" peculiarity of which Trager speaks and which, according to him, "is widespread among native speakers," manifestly the reference is not at all to native Russians, but to speakers whose mother-tongue is either Ukrainian or Southern Yiddish, and they have imparted their linguistic habits to the Russian language in the process of learning it.

Trager says that "the pronunciation indicated in the Introduction is in general standard Moscow Russian" (II), but in a number of cases just this standard pronunciation is mirrored neither in his transcription nor in his description of Russian sounds. E.g., with him we constantly find the cluster *shch*, but such pronunciation is decidedly alien to the Moscow Russian, where a soft *sh*, normally prolonged, corresponds to this group: [shjshji, pjishjshjú, vjèshjshj, bórjshjshj, móshjshjniy]. Trager constantly transcribes: *shch*, and in the last-named word, simply *sh* (180), although in any variety of standard Russian whatsoever, there is sharply distinguished the Fem. short form [mashjshjná] "powerful" (< . . . shch . . .) and [mashná] "pouch."⁸ According to the present-day norm of Russian standard pronunciation, "the letter *ш* is sounded as a long soft *sh*,"—this is the only pronunciation recognized and recommended by Ushakov's Explanatory Dictionary (Vol. I, col. xxxiii), and corresponding information we find in numerous scientific and practical manuals dealing with Russian speech-sounds. But if Trager's testimony concerning the reflex of the group *shch* is incomplete and inexact, for some reason he passes by in complete silence its voiced counterpart. And yet, in the Moscow pronunciation, the long soft *sh* finds its voiced partner in the long soft *zh*⁹ [vózhzhjshji, dazhzhjshjá], whereas in regional dialects we find the pair: either of the groups *shch-zhdh* or of long hard *sh* and *zh*.

⁷ N. Durnovo, *Vvedenie v istoriju russkogo jazyka* (Brno, 1927), p. 108.

⁸ Trager has either inaccurately rendered the pronunciation, or he has run up against a provincial archaic form móshniy, which goes back to the local Russian móchnoy, and not "to the Church-Slavonic móshchny, as the author avers.

⁹ *Tolkovyj Slovar'*, I, p. xxxiii, R. Košutić, *Gramatika ruskog jezika* (Petrograd, 1919), p. 127.

In the manual we should have expected either [zhzhjósh] conforming to standard Russian or [zhdhósh] in conformity with such transcriptions of Trager's as [schchi]; but the difference between [zhzhjósh] and [zhzhéch] has not been expressed in his representation: cf. 32 [zhzhósh] and 45 [zh-zhéch]. As a rule, in transcribing the reflex of the group *zhdh* the author reproduces uncritically the orthographic form; cf. 132 dazhdjá, while in standard Russian dazhzhjá is heard, and in a provincial standard — dazhdhá.

In general, in spite of the living Russian pronunciation and orthoepic rules, Trager often mechanically follows the spelling form of words in his transcription. A few examples: 100 klássjik (inst. klásjik), 55 [pa-rússkji] (inst. [pa-rúskji]); 59 [ras-skázivəyit] (inst. [raskáz . . .]); 40 [visókjiy], 73 [krjépkjiy], 74 [zhitkjiy] (inst. [. . . kəy]); 167 at-tálkivatj, i.e. [. . . kji . . .] (inst. [. . . kə . . .] or [. . . ki . . .]), 164 mítsa and other reflexives (inst. . . tca), but 132 atcá, though in both cases we have to do with one and the same sequence of consonants and only a different spelling; savjétskiy, etc. (inst. savjéckay); 157 búdjat, úchat, 161 gónjat, slíšhat, etc. (inst. . . ut); 56 [sîn-i-dóch, kàk-i-mushchínə], 57 [mùsh-i-zhíná], etc. (inst. [-i]) — a grave error often committed by foreigners beginning to read Russian. Hypnotized by the written word, Trager reaches the funny allegation (88) that [vmjéstə] “instead of” and [vmjésjtji] “together” contrast in pronunciation with the combinations [v-mjéstə] “into the place” and [v-mjésjtji] “in the place.” According to Trager, this difference is effaced often enough in rapid speech, “but in case of misunderstanding, the contrast can be easily brought out,” and, e.g., [v-mjéstə] could be pronounced so that the *v*- “almost forms a syllable by itself”: here the manual erroneously accepts as a fact of the living language the fact of artificial dictation aimed at spelling.

On the other hand, the author is often inaccurate in describing the functions of the Russian letters in their interrelation to sounds. Thus, in the words 179 yúlʹj, sacyálʹjniy (inst. iyúlʹj, saciálʹjniy) he reads the letter *ɲ* before a vowel mistakenly as a non-syllabic sound. The letter *ɲ* after a vowel he erroneously interprets as *yɪ* instead of *i* (176): 54 [yiyɪc], 58 [mjixayɪl], 59 [sə-stayɪt]. It is not true that the letter *ɛ* does not occur after *ch* (179). It is untrue that *ʙ* was used “with exactly the same sounds as *e*” (177): in contradistinction to *e* the letter *ʙ* denoted neither the stressless phoneme *a* (the single exception calúyu and other words of the same root), nor the phoneme *o* (with a couple of exceptions).

One of the most characteristic phenomena of Russian, the grouping of grammatic components into combinations of various grades and its influence on the sound structure of the language, has remained wholly incomprehensible to Trager. He attempted to fit the multifariousness of Russian interrelations into three arbitrary rubrics — close juncture, hyphen juncture, and space juncture — each of which, as it were, is characterized by specific sound-sequences. To Trager's mind, prepositions are in hyphen juncture with what follows, and *lʹji*, the interrogative particle, is always in close juncture with what precedes (87). But in real-

ity the consonant remains voiced before *l* in the first case (ab ljót) exactly as within the word (grjéblja), but it is lost in the second case (grjóp lji), as also in the combining of a particle with the following word (vjítj lófka) or on the border of two independent words (dup ljizhít). To fit in with his artificial heading "hyphen juncture," Trager treats the vocalism of conjunctions in the same manner as he does the vocalism of prepositions, and thus foists upon the Russian language a series of monstrous, non-existent sound forms, as, na- "but" or ta- "used to introduce concluding clause" (cf. above), whereas as a matter of fact these conjunctions constantly preserve their [o].

The too-broad category "close juncture" concealed from the author the well-known fact that the ending with what precedes it admits combinations of phonemes otherwise unknown; for instance, groups "soft labial + *u*" (chirvj-ú, gólubj-u, ljúbj-ut) and "soft consonant + unstressed *a*." Trager introduces a non-existing alternation of neuter nominative endings -*a* after hards, -*i* after softs (127, 133, nom. sg. pólji, kládbjíšči, but for unknown reasons znachénjiya), while in the quite similar stressless ending of nominative feminine or genitive masculine and neuter, he recognizes, under the influence of spelling, the phoneme *a* both after hard as well as soft (121 pjésnja, 133 gen. pólja). In certain forms treated by the author we find vacillation without rhyme or reason: 134 vrjémja, 74 [vrjémji] etc. . . . He did not take into consideration the simple rule of standard Russian that a stressless -*a* corresponds to stressed -*ó* and -*á* in endings (aknó, bjiljý — slóva, pólja; akná, bjiljýá — slóva, pólja; gará, zjimljá — vjéra, vólja) while a stressless -*i* corresponds to the stressed -*é* and -*í* (aknjé, bjuljý — slóvjí, pólji; garjé, zjimljé — vjérji, vólji; garí, zjimljí — vjéri, vólji).

The handling of grammatical questions is still considerably weaker in the book under discussion. First of all, the author adduces (and what is worse — principally in the rules and paradigms) non-existing words and forms. Thus, e.g., in the paragraph on derived verbs ending in -ítj (169 f.), of the eight examples two (miljítj, udvayítj) are given with wrong accents; one with faulty translation (pjirji-barjshchítj never means "to make or serve too-much beet-soup" but only "to be excessive in words or behavior"); one, z-dakumjinjtítj, is plainly Trager's invention; and one, krasjntítj, is a provincialism. In the Russian language there are no such verbs as 152 pásmurnjitj and 162 barótj (but only the reflexive barótca) nor Trager's paradigmatic 156f. pa-zhaljónniy "pitied" and na-davljónniy, nor the adverb bózhyi. From the standpoint of standard Russian, elementary errors are the author's paradigmatic forms 157 prji-vrachú (inst. prji-vrashchú), 161 bjizhú (inst. bjigú), 131 dáchij (inst. dach), 133, 220 matjirjmjí (inst. matjirjámji). "Many adjectives with bases in *t*," says Trager, "use the ending -*i* with *t* > *ch*, but bagátij has bagatjéyi" (146), and yet this form comes from popular dialects while in standard Russian there is but bagáchi. In the table of declension of the pronoun sám (142) is given accusative singular feminine samú, samayú or samayó, but the first two are provincial forms, alien

to standard Russian. One will find in Trager's book the dialectal form 83 kúra (but not at all its standard correspondent kúrjica), the non-existent Nom. manzhét, the non-existent Plur. of iga (28 genitive ík), the use of the verb 167 lópajtj "to burst" (instead of the reflexive form which with this meaning is the only one possible now in standard Russian).¹⁰ While inventing non-existent forms, Trager, on the other hand, repeatedly denies existing forms, e.g., he affirms that znavátj "occurs only in compounds," although a mere reference to, let us say, Ushakov's Dictionary (I, 1107) would suffice to convince him of the said verb's independent existence. Likewise, contrary to facts, Trager teaches that, as it were, the perfect active participle "is generally used only with perfective verbs" (155, but cf. igráfshiy, etc.), that the form pa-ydjómtji is devoid of the imperfective counterpart (236, but cf. idjómtji), that compound imperative forms like búdjim shchitátj or the simple forms of the superlative "are not very common" (241, 146) that gerunds "are not very frequent in spoken Russian" (156), that one of the most usual of Russian conjunctions [də-] occurs "in tales and proverbs only" (58) etc.

The author translates the meaning of the interpreted forms in a very slipshod manner. E.g., the adjective radnýy "generic" (123) he derives from rôt "species, kind," whereas in reality it means only "natal, native, own, germane," and is, of course, connected with the basic meaning of the word rôt "family, kin, clan" Trager says: na-sjvjítú "out in the open," but na-sjvjétji "in the light" (134), whereas only the first form means "in the light." Very questionable are also Trager's literal translations of different grammatical forms, e.g., the anglicising of the paradigmatic meaning of the form pjók "he was baking" (152)¹¹ or his explanation of the form prjiytj "to come" (125): prji — "before" (! ?), literally "to go before, in front of" (! ?). The imperative búdjim does not literally mean "we shall" (52), because that is the literal translation of the complete indicative form mí búdjim. Already Fortunatov and his disciples had long since brilliantly demonstrated that the Russian "reflexive" form denotes merely intransitivity, and does not at all mean "to . . . oneself," as the ancient school grammars taught, yet Trager uncritically repeats this worn-out legend (164) and translates "literally": (63) u-patrjbljáyutsa "use themselves," na-xódjatsa "they find themselves," although a Russian might render this English word-group only with the words na-xódjut sjibjà, and the suffix -sa, -s may be interpreted as a reflexive pronoun historically only, but by no means synchronically. This is not the only case where the author mechanically confuses description with historical approach. E.g., among the alternations active in the Russian language one must not cite "поопámjitj 'memory,' where páv is a form from the same base as pó" (119), for in present-day Russian pá- in

¹⁰ This dialectal verb lópajtj is humorously apperceived in present-day standard Russian as having the meaning "to gorge, stodge, stuff, snap" and it figures in parodies on the "Russian" slang of Odessa's denizens: anj lópayut, ash tarjelki lopayut (they gorge, 1. that even plates crack; 2. they stodge even the plates)

¹¹ Cf., frequently baked, once (upon a time) baked, never baked.

pámjítj has completely lost connection with the preposition and prefix pó-.

The very systematization of grammatical facts in the Introduction is casual, fragmentary, helpless and attests at every step to a striking lack of knowledge and comprehension of the Russian grammatical pattern. Thus, e.g., in his extremely confusing exposition of so simple a question of grammar as the Russian short (nominal) forms of adjectives, Trager maintains: "Adjectives like bóžhiy never have short forms. A few adjectives have only short forms in the N, and are then declined in the other cases like long adjectives, such are the personal possessives móy, tvóy, svóy, násh, vásh, the word vjésj, the adjectives in -in or -ín, in -af or -of; the demonstratives état and tót . . ." (145) But in reality all the enumerated pronouns have only short forms in the acc. sing. fem., too, and in exactly the same way "adjectives like bóžhiy" have only short forms in the above-stated categories (with the alternation bóžhiy↔bóžhya cf. a similar alternation trjívózhin↔trjívózhna), and bóžhiy, chéy are declined exactly as nash, moy, etc. And the adjectives in -in, -ín, -af, -óf, have short forms, besides, in gen. and dat. sing. masc.-neut. There is no less confusion in the description of the inflexion of nouns and verbs, and particularly in the question about the functions of grammatical forms.

It is not true—as Trager particularly emphasizes—that genders are purely conventional: on the contrary, each one of them contains a wholly definite negative meaning: *femininum* denotes that a noun *cannot* signalize a male human being, *masculinum* denotes that the noun *cannot* specify a woman, *neuter* that it *cannot* specify sex. The author understands full well that a mechanical enumeration of sounds without singling out and determining the phonemes is insufficient from either the scientific or pedagogic viewpoint, but just as unsatisfactory is the mechanical enumeration of the uses of each case without defining its general meaning. Such atomistic enumeration without reduction to a common denominator or with a faulty generalization¹² makes active mastery of the Russian case-system extremely difficult for the students—I say this on the basis of many years of experience.

In general, as soon as the author tackles one of the peculiar Russian categories, one of those which constitute the chief stumbling block in teaching Russian to occidental people, he is completely out of the picture. Thus, nearly all that Trager says of Russian verb-aspects is wrong. In Russian linguistic literature, it has long since been made clear that perfective aspect always denotes the absolute termination of an action, but Trager adds: "or its beginning" (151). Whereas Russian inchoative verbs, denoting the inception of an action may belong to the perfective as well as to the imperfective aspect, e.g., nachátj—nachínátj (to begin), za-gavarjítj—za-gavárjivatj (to begin to speak). Here the

¹² E.g., how to apply Trager's definition of the instrumental as the case "of means or instrument" (127) to such instances as bil saldátam, smatrjél vólkam, ubjít vragóm?

perfective aspect perforce denotes the termination of the inception. Concerning iterative forms of the type *táchivatj*, Trager says that their meaning is often that of repeating an action (150). Not "often," but always and not merely "repeating," but habitualness of action in a distant past; accordingly, these forms have no present tense—what the author does not even mention. The forms known in Slavistics as indeterminate aspect (*plávati*, etc.) indicate, according to Trager, "a repeated and habitual motion," in contrast to forms of so-called determinate aspect (*plítj*, etc.) which indicate "a motion in general" (168). But why, if such be the case, do we write: *ja ni razu v žizni ne plaval—segodnja ja v pervye plaval—ty uže plaval?—ja plavaju, no ne prichoditsja*.

As a matter of fact, the determinate aspect denotes unity, integrality, indivisibility of an action, whereas indeterminate verbs do not imply any indication to that effect. The indeterminate aspect does not involve an additional characteristic in comparison with the determinate, — as Trager would have it — but just the opposite.

It is curious that in the book, general definitions nearly always err against reality and are, therefore, utterly useless. Thus, in case we took Trager's word that "verbs that do not have the two passive participles are intransitive" (151) we should have to class verbs such as e.g., *zhrátj* "to devour" among intransitives, in spite of their use with a direct object. To characterize the form *paydjómtji* as an "inclusive imperative" (154, 151) in contrast to the form *paydjóm*, is quite incorrect, for in both cases are included both speaker and hearer: the only difference is that the form *paydjómtji* (like the form of the second person *paydjítji*) takes in the hearer denoted by *ti* (plural and polite form of the second personal pronoun) while the form *paydjóm* specifies nothing concerning the addressee and (like the form *paydji*) primarily includes the hearer denoted by the pronoun *ti* (i.e., by the familiar singular second person pronoun).

In his running observations on word-building, the author heaps up hit-and-miss casually snatched details without serious regard to the function of the various affixes. E.g., to him, the suffix *-kiy* (i.e., *-kay*) is the unstressed form of *-ókiy* (i.e., *-ókay*), but what is to be done about pairs such as *shiraká—uská?* In a real comparative description of these suffixes it should have been said, instead, that every adjective with an *-ók(-ak-)* suffix expresses a large scale in contrast to the small one, which is expressed in this case by the suffix *-k-*: *visókay* (high) — *njískay* (low), *shirókay* (wide) — *ús kay* (narrow), *glubókay* (deep) — *mjél kay* (shallow), *daljókay* (far) — *bljískay* (near), *zhistókay* (cruel) — *krótkay* (mild).

The "Russian" phrases presented and analysed in the Introduction also leave much to be desired; e.g., the author wants to explain the partitive genitive and the very first of the two illustrations given is quite wrong: e.g. 218 *ón yést xljéba*; 56 *màljinkaya-djévushka na-zivàyitsa-djévachkay*: a mere glance into a Russian dictionary would have shown Trager that *djévushka* = "a person of female sex having reached sexual maturity, but not having yet entered into wed-

lock," and that thus the above-quoted sentence literally means: "a little mature virgin is called a female child." Etc. etc. . . .

Whatever question the author touches upon, one error rides another, and even in the brief cultural-historical excursus, the only one in the book (172), we are informed e.g., that the Old Church Slavic alphabet "was devised in the tenth century" (although it is generally known that the Slavic apostles employed it already in the sixties of the ninth century) and that the Cyrillic alphabet "is still used to write Old Church Slavic, the language of the Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian churches" (although in any handbook whatsoever it is stated that the term *Old Church Slavic* is applied exclusively to the language of works of the ninth, tenth and eleventh, but never to later modifications of the Church Slavic language).

We have dwelled in such detail on Trager's Introduction to Russian because "there is a greater need than ever before in the history of the world for learning foreign languages" — as a gifted American linguist recently stressed — "and for learning them as quickly and as efficiently as possible" (*Language*, XIX [1943], 203), and particularly the rational study of Russian becomes in this country an important, urgent and responsible task. Under such conditions a manual of Russian literally crammed with errors, and at the same time mentioning two highly-authoritative academic institutions on its title-page, can be especially dangerous. It is unforgivable to offer the intensive courses, where every hour and every effort of the young people has to be carefully husbanded, such a text-book which rather encumbers the way, quite difficult enough in itself, to the mastery of a foreign and distant linguistic pattern. Frankly speaking, it is quite incomprehensible how a qualified, trained linguist could pile up such a profusion of faults without having consulted even an elementary text-book or a desk-dictionary; how, while stumbling at every step against the simplest rules of Russian pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, he could lose the sense of self-criticism to the extent of asserting nevertheless that he "speaks Russian as a native (though secondary language)" (*Language*, XIX [1943] 273); and how, finally, he contrived so badly to misread the data furnished by native informants.

ROMAN JAKOBSON,
Columbia University.

REVIEWS

NINA VERKHOVSKOY HYDE and FILLMORE HYDE, *Russia then and always*. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1944. Cloth, pp. xi-331. \$3.00.

TO THE ever-growing list of books on Russia (most of which should never have been written or published) is now added one which attempts to depict the continuity of Russian history from its earliest times through its present Soviet aspect. The thesis is not a novel one. It has its origin in the writings of the Slavophiles of the last century and has been developed in our own times by the Eurasian school (*yevraziytsy*) and the Young Russian group (*mladorossy*). In simplified form it maintains that

the State of Russia is not European but Eurasian, that Russia has developed a culture all its own, in which the influences of the West were only a temporary and unnatural veneer; and that Europe has been a constant and pernicious enemy of Russia

Into this straight-jacket the authors attempt to squeeze the multifaceted history of Russia, and the result is bewildering to any serious student of Russia past and present. The earlier part, dealing with Kievan Russia and the Moscow tsardom is a hodge-podge of legend, folk-lore and historical fact that would take more space than this review permits to untangle. In the modern period the authors develop an ultra-nationalistic tendency for the support of which they are ready to distort historical truth.

Thus they assert that Russia had fought all her Balkan wars "to protect the Orthodox Slavs" (p. 194); that Catherine the Great had named Alexander her heir instead of Paul and that the latter had destroyed her will (p. 197); that in 1812 Moscow was "deliberately set ablaze" by the Russians (p. 201); that Nicholas I "declared Poland incorporated into Russia" (p. 228); that Russia intervened on behalf of the Greeks in 1821 (p. 230); that by the Treaty of Paris of 1856 Russia was prohibited from operating "merchant ships" in the Black Sea, was forced "to make Sebastopol a free port" and had to relinquish "the province of Bessarabia" (pp. 238-239); that Alexander II had dispatched Russian warships to New York and San Francisco during the American Civil War out of sympathy for the North (p. 245); that in 1871 Russia declared the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris void and "without waiting for permission, proceeded to reclaim and fortify her harbors" (p. 249); that by the Congress of Berlin "England was given Cyprus and France allowed to occupy Tunisia" as "compensation" for Russian gains in the Caucasus (p. 250); that the Socialist-Revolutionary Party of Russia was Marxist (p. 254); that the treaty ending the Russo-Japanese War was signed in "Portsmouth, Maine" (p. 261); that "in 1907 England tentatively decided to withdraw her support from Prussia (*sic*) and to become a friend of France" (p. 262); that Grand-Duke Michael was persuaded to abdicate his rights in favor of "an all-Russian zemski sobor" (p. 271); that "Trotsky arrived from Canada" in 1917 (p. 272).

In addition to these historical misstatements the authors produce the following extraordinary pearls of interpretation: "Russia—Imperial Russia and Stalin's Russia, in 1815 as today—stood for moral radicalism in opposition to the economic conservatism of the more self-seeking West" (p. 210); "In Western language, Alexander became more reactionary. In Russian language, in his devotion to the Bible and the more mystical side of philosophy he grew more Russian" (p. 218); "For more than a thousand years the Russian Slav has exhibited a craving for both unlimited freedom and unlimited autocracy. Russia has wanted a democracy so complete as to include the right to reject all law. At the

same time she has demanded an autocracy unlimited by law" (p. 299).

Finally, in an appended essay on the "Pronunciation of Russian Names" the authors justify their spelling of the Russian general Suvorov as Suvarov on the ground that "the correct name would merely confuse the reader, who would be annoyed at not finding the name Suvorov in the common reference books" (p. 311). It may be of interest to the authors that the popular magazine "Life" spells the name correctly as Suvorov. As to the actual pronunciation of Russian names as given by the authors, this reviewer, though Russian-born and partly Russian-educated, has never heard — to quote only a few — such as the following: Aksakov — Ock *sock* off; Amur — Om *moor*, Astrakhan — Ass *track* hon, Baikal — By *coll* (like doll); Balkhash — Bahl *kosh* (like bosh); Baskak — Bahs *cock*; Bogdan — Bog *don*, Ermak — Yair *mock*; Kalinin — Coll *lean* in, Kolchak — Kol *chock*; Ladoga — Lod o'gah; Nathalie — Not *tal* E yah; Tmutarakan — T'moo tah rah *conn*.

There is no bibliography but the book is supplied with an index of names.

On the whole, it seems that this book is just another amateurish attempt to interpret Russia to the American reader which will only add further confusion to his mind.

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY,
Harvard University.

B. H. SUMNER, *A Short History of Russia*. New York. Reynal and Hitchcock, 1943 Pp. 469. \$3.75.

TO THOSE interested in Russian history Mr. Sumner has been known as the author of an excellent monograph on the Russian policies in the Balkans and of a number of learned articles dealing with various problems of Russian diplomatic history. This time he has written a book of a different nature — a general summary of Russia's historical development, which, in my opinion, is one of the best surveys of this kind as yet available in any language. The title of the book is somewhat misleading. It certainly is not a textbook of Russian history, and for a beginner it might be even slightly confusing because of the arrangement of the material and high degree of condensation. On the other hand, the book is much more than a mere "short history" of Russia. It is primarily a work of synthesis and interpretation, a historical essay, not of the familiar quasi-philosophical variety, but one that is based on an extensive study of documentary material and special literature. Although very well written, Mr. Sumner's volume is not easy reading, but those seriously interested in the subject will be fully rewarded for the effort due to the wealth of material and ideas contained in these pages.

Of the seven sections dealing with the major factors which, according to the author, have shaped Russian history — 1) the Frontier, 2) the State, 3) the Land, 4) the Church, 5) the Slavs, 6) the Sea, and 7) the West, I consider the first, the third and the last three as particularly

good. In other words, the author is at his best in dealing with the territorial expansion of Russia, her economic and social development, and the history of her foreign relations. In fact, I know of no other general account of Russia's foreign policies that would be nearly as good.

I am less satisfied with sections 2) and 4), dealing with the State and the Church respectively. Here, in the field of political and religious history, the author's treatment is somewhat conventional, and one misses the same freshness of approach or the same degree of penetration that one feels in the other sections of the book. Here also one meets with some generalizations which, at least in my opinion, are rather debatable. No doubt, the strength of the central power and the large scope of governmental activity have remained permanent features during many centuries of Russian history, but one still might question the validity of the author's attempt to sum up "the main characteristics of tsarism as it developed in the four centuries between 1500 and 1900" (p. 84), or of his assertion that there was "no fundamental change in the functions of the state" from Peter the Great to Alexander I (p. 108) and again from Alexander I to Nicholas II (p. 111), or finally of his comparison between the Soviet and the tsarist régimes (p. 48). The author admits that these permanent features of the Russian political system "took on various hues" in the course of their historical development, but he only mentions these changes in passing, as though they were unimportant. To a historian, however, who has to deal with the element of change no less than with that of continuity, the difference in degree is perhaps just as important as that in kind. As the result of his attitude, Mr. Sumner, it seems to me, has underestimated the significance of the pre-revolutionary constitutional period and he has not paid enough attention to the elements of self-government or the liberal and democratic tendencies in Russian history.

With regard to the church, Mr. Sumner unfortunately makes use of such worn-out clichés as "the reduction of the church virtually to a department of the state" (p. 178) or the description of the Orthodox church on the eve of the revolution as a mere "shell" (p. 164). Here again one would expect from such a thoughtful and well-informed author a fuller and more searching presentation of the positive side of Russia's religious development, alongside with the much more familiar treatment of its negative features.

The author has made no attempt to trace the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia, on the ground that it has been "fully treated in English"—a statement with which I beg to disagree. Another subject that could stand fuller treatment is the intellectual and cultural history of Russia, but perhaps it is not fair to ask for more from a volume already containing so much valuable and well presented information.

MICHAEL KARPOVICH
Harvard University.

IN MEMORIAM

ALEXANDER KAUN

To that circle of Slavic scholars in this country, always few in number but firmly united in the fellowship of learning, the sudden death of Professor Alexander Kaun on June 22, 1944 came as a sad shock and an irreparable loss. For the qualities of both his mind and spirit he endeared himself to all who knew him, and all who knew him will mourn his passing as that of a warm friend and a constant inspiration in the community of Slavic scholars.

Alexander Kaun was born in Russia on October 30 (November 11, new style) 1889 in a family that had long possessed traditions of learning — his grandfather had been president of a rabbinical college in the Province of Vilna, and his father was a teacher of Hebrew in private schools. The young Kaun began his early education in Russian private schools and later continued his studies (1905–1907) at the Free University of St. Petersburg. These were momentous years in Russia, years of popular agitation and uprisings against the oppressive measures of an autocratic government. The sympathies of the youthful Kaun led him to oppose oppression in any form, and he continued to oppose it for the remainder of his life. Like so many university students at that time, he took an active part in the revolutionary movement. But the movement was then crushed and driven underground by the government of Nicholas II. There was little hope for a revolutionary university student in the reactionary Russia of those days, and hence Alexander Kaun decided to come to America.

He first settled in Chicago, where for a time (1909–1916) he taught Hebrew in the Chicago Hebrew Institute. In the spring of 1913 he studied at the Lewis Institute, and in the fall of that year he entered the University of Chicago, from which he graduated in 1916 with the degree of Ph.B. In the summer of 1916 he gave lectures on Russian literature at the University of Chicago, and on January 20 of that year he married in Chicago the artist Valeria Graetchen Tracewell, of Columbus, Kansas.

While in Chicago Kaun began to exercise a literary talent of considerable merit. Between 1912 and 1917 he contributed a long series of book reviews, essays, and short stories to various publications, including the *Chicago Literary Monthly*, *The New Republic*, and *The Nation*. Most of these efforts were on Russian themes. Three of his short stories, published by the *Boston Transcript*, were mentioned in

"The Best Short Stories for the Year 1915." During 1915-1916 he reviewed books on Russia and on general literary subjects for the weekly Literary Supplement of the *Chicago Evening Post*. And in 1917 he translated from the Russian the two volumes of A. Kornilov's *Modern Russian History*, supplementing this work with two chapters of his own on "The Reign of Nicholas II."

Because of the state of his health, Alexander Kaun left Chicago for California early in 1917. After lecturing on Russian literature in the summer of that year at the University of California, he was appointed an Assistant in Russian (1917-1918). Entering the Graduate Division of the University of California, he received an M.A. in Slavic Languages in 1918 and the degree of Ph.D. in 1923. His dissertation, *Leonid Andreyev, a Critical Study*, was published in 1924, and to this day the book has remained the best extensive treatment of Andreyev in English. For the remainder of his life Kaun continued as a member of the Department of Slavic Languages at the University of California, becoming an Instructor in 1919, Assistant Professor, 1923, Associate Professor, 1927, and Professor of Slavic Languages in 1943. From 1942 to his death, he was Chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages.

Professor Kaun traveled in Europe, mainly through Slavic countries, from May, 1932 to January, 1933. In Budapest he attended the Tenth World Congress of Pen Clubs as a representative of the Pacific Coast. He was a member of the Modern Language Association and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; he was also an honorary member of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London and an Honorary Advisor of the Roerich Museum of New York.

In 1931 Professor Kaun published a comprehensive study, largely biographical, entitled *Maxim Gorky and His Russia*. This book opened up entirely new vistas on Gorky's development as a man and artist, and in addition, it revealed a side of revolutionary Russia not commonly known or understood in America. This book is a piece of scholarly research of first-rate importance. One looked forward to similar studies from Professor Kaun, but from 1933 much of the time he could spare from his teaching was absorbed by the position he accepted as contributing editor of the quarterly publication, *Books Abroad*. In this capacity he reviewed scores of recent Russian books and books on Russia. In this difficult task he brought home to Americans who do not read Russian the wealth of excellent literature and scholarship being produced in Russia. With his wide and deep knowledge of the whole range of Russian culture, he was able to contribute

much that was original and important in his reviewing. He possessed a well developed literary taste and an independence of judgment that added spice and personality to his reviews. During the last few years of his life he became deeply interested in Soviet Russian literature and he made himself a master of the field. He planned a large history of Soviet Russian literature, but he lived only long enough to publish a portion of this extensive work, *Soviet Poets and Poetry* (1943), the excellence of which only makes one regret all the more that fate did not permit him to complete the larger project.

My own insight into the qualities of his mind and his exacting scholarly standards was furthered by my collaborating with him in editing *Slavic Studies* (1943) in honor of Professor George Rapall Noyes. With his scholarly aptitude he combined an artistic sense and talents rarely found in those who spend their lives teaching. There was something in him of the extremes commonly associated with the Russian temperament. His warm, generous nature, so attractively spontaneous in its expression of feeling, was also capable of dark melancholy and sadness.

Although he was warned by doctors in 1943 of the danger from a weak heart, he continued actively at work. The effort obviously taxed him too much. Returning home from a public lecture he gave (June 22, 1944) at San Francisco, he lay down in his room to rest. Coming into the room at six o'clock, Mrs. Kaun found him dead with his pencil in his hand. His colleagues cherish his memory as a man of courage and conviction and a delightful companion, and they pay tribute to his significant and enduring contributions to the field of Slavic studies.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

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SOVIET MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

By NICOLAS SLONIMSKY

SOVIET MUSIC affords an interesting study for the sociologist as well as the musician. For it reflects, in its ideological evolution, the changing course of Soviet society. The evolution of Soviet music may be divided into three principal phases: (1) from 1917 to 1921, marked by attempts to create a new revolutionary art on the ruins of the old; (2) from 1921 to 1932, signalized by the rise and fall of the concept of proletarian music *sui generis*; (3) from 1932 to the present, governed by the principle of Socialist Realism, within the national tradition, thus effecting the connection with pre-revolutionary art as "cultural heritage of the past."

It is natural that, under the impact of the Revolution, extreme tendencies should have prevailed in art as in politics. Vladimir Mayakovsky, who began his poetic career as an anarchistic futurist, urged to "push Pushkin off the ship of modernity." A group of actors banded together in Moscow and organized the Anti-Moscow Art Theater (*Antikhudozhestvennyi Teatr*). A Russian musician spoke against the continued use of string instruments in the orchestra, on the grounds that twentieth-century music should not be made by "scraping dried cows' guts with a horsetail hair." The new spirit of revolutionary music, performed on appropriate instruments, was grotesquely demonstrated when, on the first anniversary of the October Revolution, the *Internationale* was intoned by Moscow Conservatory students blowing factory whistles in the streets adjoining the Conservatory, and conducted by an instructor standing on the roof of the building.

The anarchistic spirit of the first months of the Revolution was in part a consequence of the economic dissolution of the old régime, the prevalent famine in the large cities, the incipient civil war, and the unprecedented difficulties in the pursuit of musical activities. Russian musicians, some with celebrated names, were glad to perform in consideration of a loaf of bread, a few eggs, or a little butter. A woman-pianist who played a concert at the sailors' meeting in Kronstadt received a sack of potatoes for her efforts, and had to drag the bundle herself to Petrograd on a sled across the frozen bay of Kronstadt. A music critic who left Petrograd in 1919 exchanged his grand piano for twelve pounds of black bread. Concerts and theatrical performances continued to function during the milder months, but the Petrograd Malyi Opera House was closed between December, 1919 and April, 1920 for lack of fuel to heat the hall. H. G. Wells, who visited Russia in 1920, describes his meeting with Glazunov, the dean of Russian composers and Director of the Petrograd Conservatory: "He used to be a very big florid man, but now he is pallid and very much fallen away, so that his clothes hung loosely on him. He told me he still composed, but that his stock of music paper was almost exhausted."

Despite hunger and privations, Russian musicians continued to work and compose. The remarkable feature of the first years was the blossoming of purely theoretical investigations. Among new musico-scientific organizations founded in the first five years of the Revolution was the Department of the History of Music, established in Moscow on February 19, 1920; the Institute of Musical Science, founded in Moscow on September 25, 1921, and a Society of Quarter-Tone Music, formed in Leningrad on May 5, 1923, with Georgii Rimski-Korsakov, grandson of the composer, as Director.

A significant development of Soviet musical science was the first demonstration, in August, 1922 at the Technological Institute in Moscow, of the *Thereminovox*; an electrical instrument actuated by the movement of the performer's hand to and fro, invented by the Russian engineer Leon Theremin. This was the first electrical "space" instrument, and it has since received universal recognition.

Another phenomenon characteristic of the period was the *Persimfans* (*Pervyi Simfonicheskiĭ Ansambl'*, i.e., First Symphonic Ensemble), an orchestra without a conductor, which was inaugurated in Moscow on February 13, 1922. Its ideological significance was the emancipation from an imposed authority, in this case, the overthrow of a symphonic boss who wields the baton without doing any actual playing himself. The *Persimfans* gave five seasons of competent per-

performances in a repertoire ranging from the classics to the moderns. But, despite its artistic success, it was found in the light of experience that better results could be achieved under the old system of conductors. The *Persimfans* was discontinued, and its personnel incorporated into other Moscow orchestras.

In the field of modern music, the Association of Contemporary Music of Leningrad, formed in 1927, was particularly active. The Association followed closely the developments of modern music in Germany and France, and arranged performances of new works by Hindemith, Krenek, Alban Berg, Milhaud, Honegger, Stravinski, and other composers of Western Europe. The Association also published several interesting booklets dealing with the ideology of new music, which they maintained was closer in spirit to the proletarian century than the great music of the past. The following excerpt from an article in a collection *October and New Music* (1927) is particularly interesting:

What is closer to the proletariat, the pessimism of Chaikovsky, and the would-be heroic spirit of Beethoven, a century out of date, or the chiseled rhythm and the excitement of *Rails* by Deshevov? During the performance of Beethoven, the workers were utterly bored, and patiently, with polite endurance, waited for the music to end. But music by contemporary Soviet composers aroused a contagious emotion among the audience. Proletarian masses, for whom machine oil is mother's milk, have a right to demand music consonant with the epoch, not the music of the bourgeois salon, which belongs in the age of the horse and buggy or of Stephenson's early locomotive.

The ideas of the Leningrad Association of Contemporary Music were violently opposed by the Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians (RAPM), which was organized in the early 'twenties, and formulated its ideological platform in 1924. They agreed with the ideologists of the modernists only in their opposition to Chaikovsky as the musician of decadence, but they accepted Beethoven (with particular emphasis on the *Eroica*) and Musorgski, whom they regarded as a painter of healthy optimistic moods.

The opening lines of the RAPM manifesto summarize the views of the Association:

The brilliant development of musical culture of the ruling classes was made possible by their possession of material and technical tools of musical production. On the other hand, the music of the oppressed and exploited masses has remained largely in a primitive state, despite its profound musical significance. As a ruling class, the bourgeoisie exerts great influence upon all strata of the population, systematically poisoning

the workers' mind. This influence is shown in the ideology of a fraction of the working class, so that we find deterioration and degradation of artistic tastes among some group of workers. In the field of music, this process of deterioration follows the lines of religious and petty-bourgeois esthetics, and recently, the erotic dance music of contemporary capitalist cities (foxtrot, jazz, etc.).

Regarding Jazz, the organ of RAPM, *Za Proletarskuyu Muzyku* (*For Proletarian Music*) declares in its issue of March, 1930:

The new American dance music comes to us from a country where slavery was, and still is, widely practiced, with all the spiritual and physical demoralization that goes with it. Negro slaves once constituted the private property of the feudal plantation owner. Now Negro slavery is nominally abolished, but in actual life continues to exist. But America also has slavery among the whites. A vast mass of unemployed workers is concentrated in America's industrial cities. A considerable portion of these men includes former small businessmen gone bankrupt, declassed members of the aristocracy, and even intelligentsia. In short, they represent the Lumpen-Proletariat. They have ceased to fight capitalism, and resigned themselves to their subhuman existence. All they think of is to fill their bellies with beer and sausages. They serve as willing stooges of the police and of the Fascists, beating up demonstrators and breaking strikes. This Lumpen-Proletariat generally congregates in special sections of the town, where vice, narcotic drugs, and low gambling hold sway. Here, among these slaves of America, was born the new American dance music. It expresses the most loathsome characteristics of slavery, the mockery at one's own subhuman standard of living, at one's own degradation. American dance music is cultivated in the interests of capitalism. Its aim is to render the workers weak and submissive, to divert them from the task of rising and seizing the factories. The will of the masses to revolt is deflected by means of American dance music.

The *Proletarian Musician* of August, 1929 contains an article in which the following statement is made: "The foxtrot subordinates the human body, the human will and thought to a mechanical movement. Such is the rhythm and the pulse of capitalist society." When Maxim Gorky heard jazz music on the radio, he was moved to write an article entitled *The Dance of the Fat Men*, in which he drew a parallel between the decadence and impotence of jazz with the decay of capitalism. Another article in the newspaper *Vechernyaya Moskva* called jazz-band musicians "jazz bandits."

This attitude was abandoned with a revision of Soviet aesthetics when jazz was recognized as a legitimate product of American folklore. Soviet composers became interested in the instrumental technique of jazz. On November 28, 1938, a special jazz orchestra, called

Gosudarstvennyi Dzhaz Soyuz S.S.R. (State Jazz of the USSR) made its bow to the Moscow public in a program of American and Soviet jazz music. Soon jazz bands mushroomed all over the Soviet Union, and syncopated music became widely popular.

In their campaign against non-proletarian music, the RAPM paid special attention to the irrepressible popularity of so-called "Gypsy songs," sentimental ballads of the type of the famous *Dark Eyes*. In a very interesting brochure, *Protiv Nepmanskoi Muzyki* (i.e., against "Nepman" music—Nepmen were men of the New Economic Policy), published at Moscow in 1930, these songs were said to "act debilitatingly on the listener, by the use of lush static harmonies, crooning, and interminable suspensions." The singing of these songs was "propaganda for prostitution." The following line from a popular song was quoted in support of this allegation: "You are asking for love, for kisses, but I am tired of love." "What type of woman is described here?" asks the author of the brochure, "What type of woman would regard love as a profession, as work that causes fatigue?"

Political meaning was read by the RAPM into every piece of music. In a very curious article entitled *Nevinnaya Propaganda Imperializma* (Innocent Propaganda of Imperialism, with the word 'Innocent' in ironic quotation marks), published as a brochure in Moscow in 1931 the author, one G. Krasnukha, submits to a searching analysis the suite, *From the Persian Bazaar*, by the British composer Albert William Ketelbey. Citing the movements of the Suite (*Approach of the Caravan, Beautiful Princess, Caliph Gives Alms to Beggars, etc.*), the author concludes: "The aim of the British composer is to convince the listener that in the colonies, and in the semi-colonial regions, people are happy, beautiful princesses bask in the sunlight; beggars and caliphs enjoy life together; there are no imperialists, no troublesome proletarians, no rebellious slaves. When disorders flare up, why, this is the work of malefactors and Komintern agitators."

The musical aspect of anti-religious propaganda did not escape the attention of the RAPM. Militantly religious works, such as Rimski-Korsakov's opera *The Tale of the City of Kitezh*, were naturally excluded from the Soviet stage, but concert performances of church music continued to have occasional performances. The RAPM conducted determined agitation against such compromises. As to anti-religious music, the only samples were the "Anti-Christmas Carols" published by the *Bezbozhnik* (Godless) Society. Some of them are found in the collection of atheist poems, *I My Stroim Sotsializm!* (And We Are Building Socialism), an "anti-Christmas album for schools." The music of these anti-Christmas carols is very much like

Christmas carols, and the text is not distinguished by poetic quality.

The end of the RAPM, and the consequent cessation of its obstructionist propaganda came with dramatic suddenness. A Soviet musician describes the events leading up to the *finale*:

7 o'clock in the evening. In the hall of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Education the atmosphere is tense with excitement. . . . There is restrained talk. On the serious faces of those assembled, a question: what is going to happen? Something extraordinary is in the air. Possibly, a decisive battle. . . . The speakers take the floor one after another to attack the RAPM with extraordinary vehemence. Its theoretical, creative, tactical attitudes are under fire. In some speeches there is rancour; theoretical discussion sometimes gives way to personal squabbles. . . . It is obvious that the RAPM, by limiting the sphere of creative work, causes an unhealthy atmosphere in Soviet music. . . . On April 24, 1932, the Moscow papers published the decree of the Central Committee announcing the dissolution of all Proletarian Associations.

The date, April 23, 1932, when the RAPM, along with analogous organizations in the field of literature and art, was dissolved, is now regarded by Soviet musicians as the Emancipation Day. Shortly after the dissolution of the RAPM, a Soviet musician wrote: "Now I am free to write in $\frac{3}{4}$ time," alluding to the predilection of the RAPM for "proletarian" duple time.

To supplant the discredited notion of proletarian music *sui generis*, a new and vital principle was promulgated, under the slogan of Socialist Realism. In the dialectical scheme, Socialist Realism marks the synthesis of the evolution of Soviet music, in which viable elements of the first phase, signalized by the swing of the revolutionary pendulum to the extreme left, and those of the second phase, characterized by the emergence of a narrowly conceived mass music, are resolved in the larger concept of an art as a function of new socialist society, realistically interpreted, and related to the historic evolution of the nation as a whole.

The concept of Socialist Realism is not static. Like all general principles, it indicates a direction rather than a fixed goal. Stalin's phrase: "an art which is socialist in content and national in form," indicates such a direction. In practical composition, it is still very difficult to determine what constitutes Socialist Realism, and lengthy discussions on the subject at the meetings of the Union of Soviet Composers, and in the musical press, underline the uncertainty of the term.

In 1936, the whole problem was thrown into the open with a violent jolt, when *Pravda*, the organ of the Communist Party, published two articles, *Sumbur Vmesto Muzyki* (Bedlam instead of music), in the

issue of January 28, and *Baletnaya Fal'sh'* (False Ballet), on February 6, 1936. Both articles attacked Dmitri Shostakovich, the most brilliant of young Soviet composers (he was born in 1906). The first article dealt with Shostakovich's opera, *Lady Macbeth of the District of Mtsensk*, written to the story of the same name by the nineteenth-century writer Leskov, and *Svetlyi Ruchei* (The Bright Brook), which portrayed, in ballet form, the life of a fictional *Kolkhoz* (collective farm) of that name. Of the opera, *Pravda* wrote:

While our music critics swear by the name of Socialist Realism, the state serves us, in Shostakovich's opera, the coarsest sort of naturalism. The predatory merchant woman, coming into possession of wealth and power through murder, is portrayed as the victim of the regime . . . The music quacks, grunts, growls and suffocates itself in the attempt to express the amatory scenes as naturalistically as possible. "Love" is smeared all over in the most vulgar manner. The merchant's double bed occupies the center of the stage, and on it all "problems" are solved. In a similarly naturalistic and vulgar manner are presented the scenes of poisoning and whipping. Shostakovich's opera enjoys success with the bourgeois audiences abroad. Is it because its fidgeting, screaming, neurotic music titillates the perverted tastes of the bourgeoisie?

The article regarding Shostakovich's ballet criticized him for approaching a serious theme in a frivolous manner, and depicting the work of the collective farm as pastoral pastime.

The articles unleashed a storm of discussion. The fortnightly magazine, *Rabochii i Teatr* (Worker and Theater) summed up Shostakovich's style as "pathological naturalism, eroticism, formalistic grotesque, and primitivistic schematicism." It then proceeded to attack its own music critic, Ivan Sollertinski, who "on the pages of our magazine disorientated our young composers in the direction of formalistic trickery and emasculated virtuosity."

Shostakovich, in a public statement, admitted the validity of the *Pravda* criticism, and set to work on future projects, abandoning for a while the field of opera and ballet in favor of symphonic music. But apparently he was not sure of himself, for he withdrew his Fourth Symphony from performance by the Leningrad Philharmonic after hearing it in rehearsal. His vindication came with the Fifth Symphony. Performed during the annual October Festival in 1937, the Symphony was hailed as a revelation. "Glory be to our people which produces such talents as Shostakovich," exclaimed Alexei Tolstoi on the pages of *Izvestiya*. The aviator Gromov, the hero of the non-stop flight to America over the North Pole, joined the chorus of praise, and turned music critic for the nonce. He wrote in *Sovetskaya Muzyka* that

Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony is "conceived in the true spirit of Russian symphonism," and that "it holds the audience in a state of joyful tension."

Shostakovich's greatest triumph came with his Seventh Symphony, composed partly during the siege of Leningrad, where Shostakovich served as a fire warden of the Conservatory building. Shostakovich fled from Leningrad on October 1, 1941 over the German lines to Kuibyshev, the temporary capital on the Volga, and there completed the Seventh Symphony. It was performed for the first time on March 1, 1942, in Kuibyshev, by the orchestra of the Moscow Bolshoi Theater, which was evacuated there. The score was then microfilmed, and rushed by plane through Persia, West Africa, and Brazil to America, where a lively competition was already in progress among world-renowned conductors for the *ius primae noctis*. The Seventh Symphony then made a triumphant tour of all major orchestras in the United States.

Although the Seventh Symphony is generally referred to as the Leningrad Symphony, no such title appears in the original score, which is marked simply Symphony No. 7, op. 60. But its programmatic meaning has been acknowledged by Shostakovich himself. The opening theme of the Symphony expresses the heroic spirit of the Leningrad citizen. The second theme, deliberately cheap and wooden, represents the Nazis. It progresses from small beginnings to the dominance of the entire orchestra, but is ultimately overwhelmed by the surging tide of the Leningrad theme. In the end, there is nothing left of the Nazi tune but a muted trumpet accompanied by a muffled snare-drum.

Composers of the older generation whose formative period was concluded before the Revolution had to undergo the ideological change described by the phrase "*pereklyuchenie na Sovetskuyu tematiku*" (switching over to Soviet thematics). Thus, Reinhold Glière (born in 1875), the author of symphonies in the grandiose Russian manner, has successfully applied his mastery of technique and orchestral color to Soviet subjects. So has Sergei Vasilenko (born in 1872), the composer of the *Red Army Rhapsody*. Maximilian Steinberg (born in 1883), pupil and son-in-law of Rimski-Korsakov, has written a symphony entitled *Turksib*, dedicated to the building of the railroad connecting Turkestan and Siberia.

Nikolai Myaskovski (born in 1881), who holds the unique distinction of having written twenty-four symphonies, recounts the difficulties of self-adaptation to the new world, in his "Autobiographical Notes," published in *Sovetskaya Muzyka* of June, 1936:

When the first news of the plan of collectivization of rural agriculture reached me, I decided to write a symphony that would reflect the struggle for the new social order in the villages. But the symphony did not come off as I had planned. It was schematic, and I failed to find an adequate form for the last movement, which expresses my basic idea in a merely external manner, without inner conviction . . . It was not the language I sought, not the language of a contemporary artist. What that language should be, I do not know, and have no recipe for it. Neither Russian folk music nor our city songs can provide the material for the musical idiom of Socialist Realism.

A special case is presented by Sergei Prokofiev (born in 1891). He spent fifteen of his most productive years abroad, chiefly in Paris, and returned to Russia in 1933. But, despite his long absence from the Soviet scene, his music never lost touch with Russia. Its vigorous rhythms, songful melodies, and original harmonies, moreover, were "consonant" with the Soviet ideal of Socialist Realism. The process of adaptation, which might have been formidable, was for Prokofiev merely that of repatriation.

One of Prokofiev's most successful works is the "symphonic fairy tale," *Petya i Volk* (Peter and the Wolf), which he wrote in two weeks' time, in April, 1936, for the Children's Theater in Moscow. In this "symphonic tale" each character is identified by a leading motive, played on a special instrument. Petya is characterized by a melody in the strings, the bird by the flute, the duck by the oboe, the cat by the clarinet, Petya's grumbling grandfather by the bassoon, and the wolf by three French horns. After a brief career of depredation (he devours the duck), the wolf is captured through Petya's cunning, and is carried to the zoo. The tale may have a hidden political meaning. Thus, the duck and the bird engage in an argument as to whether birds should necessarily be flying animals. The argument is clinched in favor of air power, when the bird easily escapes, while the duck perishes. The cat is represented as a minor aggressor in its own right, and Petya has to save the bird from the cat's design. The wolf is of course Adolf Hitler.

Choral compositions, operas, and ballets naturally present greater opportunity for the use of Soviet themes than symphonic music, which has no text or libretto to rely upon. But it took some time before opera and ballet composers effected the transition to Soviet themes. The first attempt to create an opera on a Soviet subject was *Za Krasnyĭ Petrograd* (For Red Petrograd), composed by Gladkovski in collaboration with Prussak, and produced in Leningrad on April 24, 1925. The libretto of the opera was based on the White Army cam-

paign against Petrograd in 1919. Another opera on a Soviet theme, *Ice and Steel* by Deshevov deals with the Kronstadt rebellion of 1921. Neither of these operas obtained any success, and were never revived after the initial performances. Several later attempts equally failed, and it was left to the young Soviet composer Ivan Dzerzhinski (born in 1909) to produce the first genuinely successful and musically important Soviet opera. It was *Tikhii Don* (The Quiet Don, after the well-known epic by Sholokhov), which was first performed at the Malyi Opera Theater in Leningrad, on October 22, 1933. Its success was immediate and unmistakable, and its subsequent performances attracted full houses. So great was the rush for seats that it became a byword among Leningrad theater-goers. *Leningradskaya Pravda* published a letter from a reader, under the heading, "How to get tickets for *Tikhii Don*."

The spontaneous success enjoyed by *Tikhii Don* received an important endorsement when Stalin attended the Moscow performance of the opera on January 17, 1936, and expressed his approval in an interview with the composer. Dzerzhinski reported the essence of Stalin's remarks in an article published in the *Leningradskaya Pravda* of January 24, 1936: "Comrade Stalin said that the time was ripe for the creation of a classical Soviet opera. He pointed out that it should be emotionally rousing. Melodic inflections of folk songs should be widely utilized. Such an opera should make use of all the latest acquisitions of musical technique, but it should above all strive to maintain closeness to the masses, clarity, and accessibility."

It is interesting to note that Stalin's commendation of Dzerzhinski's opera came exactly eleven days before the *Pravda* article attacking Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*. By an ironic coincidence, the score of Dzerzhinski's *Tikhii Don* was dedicated to Shostakovich.

Dzerzhinski's second opera, *Podnyataya Tselina* (Ploughed-up Fallowland) also based on a novel by Sholokhov, was produced in Moscow on October 23, 1937, and was favorably received. The closeness of the opera to Soviet life is exemplified by Scene VI, in which a member of the Collective Farm reads aloud Stalin's article on ideological deviations in the Kolkhoz movement.

Similar realism is found in the opera *North Wind*, by Leo Knipper (born in 1898). The opera, which treats the episode of the execution of twenty-two Bolshevik commissars in Baku by the British occupying troops, was produced in Moscow on March 30, 1930. One of the scenes includes a conversation over the field telephone. In the opera *Battleship Potemkin* by Oles Chishko (born in 1895), which was pro-

duced in Leningrad on June 21, 1937, one of the mutinous sailors complains that "the borsht is full of worms."

Satire is generally regarded as legitimate part of Soviet operas, whenever representatives of the old regime are portrayed. Shostakovich, whose satirical talent is very strong, used the method of grotesque in his first opera *The Nose*, after Gogol's tale of an army major whose nose mysteriously vanishes in a barber shop only to turn up later in the form of a petty government official. To illustrate these happenings, Shostakovich makes use of special orchestral effects. There is an impressive symphonic sneeze. An interlude between the scenes is scored for percussion instruments only. The singer of the part of the Nose is instructed to sing with his nostrils stuffed so as to produce a nasal sound. Drunken hiccoughs are imitated by the harp, violins, and wood-wind instruments, and the scraping of the razor on the face is orchestrated by upper harmonics in the double basses. There is also an ensemble of eight janitors singing eight different advertisements. The opera met with a mixed reception at its premiere in Leningrad on January 13, 1930, and was soon taken off the repertoire.

In order to bring the classical operas up to date, several early Soviet productions of well-known operas were presented with new libretti. Thus, Puccini's *Tosca* was transformed into a revolutionary opera of the Paris Commune. In the Soviet adaptation, the heroine kills General Gallifet, even though the real Gallifet lived nearly forty years after the suppression of the Commune. Meyerbeer's opera, *The Huguenots*, became *The Decembrists*. However, the critical reaction was strongly unfavorable, and the experiment was soon dropped.

A special difficulty was presented by Glinka's classical opera, *A Life for the Tsar*. The subject of the opera, dealing with the salvation of the founder of the Romanov dynasty in 1613, was hardly acceptable to revolutionary Russia. With the passage of time, and the re-establishment of historical perspective, the opera was produced in Moscow on February 27, 1939, under the title *Ivan Susanin*, which is the name of the principal character, the peasant hero who leads the Poles, bent on the assassination of the young Tsar, into the impenetrable forest where they all perish. As a matter of fact, *Ivan Susanin* was the original title of the opera, which Glinka renamed *A Life for the Tsar* at the behest of Nicholas I. As to the text, the only alteration was the change of the words of the hymnal chant, *Slavsya ty slavsya, nash russkii Tsar'* (Glory be to our Russian Tsar) to *Slavsya ty slavsya rodnaya strana* (Glory be to our native land).

In old operas in which the text had been censored for political rea-

sons by the Tsarist authority, the Soviet productions naturally restored the original. Thus, in Rimski-Korsakov's opera, *The Golden Cockerel* (after Pushkin's tale), the line *Skazka lozh', da v nei namyok* (The tale is a lie, but there is a hint in it) was amended by the Tsarist censor in order to divert attention from the similarity between the imbecilic Tsar Dodon of Pushkin's tale and Nicholas II.

Chaikovsky's famous overture *1812* was for a long time excluded from the Soviet repertoire on account of the Tsarist National Anthem which occurs in the music, as a symbol of victory. Chaikovsky's treatment of the theme was in fact anachronistic, for the Anthem was not written until 1833. The Overture was finally performed in Moscow, on August 31, 1942.

There is no discrimination in Soviet Russia against Russian composers living abroad, or those hostile to the Soviet regime. The popularity and the frequency of performance of their music is determined by the conformity of their musical language to the tastes and ideals of the Soviet public. Thus, Stravinski, who left Russia in 1914, lived in France, and settled in America in 1939, is represented on Soviet programs mainly by his early compositions, which are close to the Rimski-Korsakov tradition, and are Russian in derivation. Stravinski's later compositions, in the neo-classical or religious style, have had no performances in Russia.

On the other hand, the music of Sergei Rachmaninoff enjoys an uninterrupted popularity in the Soviet Union, despite the fact that Rachmaninoff himself never made a secret of his hostility to the Soviet regime, and changed his attitude only in 1941, after Hitler's attack on Russia. Rachmaninoff died in California in 1943, and his death evoked numerous heartfelt tributes in the Soviet press.

Rachmaninoff's Piano Concertos and Preludes are regarded in Russia as perennials. But even his songs, which in their texts reflect the life and sentiments of the past, are constantly featured in song recitals in Russia. One of Rachmaninoff's most characteristic songs is *Lilacs*, in which a Chekhovian lady bemoans the fact that the only happiness she can find in life is that vouchsafed by a five-petal lilac flower, which according to the widespread superstition in old Russia, brings luck. This song, which is hardly expressive of proletarian sentiments, is often performed at Red Army concerts.

The Soviet Russian ballet is quite different from the type of Russian ballet created by Dyagilev in Paris. The Soviet ballet follows the general lines of the Russian classical ballet, and the Soviet ballerinas of today have not added many *pas* that were not already familiar to Istomina, whom Puskin admires in *Eugene Onegin*. But

Soviet ballet is contemporary in subject matter, and responds to the current events. Thus, *Gayane*, a ballet by Aram Khachaturian, depicts the life on a collective farm in Armenia. The last scene of the ballet brings the action to the outbreak of the war in June 1941. Satirical themes are in evidence in Shostakovich's ballets, *The Golden Age* (1930) and *Bolt* (1931). *The Golden Age* deals with the life in a capitalistic city, with Fascists and intriguing diplomats among the characters. The *Polka*, which enjoys great popularity as a piano piece, caricatures, by its discordant harmonies and broken-up rhythms, the disarmament conference in Geneva. In the early years of Soviet music, industrial themes were prominent in Soviet ballet. Of these ballets, the *Zavod* (Industrial plant) by Alexander Mossolov, first performed in Moscow on December 4, 1927, is the most representative. The first section of *Zavod* has been widely performed by American orchestras under the title *Iron Foundry*. In addition to a large orchestra, the score includes a metal sheet, to be shaken with great clatter at climactic points.

An interesting development in Soviet music is the strong revival of the secular cantata and oratorio. Soviet oratorios (which, despite the name, are of course without religious connotations) are to all intents and purposes, short operas, performed in concert form, without scenery. Three important Soviet oratorios were produced at the Festival of Soviet Music in Moscow in December, 1939: *Alexander Nevskii* by Prokofiev, derived from his music to the film of the same name; *On Kulikovo Field* by Yuri Shaporin, and *Emelian Pugachov* by Marian Koval. All three carried political implications. *Alexander Nevskii* commemorated the rout of the Teutonic Knights on Lake Peipus on April 5, 1242; *On Kulikovo Field* glorified the victory over the Tartar chieftain Mamai in 1380; and *Emelian Pugachov* extolled the revolutionary spirit of the Pugachov rebellion against Catherine the Great. The production of *Alexander Nevskii*, coming at the time immediately after the German-Soviet pact of 1939, served notice on Germany that what happened to the Teutonic Knights in 1242 might well be reenacted seven centuries later should the descendants of the Knights try to defy Russia again.

The outbreak of the war in 1941 inspired Soviet composers to write musical works on subjects connected with the events. Prokofiev composed an orchestral suite, *1941*, and a *Ballad of an Unknown Boy*, glorifying guerrilla activities on Russian territory occupied by the Germans. Prokofiev also completed the opera *War and Peace*, after Tolstoi, as a clearly drawn parallel with the German war. Shaporin wrote a cantata, *Skazanie o Bitve za Russkuyu Zemlyu*

(Tale of the Battle for the Russian Land) The cantata is subdivided into twelve sections illustrative of the war: (1) Spring Day, (2) Invasion, (3) Women's Lament, (4) Old Man's Tale, (5) Song of a Red Army Man, (6) Letter to a Friend, (7) Ballad of Partisans, (8) On the Volga, (9) On the Don, (10) Eternal Glory to the Heroes, (11) Oath, (12) Return of Spring. The cantata was performed in Moscow on April 18, 1944, and left a deep impression on the listeners.

In their creative works, Soviet composers follow their individual predilections as to the genre and style of composition. Myaskovski is a symphonist, and has written no operas or cantatas. Shostakovich has turned to the symphonies after the misadventure with his opera. Ivan Dzerzhinski, on the other hand, writes no symphonies, and devotes his energies entirely to the opera. Aram Khachaturian writes symphonic and instrumental music. Other names that command attention among Soviet composers are Leo Knipper (born in 1898), author of nine symphonies; Dmitri Kabalevski (born in 1904), composer of symphonic and piano music; Valeri Zhelobinski (born in 1913) whose operas have been produced with considerable acclaim; and Tikhon Khrennikov (born in 1913), who writes operas and symphonies.

The most characteristic feature of Soviet music in general is the broad singing melodic line. Soviet composers show little interest in formal counterpoint; the harmonic treatment is mostly homophonic, often with strong pedal points in the bass. There is considerable freedom in the use of unresolved discords, parallel triad progressions, and similar processes of twentieth-century music. Modulations are free and often abrupt, even in vocal music, but the general idiom is clearly diatonic, chromaticism of the modern German school is alien to the spirit of new Russian music, as is the impressionism of the French. The form is classical, and the cyclic scheme, exemplified by a return of the original exposition after a contrasting middle period, is particularly favored. Soviet symphonies, despite considerable sharpness of harmony and orchestration, are remarkably close to the classical formula of four movements. On the other hand, neo-classicism, that is, imitation of the classical models in melody and harmony, attracts few Soviet composers. Michael Starokadomski (born in 1901) is the only significant representative of the neo-classical school in Soviet Russia. As to the ultra-modern idiom, characterized by atonality, polytonality, etc., it has few followers among Soviet composers. Some attempts along these lines, made by Gabriel Popov (born in 1904) and Nicolas Roslavetz (born in 1881) were discouraged by the critics as "leftist deviations." This does not mean that research on

purely theoretical lines of new possibilities in music is abandoned; Soviet musicians have great intellectual curiosity, as evidence by the new-fangled theories of the Ukrainian musician Ogolevets, the inventor of a seventeen-note scale, whose findings have been greatly praised in the Soviet press. But in the field of living music, extreme and experimental music finds little response.

The social status of Soviet musicians is higher than ever in the history of Russia, or in any other country for that matter. Soviet composers are assured economic security and given every facility to enable them to write music without thought of the daily cares. Morally, too, Soviet composers are given every encouragement, through a unique system of government prizes, ranging from 10,000 to 100,000 rubles, awarded for symphonic and other works. Thus, Shostakovich received the "Stalin prize" of 100,000 rubles for his piano Quintet (certainly the greatest sum of money ever paid to any composer for a piece of chamber music), and a like prize for his Seventh Symphony. Myaskovski received a Stalin prize for his Twenty-First Symphony. Khachaturian was awarded the same prize for his ballet *Gayane*, but gallantly returned the money to Stalin with a request to use it for building a tank for the Red Army.

The Committee of Fine Arts of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR is in charge of commissions to write symphonies, operas and chamber music. The Committee pays a definite fee for the composition of each work, 10,000 rubles for a symphony, and lesser sums for smaller works. In addition, the composer receives a lump sum from the State Music Publishing House for publication rights, plus royalties. The question of publication is naturally free from commercial considerations, and so we find that all of Myaskovski's twenty-four symphonies have been published or scheduled for publication in the near future, even though sales of orchestral scores cannot possibly cover the expenditure of printing. Works by Soviet composers enjoy frequent performances. All of Myaskovski's twenty-four symphonies have been performed by the Moscow orchestras.

Soviet composers are given, whenever possible, housing facilities to enable them to go on with their work. This practice has been continued even in war conditions. Aram Khachaturian describes the life in such a composer's home:

In the spring of 1943, the Soviet Government placed a country mansion near the town of Ivanovo at the disposal of Reinhold Glière, Dmitri Shostakovich, and myself. The summer we spent there was highly productive for all of us. Dmitri Shostakovich lived in a small cottage on the fringe of a forest, and he wrote his Eighth Symphony there. Reinhold

Glière, a representative of our older but never aging generation of composers, wrote his Fourth Quartet. I worked on my Second Symphony in C major. It is not program music, but it reflects my reaction as a musician and a citizen to the trials through which our country is passing. The day I began my work on the third movement, a Scherzo, five school girls from Ivanovo came to visit me in my secluded cottage, and brought me a bunch of field flowers. They were shy and attractive, with their braids crowned by enormous wreaths of corn flowers and rye. They seated themselves demurely around the piano, gazing at me with expectation. I played for them some of my piano music. They thanked me and soon disappeared into the sunlit fields.

Soviet music is not synonymous with Russian music. The constituent republics of the Soviet Union, the Ukraine, Azerbeidzhan, Armenia, Georgia, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tadzhikistan, Bashkiria, possess music of their own which is gradually beginning to come to light. To be sure, few natives possess requisite knowledge and technique for the creation of higher forms of composition, and their contribution to Soviet music has been heretofore limited to simple songs accompanied on primitive instruments. In order to stimulate musical progress in the periphery of the Soviet Union, the Union of Soviet Composers in Moscow assigns prominent composers to travel in the minority republics, organize educational facilities here, and write operas and symphonic works based on native folklore. Thus, Glière wrote the opera *Shah-Senem* on Caucasian themes; Brusilovski composed the opera *Kyz-Zhybek*, derived from the folklore of Kazakhstan; Shekhter wrote the opera *Yusup and Akhmet* on Turkmenian motives; Tchemberdzhii contributed the opera *Karlugas* on Bashkyrian folklore; Kozlovski wrote the opera *Ulugbek* (Tamerlane's grandson) on Uzbek melodies; Balasanian wrote a Tadzhik opera *The Song of Wrath*; Frolov composed a Buriat-Mongol opera, *Enke Bulat Bator*. Paliashvili is the author of the Georgian opera *Ibessalom and Eteri*.

As to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, it possesses a highly developed musical culture. The founder of the Ukrainian national tradition in music was Nicolas Lyssenko (1842-1912), who wrote the opera *Taras Bulba*. The Soviet period of Ukrainian music is marked by an intensification of creative composition. The foremost Ukrainian composer of today is Boris Lyatoshinsky. His opera *Shchors*, after the life of the Ukrainian revolutionary commander Nikolai Shchors, was produced in Kiev on September 1, 1938.

Russia has always been rich in musical talent. The roster of the world's greatest violinists and pianists is studded with Russian

names. But while in former days, these great musicians had to work their way up from obscurity and poverty with little help except their own pluck and their parents' determination, in Soviet Russia, such *Wunderkinder* are tenderly fostered. When a group of young Soviet pianists and violinists carried the first five prizes at the international competition in Brussels in 1936, the reception that greeted them at home rivaled that of national heroes.

The field of popular music is not neglected in Russia. The old Russians songs of the salon type fell into desuetude with the disappearance of social phenomena described in such songs as the *Troika*, the *Ukhar-Kupetz* (jolly merchant), *Korobeniki* (village vendors), etc. In place of these songs, new sentimental ballads made their appearance. This new folklore is exemplified by popular songs of Zakharov, Blanter, Dunayevski, the Pokrass brothers, and others. None of these musicians has tried his hand on symphonies or operas, and many came from the ranks of the entertainment stage and the cabaret. Yet their songs possess the true simplicity of Russian folklore rarely attained by symphonic composers. The only composer of symphonies who has succeeded in creating a genuine folk song is Leo Knipper, whose song *Polyushko-Pole* (Meadowland), which was originally written for a choral ending of his Fourth Symphony, has achieved universal popularity.

The story of the song *Katyusha* is interesting. It is a sentimental ballad about a village girl who promises her sweetheart to be faithful while he is guarding the border. The poem is by Isakovski, and the music by Blanter. So popular did the song become that the famous rocket guns, which made their appearance at Stalingrad, were nicknamed *Katyusha* by the Red Army men, and the name stuck. This is the first instance in music history that a popular song has given a name to a cannon.

It is noteworthy that *Katyusha*, *Meadowland* and numerous other Soviet songs are set in a minor key, often preferred by Russian composers for their larger works as well. Music in minor keys is commonly supposed to produce a debilitating rather than invigorating effect on the singers and the listeners. On the military record of the Red Army, this notion will have to be revised, for fully three-quarters of the songs included in the *Krasnoarmeiskii Pesennik* (Red Army Song Book), published in Moscow in 1942, are in minor keys.

In appreciation of the contribution to Russian folklore made by composers of these songs, the Soviet government awarded them several prizes. Isaac Dunayevski, the author of *My Fatherland* and other marches and ballads, received the Order of Lenin.

But the greatest honor was bestowed upon Alexander Alexandrov, the composer of the *Hymn of the Bolshevik Party*, which, with a new set of words, became the official Anthem of the Soviet Union, by the Government decree of March 15, 1944. The Moscow periodical, *Literatura i Iskusstvo* (Literature and Art) tells the story of the Hymn in its issue of January 1, 1944:

The music of the National Anthem is well known to the Soviet land as the Hymn of the Bolshevik Party, one of the most beloved songs of the popular masses. It is fitting and appropriate that this song should be chosen for the National Anthem of the U.S.S.R. A song which for a number of years has served as a Hymn of the Bolshevik Party is best suited to express the socialist essence of the Soviet State. It is a mighty and majestic song. Its stately and flowing melody is imbued with power, and is national to the core. Its coloring is stern as befits a nation that is warlike, a nation that has in countless battles won its freedom and independence. In its melodic and harmonic texture, in its rhythmic structure, the music of the new National Anthem follows the great tradition of Russian musical classicism.

After a quarter of a century of evolution, Soviet music has now attained a state of artistic equilibrium. Its main features are the melodic line of Russian folk songs, the classical tradition of the operatic and symphonic art, and the inherent lyricism of mood, alternating with march-like rhythms. Soviet music is Russian in derivation, socialist in its themes, and modern in its technique.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

THE RUSSIAN BALLET BEFORE DYAGILEV¹

By SAMUEL H. CROSS

THE ORIGINS of the Russian ballet reach back two hundred years to the reign of the Empress Anna Ivanovna, Peter the Great's niece (1730–1740). Anna was devoted to ostentatious amusements (balls, fireworks, tableaux), and in the summer of 1734 ordered the appointment of Jean-Baptiste Landé as dancing-master in the Military Academy which she had founded at St. Petersburg in 1731 to prepare sons of the nobility for positions in the army and the civil service. Beside teaching at the Academy, Landé also organized a private class which is the original ancestor of all further development of the ballet in Russia. Here he taught not only social dancing, but the principles of dramatic stage dancing, drawing his pupils both from the most gifted students in the Academy and from the children of wealthy urban families.

In 1735, Landé staged his first ballet, which attracted favorable attention, but he was unable at this point to persuade the Empress to let him train a Russian ballet company. Court circles were still too devoted to foreign manners and amusements to see much promise in local talent, though Landé developed a number of gifted young Russians who later became his assistants and also served as a nucleus for a court troupe. Thus in 1736, when an Italian opera company was engaged for Petersburg, Antonio Fusano, its ballet-master, used Landé's pupils as members of his ensemble. While the presence of the Italian troupe stimulated public interest in both opera and ballet, it was not until the spring of 1738 that Landé succeeded in having himself appointed court ballet-master as of January 1 of that year, with a salary of 1,000 rubles. He was also charged with the creation of a ballet-school, which included both certain of his former pupils and 24 boys and girls taken from the families of servants employed at court. Children of the aristocracy were not chosen for this purpose because the training was difficult, and it was felt that noble families would be offended if their children were assigned to so onerous a course.

The establishment of "Her Majesty's Dancing School" under Landé's direction on May 4, 1738 was thus the first official step toward the creation of a specifically Russian ballet, and Landé should

¹ This summary, based largely on M. Borisoglebski, *Materialy po istorii russkogo baleta*, 2 vols., Leningrad, 1938–1939, was planned for a course on the history of the Russian theater, and is here reproduced in the interest of those not having the Russian materials at their disposal.

be remembered as its founder. The school itself was set up in Peter the Great's old Winter Palace near the present Hermitage. Unfortunately no portrait of Landé has been preserved. Beyond his activities as ballet-master in St. Petersburg we know little of his biography except that he had danced in Paris and Dresden, and had also at one time managed a French dramatic company at Stockholm. The date of his appointment is, however, precisely as important for the ballet as October 17, 1672 is for the theater, since it was on the latter date that Gregorii's *Esther* was performed before Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich at the summer palace of Preobrazhenskoye, outside Moscow.

The Empress Anna died on October 17, 1740, and was succeeded by her infant nephew Ivan VI under the regency of her niece Anna Leopoldovna, the child's mother, daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg and of the late Empress Anna's sister Catherine. At the beginning of the new reign, Landé was sent abroad to engage French actors, but before his return Anna Leopoldovna was removed from the regency in November, 1741, and the throne fell to the popular Grand Duchess Elizabeth, Peter the Great's daughter by his second wife. During Landé's absence abroad, his school had very largely ceased to function, but on her accession Elizabeth directed the Italian ballet-master Fusano to resume operations. Under his direction, two ballets were thus presented at Moscow in connection with the coronation festivities of May, 1742: one, "The Golden Apple at a Banquet of the Gods," and another of patriotic content entitled "The Nation's Joy at the Appearance of Astraea on the Russian Horizon and the Renewal of the Golden Age." These ballets are usually attributed to Landé, but must rather be Fusano's work, since Landé did not return from abroad until the February before they were presented. In any case, their success drew favorable attention to Landé's school, of which the curriculum was now extended to include cultural subjects and the French language. The first class seems to have graduated in 1742, since they were already on salary as artists the following year. At the time, the maximum annual salary any of them received was 400 rubles.

The Empress Elizabeth herself is reputed to have had considerable skill as a dancer, and developed a marked interest in ballet performances, which were staged with elegance and luxury during her reign. Subject-matter and technique were as yet mainly foreign. Stories were almost exclusively drawn from classical mythology, with no use of native folklore. Landé was, however, by no means blind to the interest of Russian folk-dances, and as early as 1744 two of his

female pupils performed such dances as a specialty between the acts of a comedy performed by Serigny's French dramatic troupe, which Landé had engaged in Cassel. Landé himself died in 1745, so that for the next four years the school was directed by Fusano, and then, upon his departure in 1750, the directorship was held for the next ten years by the French dancer Josette. In the first 18 years of its existence, Landé's school trained some 50 artists, the names of only 18 of whom are known. The most talented native ballerina brought up in this school at this early date seems to have been Avdotya Timofeyeva, who was considered the equal of any foreign star of her day and did not retire from the theater until 1777.

The court ballets encountered serious competition in 1757 from the newly-imported Italian troupe of the impresario Giovanni Locatelli, who also engaged several of the best Russian talents, including Timofeyeva. Locatelli's popularity in the northern capital lasted barely three years, for his company was soon overshadowed by that of the Viennese ballet-master Hilferding, whose Russian success dates from his presentation of the three-act ballet "The Victory of Flora over Boreas" (music by Starzer, the court conductor) at St. Petersburg in 1760. Of Hilferding's artists, it is reported that they first introduced to Russia the *entrechat* consisting of four coups and a *pirouette*. It is also noteworthy that the Grand Duchess Catherine (later Catherine II) and her husband (later Peter III) at this time maintained at their suburban palace in Oranienbaum a respectable ballet headed by the Italian master Calzevaro.

In spite of the prominence of foreign dancers, Russian talents, though obscure, were not inactive. In December, 1761, just before the death of the Empress Elizabeth, a Russian ballet troupe composed of Landé's former pupils performed at St. Petersburg the ballet "Iarbas, or Dido and Aeneas," composed by the young Frenchman Thomas Lebrun, whom Landé had trained. This is accordingly the first choreographic work which belongs entirely to the Russian school, though its subject follows the foreign tradition. Unfortunately, however, the reputation of foreign artists was such that in the first 20 years of Catherine II's reign (from 1762) little attention was paid to the school founded by Landé, and between 1760 and 1783 only 34 pupils were graduated from it, none of whom attained first-class reputations. In 1779, when V. I. Bibikov, himself an able dramatic author and amateur actor, took over the direction of the imperial theaters, the curriculum of the school was once more enlarged and its 60-odd pupils were moved into a structure adjoining the Hermitage. Beside dancing, the general subjects taught at this time in

desultory fashion included reading and writing, arithmetic, French and Italian, declamation, and acting, the spinnet and other musical instruments, and drawing. Bibikov's intentions regarding the school were praiseworthy, but he was replaced in his directorial functions in 1783 by a larger committee which set the school under the charge of General P. A. Soimonov until 1786.

It was under Soimonov's management that the school was again moved in 1785 to a new site. Soimonov also has the distinction of having secured at the same time the services of the Italian ballet-master Canziani, the first really talented and systematic teacher since Landé's day. Canziani began his career in Venice, and was a disciple of the great French theorist of the dance, Jean-Georges Noverre (1727-1810), the founder of the dramatic ballet. During Canziani's association with the school until 1792 he trained over 100 pupils, including his successor Ivan Valberg. Though not a great dancer himself, Canziani was a thoroughly conscientious instructor. He regularly spent 5-6 hours daily in practical exercises with his classes, and also lectured to them on Noverre's theory of the ballet. He was the first ballet-teacher to emphasize the importance of mimicry and natural expression instead of a masklike calm. Apart from his pedagogical work, Canziani composed numerous ballets, of which the best are: "Ariadne and Bacchus," "The Pretended Deaf-Girl," "Pyramus and Thisbe," "Don Juan or the Stone Guest," and "Inez de Castro." In 1790, he also staged with great pomp Catherine II's heroic drama, "The Beginning of Oleg's Reign." At the beginning of his career as a teacher in 1785, Canziani had 35 pupils, all working in a three-year course.

Of the pupils he developed during his seven years' service, 20 were later employed by the imperial theaters, and of this number seven became first-class artists of the ballet. Unfortunately, however, Canziani's services were not appreciated at their full value by the somewhat nonchalant contemporary management of the imperial theaters. Prince Nicholas Yusupov, who succeeded to the general directorship in 1791, turned the management of the ballet school over to the Italian dancer and entrepreneur Antonio Casassi, with the result that Canziani resigned his position. After a year's interval regarding which little is known, he was then succeeded in October, 1794 by his former pupil Ivan Valberg, who thus became the first Russian-born director of the ballet-school. He was of Swedish ancestry and already known as an able solo-dancer. Six years later, when Alexander Naryshkin succeeded Yusupov as director of the theaters, he raised the number of pupils in the school from 30 to 50 and started the

process by which the school, which had existed more or less on a hit-or-miss basis for 62 years, was transformed into a systematically organized state institution.

During the eighteenth century, then, choreography was established in Russia by immigrant foreigners. National folk-dances rarely received any attention. Aristocratic patrons of the ballet desired merely that it should reproduce foreign techniques. The basic art of eighteenth-century Russian dancers consisted merely in twenty or thirty steps learned from foreign masters. The Russian ballet thus becomes a factor in the international development of plastic art only in the nineteenth century, and the chief inspiring influence during the early portion of this period proceeded from Charles-Louis Didelot who, after Landé and Canziani, is the third great exponent of choreography in Russia.

Didelot was born in 1767 at Stockholm, where his father was maitre de ballet and premier danseur in the Royal Theater. In his boyhood, he was taught at the Swedish capital by the French dancer Frossart, and then sent to Paris for further training. He was already a professional dancer at the age of twelve, and also composed several dances and divertissements while still a youth. He later danced in London, but returned to the Paris opera in 1791, and from Paris moved on to Lyon. His first major ballet, "Zephyr and Flora," was performed at London in 1796. To Didelot belongs the credit for replacing with the flesh-colored tricot and the gauze tunic the coats, buckled shoes, farthingales, and patches which had previously been conventions of costume.

At the beginning of the last century, the ballet school, after various wanderings, was established in a building on the corner of the Nevski Prospekt and the Sadovaya under the direction of Ivan Valberg, assisted by Gerasim Klishkin, a former pupil of Canziani. In 1801, Valberg was sent to Paris for further training, and his place was taken by Didelot, who proved to be a tyrannical but effective teacher. Indeed, he used to beat his pupils whenever they made a mistake in class, and it was not unusual for him to pull the hair or the ears of the younger children or even to shake the soloists violently when they returned to the wings after making an error on the stage. As P. A. Karatygin, later a prominent comic actor, remarked, he was light-footed and heavy-handed. He was by no means handsome. One contemporary said that he might be the best choreographer in Europe, but when he appeared on the stage, thin as a skeleton, with his big nose, a bright-red wig, a laurel wreath on his head, and a lyre in his hand, he looked far more like a caricature of

Apollo than like the real god of song; on the other hand, he possessed a brilliant creative imagination. His stage pictures were effective and often of extraordinary beauty, frequently accompanied by striking mechanical devices, such as long aerial flights not devoid of danger for the artists

Until Didelot's arrival, the repertory of the Russian dancers consisted mainly of foreign ballets, and the troupe itself maintained its popularity by the employment of expensive imported talents. Didelot tried to avoid staging ballets by other choreographers, declaring that only for young students was it pardonable to stage the ballets of their teachers. Almost every year he composed two, and sometimes three, new ballets. In his ballets, he was always able to attain harmony and such a combination of pantomime, mimicry, and plastic quality as to guarantee a unified aesthetic impression. They exhibited a remarkable diversity of both dances and music. He usually set his serious dances to an *adagio* with a march. For his chief character, Didelot provided smooth dances with various poses, seldom admitting *entrechats* or even simple *pirouettes*. The *demi-caractère* dancer performed to an *andante grazioso*; his dances were graceful, but rather more lively than those of the *premier danseur*, and consisted of smaller steps and quick *pirouettes*, with totally different positions of body and hands. The comic dancer performed to an *allegro*, executing various turns and leaps (especially *tours en l'air*), again with characteristic poses and gestures. As a result, every dancer offered the audience a special type of skill. Though Didelot thus introduced an infinite variety, he conscientiously avoided such external effects as might divert an inexperienced spectator but would not satisfy a practised taste. By perfecting mimicry in the ballet, Didelot developed a striking power to make the meaning of his ballets absolutely clear and tangible for the spectator, and to impart to them the atmosphere and mood of the appropriate period. He also cooperated closely with his composers, indicating duration of dances, orchestration, and emphasis.

He was himself a student. "To be a good *maître de ballet*," he used to say, "one should employ the greater part of his time in reading historical works, extract from them subjects for future works, and interest himself in every way with the progress of his pupils so that they may adorn these works with their talents. A *maître de ballet* should know the manners and customs of various nations and study their national proclivities and costumes; he should have a poetic gift in order to express his ideas agreeably in his programs. He ought to know painting and mechanics in order to create various picturesque

groups in his ballets and to be able to explain his intentions to the stage-setter and the artisan. And for a maître de ballet, music is most essential, both for the composition of ballets and as an aid to the orchestra-leader who writes the music for them."

Under Didelot's tuition, the number of pupils in the theatrical school rose to 120. At this juncture, the beauty of some of the female students stimulated ambitions in the minds of young men about town, and the status of the young ballerinas as playthings of the gilded youth of the day tended for the first time to become a tradition. In 1807, when Darya Bolina, a particularly beautiful young operatic singer, married a nobleman without permission of her superiors, considerable resentment was felt in high circles that she should have so ill requited the money spent on her. There are other cases on record where attractive female students were deliberately bought out of the school by their lovers for cash payments running as high as 20,000 rubles. In any event, a regulation was introduced in 1809 forbidding graduates of either sex to leave the service on any pretext except after ten years' professional activity, unless they had received special permission from the authorities and had paid back the estimated sum spent by the government on their training and upkeep.

At this time, the regular course lasted four years, and the pupils were divided into four sections: (1) those under 13; (2) those over 13; (3) specially gifted students undergoing advanced training; and (4) students without dramatic gifts under training in painting, costuming, copying, and other more mechanical branches. The pupils still came chiefly from the lowest classes, being in many instances the children of serfs, though children of middle-class families were also admitted, provided their parents were willing to entrust them to the none too tender mercies of the theatrical administration. The new regulations were due in part to Didelot, but in equal measure to the dramatist Price A. A. Shakhovskoi, whose mistress, the talented actress Catherine Yezhova, had graduated from the school in 1805. But however crude the new regulations were, they combined with the talents of Didelot to give the school and the Russian ballet a permanent and recognized position.

Didelot resigned his Russian post and returned to Paris in 1811. During his first ten years of service, he won Alexander I's interest for the ballet to the point where the Tsar subsidized the publication of Noverre's four volumes of *Letters on the Dance*. When Didelot first arrived in St. Petersburg, the best-known Russian ballerina was Eugenia Kolosova (1780-1809), who received her early training under Valberg, but was also highly thought of by Didelot himself. She was

the first ballerina to exhibit a highly individualized style with marked dramatic appeal, and also had the distinction of being the first Russian woman teacher of ballet. Her career as a dancer lasted for three decades, and she was undoubtedly the greatest female talent of the first quarter of the century.

Among the dancers trained by Didelot himself during his first term in Russia, the palm belongs unquestionably to Maria Danilova, who entered the school at the age of eight and graduated in 1809. Contemporaries considered her the most gifted artist who had so far appeared on the Russian stage, but she was seriously injured in a fall during a rehearsal and died in 1810 at the age of 17. No ballerina ever inspired as many elegiac effusions as were evoked by her untimely death.

Two contemporaries of Danilova achieved high reputations. Maria Ikonina, who also graduated in 1809, spoiled a promising career by fits of temperament which cost her frequent fines and on one occasion even arrest. She retired in 1831. Her talent was adjudged inferior to that of her classmate Anastasia Novitskaya, who was handicapped by competition with another artist (Telesheva) enjoying the favor and protection of General Miloradovich, the military governor of St. Petersburg. When she protested against this favoritism, the General threatened to commit her to an insane hospital. Novitskaya suffered a nervous breakdown from fright, and when Miloradovich, on hearing that the Empress was interested in the case, called at the artist's apartment to adjust the affair, the shock so aggravated her condition that she relapsed into delirium and died soon thereafter.

Among the male graduates, a particularly interesting career was achieved by Adam Glushkovski, one of Didelot's favorite pupils, considered a pantomimist of the highest talent. He was particularly successful as maître de ballet in Moscow between 1815 and 1835, and wrote several important essays dealing with theatrical life of the day. It is, on the whole, notable that Didelot in his early Russian career trained very few outstanding stars, and achieved his reputation almost entirely by well-schooled ensembles, in which he used not only his own students but also those trained by Valberg. The chief male roles in Didelot's day were taken by two distinguished French dancers, Auguste (Poireau) and Louis Duport.

The Napoleonic war exerted little influence on the St. Petersburg ballet. In 1812, the direction of the imperial theaters was placed in the hands of Prince Peter Tyufyakin, a rough but practical character, who held this post until 1821. During his incumbency, the administration of artistic matters in the theater, the opera, and the ballet

very largely devolved on A. A. Shakhovskoi, himself a dramatist, who had a healthy aversion to the high-flown French classic tradition, and bent his energies to introducing greater naturalness and realism both in scenery and in acting technique — a policy which was not without effect on the ballet itself. During Didelot's absence, the instruction in the ballet school was carried on by Valberg, while the functions of maître de ballet were performed by the French dancer Auguste, who had been trained in Paris and active in St. Petersburg since 1799, often appearing opposite Kolosova in Russian dances, which he performed with great skill. He was on friendly terms with Didelot, who dedicated to him one of his ballets, "Raoul de Créqui." In spite of his Russian record, Didelot was not able to establish himself in Paris, and in 1815 he was given a very liberal six-year contract at St. Petersburg entailing a salary of 15,000 rubles, a free carriage, apartment, and fuel, and traveling expenses of 30,000 rubles for him and his wife.

In Didelot's absence, despite Valberg's moderate talents, the school graduated a few famous artists. Avdotya Istomina, whom Pushkin in *Eugene Onegin* calls "brilliant, semi-aerial," and of whom he wrote that "she floated like down from the lips of Aeolus," graduated in 1815 after being trained chiefly by Kolosova, and within fifteen years was drawing a salary of 15,000 rubles. She had the misfortune to outlive her usefulness, and was eventually retired in 1835 after an old leg injury had forced her to abandon dancing for pantomime. The best male solo dancer of this group was Ivan Shemayev, who graduated in 1813. Shemayev was highly respected by both Didelot and Auguste, but later in his career made an official complaint, more or less without foundation, that they gave him no chance to show his talents. They were able to prove, however, that three new ballets had been created and three older ones revised especially for him to star in. Shemayev was also a mechanic of parts, and invented certain new coal-tar colors and a hot-air stove. He retired from the stage in 1835. Another graduate highly capable as a dancer, but better on the dramatic stage, was the actor Ivan Sosnitski, long a star of the Alexandrinski theater. He starred in several roles of Griboyedov's *Wit Works Woe* as well as in the part of the Chief of Police in Gogol's *Inspector General* (1836). He likewise danced as a young man opposite both Kolosova and Novitskaya, and died in 1871 at the age of 77.

After his return to Russia in 1815, Didelot devoted himself to teaching more zealously than before, and became considerably milder in his conduct with his pupils, though still ready with an impulsive blow. During the next fifteen years his school, despite primitive living

conditions and a certain amount of carefully cloaked immorality promoted by high circles, became an orderly educational institution. Didelot's frequent collisions with Tyufyakin ended with the latter's removal in 1821, when the management of the theaters passed into the hands of Apollon Maikov, formerly director of the Moscow theaters, though most of the authority was exercised by Shakhovskoi. The latter continued influential even after a new directing committee was installed over Maikov's head, and was chiefly responsible for new regulations introduced in 1825. From this time, pupils were admitted only between the ages of 7 and 12 years. Very little change was made, however, in the rules covering the general education of the pupils, most of whom were allowed to remain totally uncultured if they showed any dramatic or dancing talent at all.

In Shakhovskoi's day, various female members of the student body were transferred during the summer to the suburb of Yekateringof, where he had a villa and where the more attractive pupils were readily accessible to such members of Shakhovskoi's coterie as were interested in them. Since most of the girls were either of the humblest origin or born in families of small means, they seem to have regarded the discovery of a protector by this method as a highly natural and desirable procedure. Shakhovskoi also maintained his influence over Count Miloradovich, military governor of St. Petersburg and a member of the directing committee, by filling the latter's apartment with most charming actresses and dancers of the day.

Between 1816 and 1823, Didelot developed a number of worthy artists, including his son Karl, who graduated in 1819 and had a successful career as dancer and teacher through 1838. Pierre Didier, who graduated in 1821, possessed high administrative ability beside his talents as a dancer, and after meritorious service as stage-manager of the ballet troupe, was transferred to Moscow, where he served as a maître de ballet of the local opera from 1843 to his death in 1852.

Still more distinguished was Nicholas Goltz, the son of an army riding-master, who graduated from the school in 1822 after passing through all three sections: ballet, drama, and music. His dramatic talent was such that Shakhovskoi insisted on his becoming an actor. To an agreeable exterior and a powerful voice, he added a fine gift for the violin. He eventually became a dramatic dancer, however, and early understudied various foreign stars. His ability was, in fact, so marked that he was assigned as a solo-dancer immediately upon graduation, and made his début in Didelot's "Prisoner of the Caucasus." He was unquestionably the first Russian male dancer who could compete with foreign stars on an even basis. In 1837, Maria Taglioni

selected him as her partner and he danced with her in some 200 performances. His appearance as Froleau in Perrault's ballet "Esmeralda" (1848) with Fanny Elssler was also a triumph. In the interval between his appearances with these two foreign stars, he staged the mazurka in Glinka's opera, "A Life for the Tsar," at the composer's request in 1843. The extent of his activity may be judged from the fact that in his first 22 years as a dancer, Goltz appeared no less than 1,107 times. On 727 of these occasions, he danced roles in 50 ballets representing 12 authors, and on the other 380, he danced characteristic dances. In the last 28 years of his service, he almost surpassed this record, appearing 1,080 times. He celebrated a half-century of theatrical service in 1872, and died in 1880 — without much doubt the greatest native male ballet dancer that the Russian stage ever saw in its entire history.

Another one of Didelot's pupils at this time who, like Didier, achieved a dignified career of fairly routine service, was Ivan Marsel, who graduated in 1823. He later became assistant to one of Didelot's successors who did not know Russian, and also functioned as an aide to Didier, whom he succeeded as stage-manager upon the latter's transfer to Moscow in 1842. He was seriously injured by the fall of a piece of scenery in 1858, and remained on sick-leave for twelve years, but later returned to his previous activities and died in harness in 1873.

The first of the female dancers trained at this stage of Didelot's career to attain any prominence was Anastasia Likhutina, who graduated in 1819. She made her *début* in 1820 in Didelot's "Acis and Galatea," and in 1826 became one of the instructors in the ballet school under his direction, but retired from the stage in 1839. A more interesting figure was Nadezhda Azarevicheva, the illegitimate daughter of a ballet-dancer and of Apollon Maikov, later director of the imperial theaters. She was one of Didelot's favorite pupils, and upon her completion of the course was immediately recognized as exceptionally talented. She was the youthful sweetheart of the comic actor and dramatist Peter Karatygin (brother of Basil), who speaks of her as being slight, with reddish hair, hazel eyes, and not too regular but extremely expressive features. She would doubtless have become a talented soloist had she not been so unfortunate in 1827 as to fall and injure her right leg so severely that she was forced to retire from the stage the following year, when she married a captain in the horse guards. One of her classmates, Vera Zubova, owed her advancement not only to her talents (she was also one of Didelot's favorites) but also to her intimacy with Count Miloradovich, the governor general

Like Istomina before her, she had a good speaking voice and was capable of carrying dramatic roles. She was famous for her explosive temperament and small feet, casts of which adorned the writing tables of ballet-enthusiasts of the day. Zubova was once docked eight days' pay for not dressing in time to perform her solo part, and was finally released in 1840, though she lived on 23 years more. Among her close friends and classmates was Catherine Telesheva, also her rival for the favors of Count Miloradovich, though of these two artists it must be said that they did not depend entirely on his backing, since both were prominent and popular for some years after he was shot by a Decembrist in 1825. Telesheva, though a gifted pantomimist, was known to be an intriguer, and while Miloradovich was alive she used her influence with him to secure herself as many appearances as possible. Griboyedov was one of her fervent admirers, and after seeing her in the ballet "Ruslan and Lyudmila" (from Pushkin's poem) characterized her as "a Peri from her native Eden."

Even before Miloradovich's assassination, Didelot had his difficulties. His experiences with Shakhovskoi in connection with Goltz show he could never be quite sure that his best pupils would not be dragged off into drama or opera over his vehement protests. Miloradovich even had in mind his release, but this project was not executed until 1829. After the Governor General's death, his place on the theatrical committee was taken by Prince Basil Dolgorukov, who immediately fired Shakhovskoi, for whom he substituted his brother-in-law, Prince Serge Gagarin. Gagarin straightway proceeded to cut Didelot's wife and his son Karl off the payroll, and reduced the maestro's salary to 12,000 rubles. Though Didelot subsequently succeeded in securing a new and more favorable contract, his hopes of independence were dashed when, in 1826, the Ministry of the Imperial Court was founded, to which the direction of the theaters was subordinated.

The final blow fell the next spring, when the management of the ballet and its school came under the control of Didelot's enemy Gagarin. The same spring, a retired army officer, Lt. Peter Gildenstube, was assigned to inspect the material management of the school. His report was honest, unfavorable, and indiscreet, and he was relieved. To Gagarin's credit, however, it must be said that he produced new regulations for the school covering separation of the sexes in classes and in living quarters, forbidding the acceptance of serf children, introducing entrance examinations, and at least theoretically providing for a broader cultural curriculum. In 1829, the directing committee was then abolished, and Gagarin became sole director of the imperial theaters under the Ministry of the Court.

On October 31, 1829, Gagarin, who was behind the scenes at a performance of the ballet "Theseus and Ariadne," remarked to Didelot that the corps de ballet was slow in dressing. When Didelot paid no attention to his remark, Gagarin ordered him under arrest and kept him so overnight. The master immediately submitted his resignation to the Ministry of the Imperial Court. When Gagarin recommended that he should not be released till his last contract ran out on March 1, 1830, Didelot put in a second resignation which this time passed through the hands of Nicholas I himself, who ordered his immediate release. Before he was allowed to depart, Gagarin forced him to secure clearance for all public property in his possession, and tried to avoid allowing him the benefit performance to which he was entitled. The benefit finally took place early in 1830 and resulted in a colossal ovation to Didelot both from the corps de ballet and from the personnel of the school, who disregarded Gagarin's personal order not to come upon the stage when their great teacher took his bows. Didelot thus triumphed in the end, and four years later, when his ballets were revived, applause continued until he appeared. It is characteristic of Didelot that he made the school the residuary legatee of his estate, but he unfortunately left no reminiscences, no textbook of his methods, and no statement of his artistic principles. For thirty years he dominated the Russian ballet, and as long as he lived, his art flourished, but after his death it thus became inaccessible and, indeed, incomprehensible.

Among Didelot's last pupils to attain some reputation were: Alexei Shelikov, who graduated in 1826, and became a teacher in the ballet school after Didelot's retirement in addition to his professional duties as a solo dancer; Alexander Pimenov, of the class of 1829, a favorite of Didelot less for his talents than for his servility, but later unpopular as a teacher because of his coarse manners and slovenly dress; and Michael Spiridonov, of the same class, characterized as having little imagination but a faultless technique.

Upon Didelot's retirement, Gagarin imported as his successor Alexander Blache (1791-1850), a maître de ballet from Bordeaux, who began his work at St Petersburg in May, 1832. His contract was renewed in 1835, but he was released in 1838. As a ballet master he seems to have been a mediocre talent. Such foreigners as he engaged proved inferior to the locally-trained native stars. He staged in all fourteen ballets with luxurious stage-settings, little poetic content, and no impressive dancing. He apparently had no gifts for pantomime, though he tried unsuccessfully to imitate Didelot's technique. He was succeeded by Antoine Doschi, better known as Titus, from

Berlin, who was older, more experienced, and more gifted, but worthless as an instructor and administrator to the point where, during his incumbency, school classes in cultural subjects, such as they were, practically ceased to function. There is no doubt, however, about his talent as a choreographer and stage-manager. He was retired for old age in 1850, but during his career staged several respectable ballets, and in 1834, in the ballet entitled "Caesar in Egypt," he originated the use of moving scenery which was later applied with such striking effect in Marius Petipa's "Sleeping Beauty" (music by Chaikovsky).

Gagarin resigned his post as director of the imperial theaters in 1833, and was replaced by Alexander Gedeonov, who held the post until 1858. Gedeonov knew little about the theater, but after a reasonably successful military career had been appointed in 1822 as director of the Italian opera in Moscow. He is said to have known nothing about art and literature beyond what he read in the review columns of Bulgarin's scurrilous and venal paper *The Northern Bee*. In spite of his limited knowledge, Gedeonov's career included a number of important theatrical developments: the rise of Russian opera and the première of Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar*; guest performances at the opera of Madame Garcia-Viardot, Turgenev's friend, and, in the ballet, of Maria Taglioni and Fanny Elssler; and finally, the première of Gogol's *Inspector General*. These events passed more or less over Gedeonov's head, since he was chiefly interested in running around with the artists.

Gedeonov's appointment as director is explained by an interesting anecdote. On one of Nicholas I's visits to Moscow in the early '30's, Volkonski, the Minister of the Imperial Court, inadvertently invited to dine with the Tsar a general whom the latter could not stand. The Tsar declared, in fact, that if the general showed up he would dine alone, regardless of the other guests. Gedeonov saved the situation by having a subordinate spill a bottle of ink on the general's uniform when he arrived, so that he was obliged to go home and miss the dinner. The Tsar learned of this episode, and Gedeonov's career was made from that time. His long career as director was due in large degree to his close friendship with Leonti Dubelt, the director of the famous Third Section of the Imperial Chancery, and thus chief of the secret police. Dubelt is famous for having called Pushkin's works rubbish, for having remarked after the critic Belinski's death, "It's too bad he died, or we should have let him rot in prison," and for having called Alexander Herzen, the great publicist, a scoundrel for whose hanging he could not find a high enough tree. Dubelt was inaccessible to bribes, but was partner in a high-class gambling house

from which he accumulated a large fortune. It was through his friendship with Dubelt that Gedeonov managed to stage Scribe and Auber's opera, *La Muette de Portici* (or *Masaniello*) under the title of *Fenella*, though the piece had been proscribed for its radical tendencies and was, of course, associated with the Belgian uprising of 1830. Several of Gedeonov's subordinates began poor but achieved riches by graft in the theater administration. One of the auditors (Krätitzki) for instance, started out so poor that he used to go around the office barefoot to save his shoes, but eventually owned three town houses and two country houses, one of which he decorated with bronze statues purloined from the Alexandrinski theater.

Gedeonov always followed the ballet with intense interest, but his affections were concentrated on Elena Andreyanova, whom he, despite her moderate talents, tried by every expedient to establish as a prima ballerina. She never achieved any great general popularity, as is indicated by the fact that on the evening of December 3, 1848, when she was performing in the ballet "Paquita," her appearance on the stage was signalized by the simultaneous projection upon it, from some point in the audience, of a large package which, when unwrapped, was found to contain a scrawny and mangy dead cat, labeled "prima ballerina." After this episode, two secret police were always seated in the first two orchestra rows and two others in the standing room. Andreyanova made unsuccessful guest appearances at London in 1852, retired from the stage in 1854, and died three years later at Paris, where she was buried in Père Lachaise cemetery with an ostentatious marble monument by the Italian sculptor Rossetti.

At the beginning of Gedeonov's administration, the school was moved in 1836 to a large building (still extant), at 2 Rossi Street (across from the Alexandrinski theater). General instruction remained at a pitiable level until 1847, when the appointment of Marius Petipa, Barbara Volkova, and others as teachers gave some promise of improvement. The moral atmosphere surrounding the school was extremely low, and the example supplied by Gedeonov was enthusiastically followed by all the young bloods of the capital. Some of them even organized a club called the "Society of Involuntary Dancers" (*Obshchestvo tantsovov ponevole*), membership in which required that a candidate should either have pursued or have had a liaison with a girl connected with the theater. Their chief complaint was that Gedeonov and his circle, having free access to the theaters, offered unfair competition. But their ingenuity was as unlimited as their nerve. The girls were customarily transported from the school to the theater for

rehearsals in horse busses. One young man who had a friend among the girls on one occasion put his horse and sleigh across a narrow street so that the busses were forced to stop, thus giving his acquaintances an unparalleled chance for conversation. Another pair hired an apartment opposite the school, in which they and their friends spent hours entertaining their dancing girls or watching them through opera glasses and telescopes while they were in training.

Though Blache and Titus were, to put it mildly, very mediocre teachers, the fact that the school in the fifteen-year interval after Didelot's retirement was able to turn out a respectable quota of dancers was due to two conscientious but largely unheralded artists and instructors, Charles Lachouc and Frédéric Malavergne. Lachouc came to St. Petersburg from Paris as premier danseur in 1832, and began to teach the next year. He was sufficiently gifted to dance for Taglioni, and also to substitute at short notice for Goltz and Shemayev on occasions of their illness. He died in 1841. Malavergne was twelve years younger than Lachouc, and arrived in Russia in 1831 as a young man of 21. Better known under the name of Frédéric, he was considered the best European dancing teacher of his day, and was highly esteemed by his pupils. He was also successful as a stage-manager, and organized a new ballet troupe at Odessa in 1852. At various times, he worked for several years with the Moscow ballet, and did not cease his activities as teacher and manager until his death in 1872. A less successful instructor, but well-known as a dancer in the same period, was Fleury (his real name was Bernard Nonet), Lachouc's assistant, who remained in the Russian service from 1832 to 1845, when he retired for reasons of ill-health and left the country.

Between 1830 and 1836, the school produced only two prominent danseuses. The first of these, Maria Novitskaya, famous for her creation of the title role in "*La Muette de Portici*," owed her advancement less to her own native gifts than to the fact that, despite her marriage to the opera-singer Nicholas Dur, she was the mistress of Nicholas I, who himself arranged the marriage. She was pale and statuesque, and later went over to the drama, achieving success in the leading parts of Ozerov's neoclassic tragedies. She retired from the stage in 1854, married a second time, and died in 1868. A similar talent was Barbara Volkova, who graduated in 1836 and soon became noted as a solo dancer. Nicholas I is reported to have invited her to leave the stage and become *maitresse en titre*, but she refused, being bespoken elsewhere. In 1840, she thus left the stage to live on the estate of her accepted lover, Dmitri Ponomaryov, a wealthy landowner; when he was drowned three years later, his family seized all

the jewelry and valuables he had given her, but upon her return to the theater the Tsar forced the family to disgorge. Volkova later married unhappily, and in 1855 finally became a teacher in the ballet school. She must have been a robust nature, for after her retirement in 1858, she lived on in retirement until 1898, dying at the age of 82.

From the standpoint of the ballet, the period was chiefly illumined by the Russian début of Maria Taglioni on September 4, 1837. Her success was so great that when Lucille Grahn appeared at St. Petersburg in 1843, the memory of Taglioni prevented her from obtaining anything like a just appreciation from the local public. The arbitrary manner with which the direction treated the pupils of the ballet school at this time is exemplified by its procedure in 1846 when the theatrical administration took over the private circus of Leonard and Paul Cousin, and then detailed a number of male and female students to learn circus-riding.

The number of gifted artists produced in the interval 1837-1847 was again extremely limited. Tatyana Smirnova, who graduated in 1837 after studying under Didelot and Titus, had already been remarked for her talent while still an apprentice, and later based her technique entirely on that of Maria Taglioni. When 23 years old, she appeared as a guest artist at Paris and Brussels, and was sufficiently able not to be overshadowed by the officially protected Andreyanova. She retired from the stage in 1854. Capitolina Shlefokht (Ilina), of the class of 1839, showed great promise, but died of quick consumption at the age of 23 (1845). The only prominent male dancer of this group was Alexander Pichaud, who graduated in 1841 and in 1858 became an instructor in the ballet school. His career as a teacher continued until his death in 1871. It is, in fact, striking that at this period the operatic and dramatic sections of the school were turning out a higher grade of talents than the ballet section. Among the musicians graduated at this time may, for example, be mentioned Constantine Lyadov, the famous composer, and the great sopranos Catherine Semyonova and Emilia Lileyeva.

After Gedeonov's unfortunate experience in 1843 with Lucille Grahn, he was more than reserved in permitting guest appearances by high-priced foreign stars. He refused to arrange an engagement for Fanny Elssler, and was therefore profoundly shocked when, one autumn day in 1848, she suddenly appeared in his office and demanded the privilege of dancing before the Tsar. Thinking to discourage her, he offered her 3,000 rubles for one performance, which she, to his surprise, accepted. When Nicholas heard of her presence, he immediately demanded that she should be asked to give a private

performance at Tsarskoye Selo. There she put on her best Spanish dances, and created a sensation. She then made her public début on October 1 in the title-rôle of "Giselle." Her popularity was immediately so great that ticket speculation developed at St. Petersburg for the first recorded time. She was equally fêted in Moscow. Beside "Giselle," her most successful Russian appearances were in the ballets, "Rêve d'artiste," "Vain Precaution" ("Tshchetnaya Predostorozhnost'"), "Esmeralda," and "Catarina." She staged "Rêve d'artiste" herself.

Elssler's influence on the Russian ballet was as stimulating as Taglioni's had been ten years before. The time was also ripe for new developments. A year before Elssler's guest appearances, the theatrical administration had secured the services of two artists destined to carry the Russian ballet to heights hitherto unattained. Marius Petipa, who dominated the ballet until the appearance of Dyagilev, was born at Marseilles in 1822. His father, Jean, had been a maître de ballet also. Marius began his stage career at Nantes in 1838. Three years later he was dancing at the Paris opera, but left it for Bordeaux and subsequently worked at Madrid, Seville, and Granada. He was engaged for St. Petersburg in 1847 on the recommendation of Titus, and made his début the same September in "Paquita," of which he was also stage-manager and director. His career as a teacher began in 1854 and lasted for over 40 years, and he was beyond question one of the greatest ballet instructors the world has ever seen.

His compatriot, Jules Perrault, was the husband of the famous danseuse Charlotte Grisi (she appeared in Russia in 1850). Born at Lyon, he danced on provincial stages until he became maître de ballet at the Paris opera when barely twenty years old. He was famous for his lightness and his dramatic capacity. Théophile Gautier called him "the dance incarnate" and "the greatest dancer of his time." During his engagement, he performed some 28 leading rôles and composed a considerable number of ballets. He used the corps de ballet only at strategic points, and therefore achieved impressive effects with his mass scenes. His ballets were logical in content and thoroughly realistic. There were no superfluous solos or acrobatic turns, to which he was in principle opposed. Beauty of lines, poses, and gestures, combined with elegance of form, was his constant ideal. He was himself a keen student of pantomime and insisted on economy of gestures, from each one of which he demanded an expressive and clear-cut meaning. His service in Russia lasted until 1860.

Perrault thus replaced Didelot in the theater itself, while Petipa assumed and developed his functions as an instructor. Their joint

activity attracted new attention to the ballet school and, after a keen personal inspection by Nicholas I, it was subjected in 1853 to a thorough reform in economics and administration. At first, the chief instructor in the school was Nicholas Goltz (already mentioned as an outstanding artist), while Petipa served as inspector. Gedeonov retired from the directorship of the imperial theaters in 1857, and with him ends a predominantly frivolous period. He was succeeded by Andrei Saburov, marshal of the imperial court, a complete nonentity who lasted only four years before his inefficiency, coupled with a resounding scandal, caused his replacement by Count Alexander Borkh, also an otherwise undistinguished character, in the summer of 1862 (succeeded by S. A. Gedeonov in 1867).

The efficiency of the new staff was immediately reflected during the next decade by the development of several gifted and highly trained artists. Maria Surovshchikova, who became Petipa's wife in 1853, a year before she graduated from the ballet school, was distinguished for her beauty, grace, and dramatic talent, and prospered greatly from her husband's private instruction. In 1861, she appeared at Paris in ballets which he staged, and later performed at Berlin and Riga. In the late '60's she unfortunately became estranged from her husband, with the result that her popularity declined, and she was released in 1869. An equally gifted contemporary was Lyubov Radina, of the class of 1855, who reached the height of her gifts in the next two years, during which she was particularly successful in Perrault's ballets. She remained a highly respected member of the St. Petersburg ballet until her retirement in 1883 after thirty years of service, and lived on in obscurity until 1917.

Even more talented, and far better known to the international public, was Martha Muravyova. Though she completed the ballet course in 1857, she made her first public appearance nine years earlier, while still a pupil, in Perrault's "Rêve d'artiste," staged by Fanny Elssler, who was particularly fond of her. Muravyova studied under both Frédéric and Petipa, and became a solo-dancer the year after her graduation. Physically, she was very strong, but of slight build, and she was a living proof of the fact that small stature, if accompanied by perfect technique, is no special handicap to a ballet dancer. After dancing at Moscow in 1860, she was officially invited to Paris, where she made her début at the opera in "Giselle." The Paris public immediately called her "La fée du nord," and reviewers remarked that she was light as a snowflake. This emancipated serf-girl became the first Russian ballerina to acquire a transcendent international reputation, and is thus the precursor of Pavlova and Karsavina. She

was invited to dance at Paris again in 1863 and 1864, and was admitted to be in every way the equal of Fanny Elssler. Her most celebrated solo was considered to be a number designed for her by Petipa to the music of Schumann's "Carnaval de Venise." Eventually, she received the second highest salary ever paid a Russian ballerina until her day — 12,000 rubles. In 1865, when only 27, she made a genuine love-marriage with a Russian noble (N. K. Zeifert), and left the stage because her mother-in-law demanded this sacrifice. She died of tuberculosis in 1879.

A male talent in some respects comparable with Muravyova was Leo Ivanov, who finished the school course in 1852, after working under Pimenov, Frédéric, and Jean Petipa, Marius's father. He was also a gifted musician, but the management of the school did its best to discourage him from developing this gift. He first achieved popularity while dancing opposite Tatyana Smirnova, who personally interested herself in his advancement, with the result that he was appointed ballet instructor and subsequently premier danseur. His repertory was immense, and he was equally able in both the classic ballet and in characteristic dances (especially Spanish and Italian). In 1882, he became *régisseur* of the St. Petersburg ballet. Though he collaborated with such lights as Petipa, Herdt, and Cechetti, the fact that his talents never received full recognition is apparently traceable to a certain amount of jealousy on the part of Marius Petipa. From 1885, Ivanov not only continued his functions as premier danseur but also served as *maître de ballet*. In the later capacity, he staged some 17 ballets, most of which are erroneously attributed to Petipa, whose name always appeared on the poster as *maître de ballet en chef*. Among the famous ballets for which Ivanov was mainly or wholly responsible should be listed, "Sylvia" (Delibes), "The Nutcracker Suite," "Swan Lake" (Chaikovsky), and "Acis and Galatea" (Kadlec). Petipa's participation in "Le Lac des Cygnes" was very slight, and "The Nutcracker Suite" was wholly Ivanov's, since Petipa was ill during its preparation and thus could not interfere with it. Ivanov was decorated three times by the imperial government, and died in harness in 1901. He was a great master of the classic tradition. Despite the silence of the textbooks about him, Ivanov deserves to be enrolled among the outstanding names of Russian choreography.

The most able comic dancer of the period was Nicholas Troitski, who finished the ballet course in 1857, and was assigned to the ballet troupe, regardless of his personal desire to become a comedian. His advancement as a comic dancer was accidental to the extent that he

first won his reputation in 1864 by substituting at short notice for Timothy Stukolkin, an older specialist of the same type, in "Konyok-Gorbunok," and won thereby the position of premier danseur comique, which he held until 1884. Gustav Legat, the son of a Swedish stage mechanic, was a classmate of Troitski, and his alien origin somewhat retarded his career. Though he frequently understudied leading dancers (even Marius Petipa himself), he made little progress at St. Petersburg, and in 1865 was detailed to Moscow to substitute for a sick colleague. There he effectively staged "Rêve d'artiste" himself. In 1868 he was definitely assigned to Moscow, where he not only danced but served as senior instructor in the local ballet school until 1875.

In the 10 years under review (1848-1857), the ballet school graduated over 150 students, thus more than in the previous 18 years. The quality of the artists turned out — and among those not listed here there were many scarcely less able — demonstrates that the epoch of decline ended abruptly with the advent of Perrault and Petipa, and that even the last ten years of Gedeonov's administration were by no means despicable as to results. This is the more interesting since the decade began with the violent cholera epidemic of 1848, and during the years leading up to the Crimean War was characterized by a political regime even more reactionary than that which had prevailed in Nicholas I's early years. This situation was caused, of course, by the official Russian reaction to the revolution of 1848. Socially, however, the ballet was harmless, since it treated politically indifferent subjects, and by the luxury of its décors, the complexity of its evolutions, and the charm of its music it became, especially under Perrault's direction, a type of political anodyne.

Apart from Taglioni, Elssler, and Grisi, Russia was also favored in 1853-1856 with guest performances by the Austrian danseuse Gabriele Jella (von Spielmann). Her rather ordinary features were balanced by her brilliant eyes, and she was regarded as a character dancer of major stature. Her most striking rôle was that of Gretchen in Perrault's ballet "Faust," where her artistry was especially appreciated in the mad scene. She was, however, the last of the foreign ballerinas to be welcomed with open arms in St. Petersburg, and from 1855 local talents had the unquestioned preference, which was doubtless intensified by the foreign success of artists like Smirnova and Muravyova.

Another interesting character who came on the scene about this time was Felix Kshesinski (Krzesinski), of Polish extraction and training, who made his first St. Petersburg appearance in 1853. His

execution of national dances (especially the mazurka) won him immediate approbation, and he became a regular member of the ballet, to which he belonged for over 50 years until his death in 1905. His daughter Matilda-Maria Kshesinskaya was one of the great pre-war ballerinas (she still lives abroad), and his son Joseph was associated with the St. Petersburg ballet until 1928. The elder Kshesinski is famous for his introduction of realistic make-up in eccentric rôles. He began his career by dancing opposite Jella, and lived to dance opposite his daughter.

Marius Petipa not only used the services of Ivanov, but in his whole career derived information and assistance from any available competent source. In 1859, for instance, Charles Saint-Léon (best-known for his later ballet "Coppelia," 1889) visited St. Petersburg, and later appeared there annually through 1869, during which interval he passed much of his knowledge on to Petipa. Similarly, in the ballet school, Petipa used the services of Christian Johansen, a well-known Swedish dancer, from 1860 on, although Johansen became a regular member of the staff only in 1869. Johansen, as a matter of fact, had been well-trained and successful in Stockholm before he came to St. Petersburg in 1837 to see Maria Taglioni dance. He then made the acquaintance of Titus, and through him met both Gedeonov and Andreyanova, who secured him an engagement. From 1841, he served for 43 years on the imperial stage and during his career as a teacher there was no artist of the ballet in whose training he did not have some share. Before his death in 1903, he was known as the Methuselah of the ballet.

The reform of 1853 brought with it the appointment of Paul Fyodorov (1803-1879) as director of the theatrical school, while the Ministry of the Imperial Court had passed, the year before, into the hands of Count Vladimir Adlerberg. The latter was a loyal bureaucrat but an educated man, and his influence on the theater administration was salutary. Fyodorov was indebted to Adlerberg for his advancement, and though he had his frivolous moments as a leading member of the Society of Involuntary Dancers, he was conscientious in the execution of his duties. While Saburov and Borkh were directors of the theaters, he was practically his own master. One of his first efforts was directed at creating textbooks for ballet, drama, and vocal art by printing properly organized lectures on these subjects. He then found, to his surprise, that there was actually no organized science or art of choreography, and that instruction was carried out by the personal example and empirical methods of the various teachers. Fyodorov thus gave up in despair his demand for textbooks on the

ballet, and so the situation remains in Russia practically to the present day.

Borisoglebski, the most recent Soviet historian of the subject, wrote in 1937: "How can it be explained that in the 200 years since Russian choreography was introduced we have not had one single textbook or pedagogical accessory? Hundreds of human beings are subjected to intense school training, hundreds of thousands of rubles are spent annually on theatrical education, and there is no science, no theory like scientific teaching methods? It can be explained by the fact that in this interval all instruction was oral, and it was carried on by persons often very gifted, but without proper method or systematic check on the results obtained. Only in the last 20-30 years have feeble attempts been made to create a textbook." The situation is of course complicated by the fact that the dancers, however able, may not be effective teachers or writers, and aggravated by the absence both of proper librettos and of a generally adopted method of notation. These circumstances explain why our knowledge of the ballet before 1900 is so fragmentary, and why we know so little of what the ballet before Petipa actually looked like.

In 1856, a movement was set in motion toward changing the whole organization of the theatrical schools so that the dramatic, operatic, and instrumental divisions should be turned into a conservatory, while the ballet section should become a separate establishment. Through his influence with Adlerberg, Fyodorov was able to stave off this reform on ostensibly budgetary motives. The subsequent St. Petersburg Conservatory developed in 1873 out of the music school organized by Anton Rubinstein under the auspices of the St. Petersburg section of the Russian musical society.

Teaching in the ballet school at this period was on the rough and ready side. Even Alexandra Kemmerer, one of the most brilliant pupils, later wrote: "Petipa was our real terror. An excellent maître de ballet and a great specialist in his field, he did not hesitate to be explosive, rough, and even coarse to an impossible degree. The slightest mistake or misunderstanding of the teacher made him lose his temper. We all feared him like fire, though we used to make fun of him behind his back because he spoke Russian poorly, and it sounded very funny." Another anonymous writer describes the methods of the maître de ballet as follows: "'Balancez! un, deux! Fouetté . . . one, two, three! . . . Pirouette! That's wrong, start over! You understand nothing! You dance like a duck!' the master would fume, running from one dancer to another and pulling them by their arms or their shoulders." And again, on the school methods: "First of all, the danc-

ing teacher proceeds to instruct the little sufferer in choreographic geometry. However curious, it is nonetheless true! After making the little girl stand painfully with heels together, the master teaches her to hold her feet in a horizontal position. After accomplishing this purpose, they go on to other torments. The child's leg is braced against a rod fixed to the floor in a slanting position, so as to teach the future dancer to give her legs an almost perpendicular position. After these two trials and straining of legs, they begin to teach the following items: *assemblé*, *jeté*, *balancé*, *fouetté*, *cabriole*, *pirouettes*, and *entrechats* of various dimensions and heights. This is the entire academic dancing course. According to their physical abilities and the formation of their legs, the dancing teacher divides the pupils into types, paying attention to the development of those talents by which they can later distinguish themselves. There are two types in the art of dancing, the *ballonné* and the *tacqueté*. The *ballonné* is the school of the famous Taglioni: airiness, lightness, combined with grace and simplicity, vols, and charming rounded gestures full of languor. The *tacqueté* is the school of the no less famous Fanny Elssler and Ferraris: liveliness, speed, sauts, small steps, and passionate, fiery, impetuous gestures. Each of the budding dancers who desires to develop in herself the qualities of the Taglioni school devises for herself various special torments quite different from those to which the partisans of the other school are subjected."

The excellence of the talents produced by the school during the '50's was even enhanced during the next decade. Vera Lyadova, who graduated in 1858, subsequently married Leo Ivanov, Petipa's collaborator, and her successful appearances in the ballet occurred before 1869, since in that year she passed over to the Alexandrinski theater, where she specialized in the operetta. It is recorded of Lyadova that she regarded her poor teeth as an obstacle to success in this field. She thus underwent twenty extractions and, after her new teeth were fitted, she created such a sensation in the title-rôle of Offenbach's "*La belle Hélène*" that the house was sold out for weeks. Unfortunately, however, she died in 1870 from an overdose of some drug. A graduate of two years later, Alexandra Kemmerer (1861) enjoyed a distinguished career of twenty years as an unusually popular danseuse and lived until 1931. She received most of her early instruction under Frédéric Malavergne, and in 1867 earned a success at Moscow paralleled only by that of Fanny Elssler twenty years before. During her career, Kemmerer starred in fourteen ballets. Her best partners were Goltz and Ivanov, and her execution of Spanish dances provoked wild enthusiasm.

A curious career, though largely outside the ballet, was set on the record by Cleopatra Glukhareva, who graduated in 1866. Despite a brilliant record as an apprentice, she preferred the drama to the ballet, but her transfer to this branch was opposed by the management. As she knew French very well, she acted with the French troupe at St. Petersburg, then appeared as an actress in the provinces, and finally married a minor member of the Karatygin family. She was thus dismissed from the ballet in 1879 for absence without leave. Her dramatic talents were, however, such that in 1896 she joined the Maly Theater at Moscow, and continued to act on the principal stages of the two capitals until 1930. Her artistic career thus lasted over 75 years, and she died in 1933. A remarkable technical talent of the period, though handicapped by a lack of temperament, was Catherine Vazem, the daughter of a German teacher, who graduated in 1867. She was one of the few ballerinas of the day capable of double pirouettes, and after her retirement from the stage in 1886 she taught for three years as Petipa's assistant. After the revolution, she was granted a pension by the Soviet government and lived till 1937.

The most prominent male dancer trained at this period was, like Vazem, of German extraction. Paul Herdt was the son of a German suburban mechanic. Even as a pupil, his talents attracted attention. During his training, he was schooled by both Petipas (father and son) as well as by Johansen, and he also danced with Felix Kshesinski. After graduating in 1864, he became premier danseur two years later, and was naturalized in 1868. Herdt is the connecting link between the regimes of Petipa and Dyagilev. He had already celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his first stage appearance in 1885, and was honored in 1890 with the title of "soloist of His Majesty." He had also been teaching since 1880. In 1909, at the age of 65, he went to Paris under Dyagilev and made five appearances. He subsequently resumed his teaching activities, numbering among his famous pupils Pavlova, Karsavina, Kyaksht, Smirnova, Fokin, and the Legats (Nicolai and Serge). Despite a severe injury received in 1910, he made his last stage appearance in the fall of 1916 after an artistic career of 56 years. Herdt is generally accounted the best classic dancer who appeared in the entire history of the St. Petersburg ballet. He was favored by a singularly appealing physique and appearance, and his technique in supporting solo ballerinas made him extremely popular. He had an excellent stage presence, beside being a master of costume and make-up. He also possessed some talent as a sketcher and painter. He always favored the grace and elegance of the French school against the strength and virtuosity of the Italian,

as typified by Enrico Cecchetti, although several of his pupils, especially Pavlova, profited by Cecchetti's instruction. During his long career, Herdt appeared in 108 ballets in the Marinski theater alone. He deliberately avoided chances to function as maître de ballet, though he did complete the arrangement of Ivanov's "Sylvia" and staged Crozé's "Giavotta" with music by Saint-Saëns. He died near Terjoki, in Eastern Finland, in the summer of 1917.

It is obvious, of course, that Petipa's success with the Petersburg ballet was due not only to his own talents but to the culmination of a tradition 125 years old and to the ability of his assistants (e.g., Goltz, Ivanov, Johansen). In any case, his half-century of association with the Petersburg ballet represents the culmination of its older period. The ballet soon attained a world-wide reputation, and its chief artists were favored guests in European opera-houses. Petipa brought the combined French and Italian classic schools to their highest point. Conscious that his pupils represented the supreme attainment of this type of ballet, he insisted on such perfection as could be acquired only by zealously continued training and practice even after their term of actual school instruction was over. He demanded of his pupils a "steel toe," dexterous entrechats, light pirouettes, and dizzy fougues. He was also fortunate in his composers even before Chaikovsky came on the scene. The Genoese Cesare Pugni (1802-1870), a graduate of the Milan conservatory, who had composed for Taglioni, Elsler, and Grisi, in his nineteen years of Russian service from 1851 to 1870 provided the music for 35 ballets, including "Esmeralda," "Korymb-Gorbunok," and "Pharaoh's Daughter," his greatest successes. His younger contemporary, the Viennese Ludwig Minkus, worked at St. Petersburg from 1871 to 1886, and himself composed 15 others.

Petipa's epoch in the ballet was one "of large canvases," since he followed the current taste for long ballets with prolog and epilog, and endeavored to charm the spectator with the most varied stage-effects and dances, including picturesque ensembles, variations, complicated pas de deux, pas d'action, pas de trois, etc. As Khudekov remarked, "So many ballets were presented that one can only marvel at the inventiveness of this ever-young choreographer. But at the same time one involuntarily notices that almost all of his productions were put together on the same plan. Once established, the model was varied only by the time and the place of the action. Diversity was expressed not so much in the internal structure as in the external representation, i.e., in setting and costume. Ballet architecture in the same style was repeated in practically all the weighty ballets of the author of

'Pharaoh's Daughter' (which had six acts). First came the inevitable pas d'action with 2-5 artists of both sexes. This was the clou of each ballet which particularly concerned the master. The success of the prima ballerina depended on this complicated dance of pantomime and virtuosity with its variations and coda. Here were performed choreographic quartettes, trios, duets, or simply impressive arias with variations. When a pas de deux was presented, a cavalier and his lady first came on together. This was the entrée, after which the partners took a pose and performed an adagio, in which the cavalier supported his partner as she executed double and triple tours sur les pointes, in which adagios always ended. After the adagio, the dancer and his partner performed their variations. Here was expressed the virtuosity which characterized the individual talents of each performer, and on this basis the public judged an artist's capacity. Pas d'action with three or more artists followed the same order. Here each soloist had a chance to exhibit herself in variations especially composed for her by the maître de ballet. These variations formed a part of every pas d'action, in which the prima ballerina always had the most important rôle. In each ballet, a function was reserved for the chorus. The corps de ballet performed various "balabile" and group dances. Here Petipa supplied the artists with various accessories which diverted the eyes and ears of the audience, but frequently were not very sensible and often resembled the rattles used on Italian stages. A few characteristic or semi-characteristic dances assigned in advance to particular artists — such was the arsenal of weapons that the maître de ballet disposed in scenes and acts."

Petipa did not encourage aimless dashing about the stage, and he never favored gymnastic stunts, insisting rather on constant dancing. He was particularly interested in graceful use of the arms. "Anyone can dance with his feet," he said, "but to know how to handle one's arms — that is the whole story." The chief criticism which can be leveled against him is his lack of generosity toward his subordinates. His was the name constantly featured, and he expended all his tact (and successfully, it must be recognized) upon maintaining friendly relations with the higher officials on whom the budget of the ballet depended.

The third generation of Petipa's pupils belongs to the decade 1869-1879, and they maintained the standard set by their seniors in the ballet school. Eugenia Sokolova had successfully appeared in public for several years before she graduated in 1869. Her talents were such that the management winked at her marriage to a naval officer in 1871 and at an absence without leave of several months. She per-

formed with rising popularity not only in the ballet, but in Italian and Russian operas. She was invited to figure as a guest-artist at Milan, Florence, and Paris, but was refused permission to make these appearances. After her retirement in 1886, she returned for two years as a teacher in 1882, and in 1920, when seventy years old and hardly able to walk, she resumed her teaching activities. Sokolova died in 1925. More notorious than distinguished was Barbara Nikitina, who graduated from the ballet school in 1877. Though talented, her reputation depended largely on the support of her wealthy suitors. In 1886, when she was making guest appearances in Berlin, F. I. Bazilevski, her sponsor, bought favorable reviews in the local press and had her carriage trimmed daily with live roses or lilies. She retired from the stage in 1893, and lived on until 1920. Despite her eccentricities, she was a classic dancer of great promise, and by some enthusiasts was even extravagantly compared with Taglioni.

Among the special students of the ballet school during the '70's was Anna Johansen, the daughter of Marius Petipa's able Swedish assistant. She made her first appearance in "Esmeralda" in 1878, and the extraordinary smoothness of her movements, together with her elegance and grace, immediately stamped her as an exceptionally competent exponent of the Taglioni tradition. She was famous not only for her ability to render the plastic beauty of the dance, but also for the poetry of her interpretations. She became an instructor in 1911 and died in 1917. Equally famous was Maria Petipa, daughter of Marius by his wife, the ballerina Maria Surovshikova. Beside her class-work, she studied with Johansen and later under her father, and in 1877, without finishing the regular course, she was designated as a member of the troupe. She attained immediate success in her father's ballet "The White Dahlia," and became celebrated for her temperament and plastic artistry. Her photographs reveal her as a figure of unusual grace. She was less gifted in classic than in characteristic repertory, but the former won her acclaim at Paris, and at Budapest she excelled even the local stars in the Csardas. She retired from the stage in 1907 and made a wealthy marriage. After the revolution, she lived on in the Soviet Union in comparative poverty until 1926, when she emigrated to Paris and died there in 1928. Her success was due more to her father's backing and her own verve and personal charm than to her technical ability, though her use of her arms and hands and her play of facial expression were particularly applauded during her public career.

The only outstanding male dancer of this group was Serge Lukianov, the son of a fireman, who finished the school in 1879. He was cele-

brated for his skill in Russian national dances, especially those of comic nature. He frequently partnered Maria Petipa in Spanish dances, and on one occasion successfully substituted for Kshesinski. In three instances, he was fined for not shaving his mustache, and was given to heavy drinking. His health was eventually undermined from a meningitis that followed one of his drinking sessions, with the result that in 1904 he ceased to dance and was appointed an instructor. During his career, he appeared in 44 ballets, including "Raimonda," "The Sleeping Beauty," and "The Nutcracker Suite," and died in 1911.

The accession of Alexander III in 1881 caused several changes in the official personnel intimately connected with the theatrical world. Alexander Adlerberg, who had been Minister of the Imperial Court, was replaced in that capacity by Hilarion Vorontzov-Dashkov, who held this post until 1897. At the same time, Ivan Vsevolozhski became director of the theaters. This latter change was a relief to Petipa, since Baron Kuster, who had been in charge of the theaters since Stepan Gedeonov's retirement in 1875, was not favorably disposed to the large expenditures necessitated by the maestro's monumental settings. Vsevolozhski was himself a dramatist of parts, and especially gifted as a designer of stage-costumes. He was largely responsible both for the libretto and for the costumes of "The Sleeping Beauty." He also founded *The Annual of the Imperial Theaters*, an indispensable source-book for the Russian theater during the thirty years prior to the war, and in 1899 became director of the Hermitage. Vsevolozhski's influence on the ballet was not entirely salutary, since he was inclined to emphasize the abstract aesthetic side rather than the dramatic, which, for all Petipa's conventionality, had always been the latter's strong point. At the same time, however, Vsevolozhski insisted on a unity of style in setting, costumes, dances, and music, which he forced to harmonize with the basic idea and tone of a given spectacle. He also did away with the previous practices of having sets painted by various artists and of allowing costumes to be designed by persons having no professional relation to a given ballet.

Even in the '80's, instruction in the ballet school remained on the level previously described. The general culture of the poor students was totally neglected, and they regarded it as only the just reward of a laborious and monotonous training if they were fortunate enough to win the support and financial backing of some amply solvent admirer. It is significant that professional specialists in the ballet produced very little technical literature. Apart from official documents, it is to the memoirs of ballet-enthusiasts that we are indebted for most of the

information we possess. There does not exist to this day in Russian a single good libretto of a ballet performance or any systematic criticism of ballet presentations. As far as the general cultural instruction itself is concerned, it was not until the last decade of the nineteenth century that a marked improvement was noted. Under Petipa, dancing technique attained unparalleled heights. Only the reforms of 1888, under the direction of Vsevolozhski and Pogozhev, improved the general tone of the entire theatrical instruction system, and that date is the turning point which separates the nineteenth century from the modern period.

The last eight years of the ballet school before this crucial date are not notable for the production of any distinguished danseuses, but for the appearance of two male artists whose activity extends to the present day. Alexander Shiryayev (born in 1867) is still one of the senior instructors in folk-dancing at the choreographic school in Leningrad. His mother was herself a ballet dancer, and his father a member of the opera orchestra. He began to act while a boy of 10, received a Didelot scholarship for further dramatic training, and began to concentrate on training as a dancer in 1881, when he was fourteen years of age. He finished the course in 1885 after working under Ivanov, Petipa, and Herdt. As he reached maturity, he was celebrated for his mastery of characteristic dances, which he began to teach in 1891. He was the first instructor to put the teaching of folk-dances on a scientific basis. Eventually, Shiryayev also opened a school in London where most of Pavlova's troupe subsequently trained. He made guest appearances in practically all the European centers, dancing opposite such younger artists as Preobrazhenskaya, Geltzer, Karsavina, Trefilova, and Pavlova. He resembled Goltz in being equally talented as a musician, and at one time experimented with the cinema as a means of recording folk-dances and even whole ballets. His departure from St. Petersburg was motivated by his refusal to take part in intrigues against the veteran Petipa. Being a progressive at heart, he returned to the Russian stage for three years after the revolution, but since 1921 has devoted himself entirely to teaching.

Joseph Kshesinski, the son of the Polish Felix, is almost an equally venerable veteran of the ballet. Born in 1868, he finished the ballet school in 1886, after already showing great promise in his juvenile appearances. In spite of a severe leg injury incurred in 1891, he rose in 1900 to the position of premier danseur, subsequently receiving a gold medal and a decoration. He was retired from the ballet in 1905 for beating up a colleague who spoke disparagingly of Anna Pavlova and himself. From that time he occupied himself with teaching, and also

took up dog-breeding as a side-line. He was eventually reengaged in 1919 as dancer and maître de ballet at the Marinski, with which he is still associated. In 1928, he celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his first theatrical appearance. Such devoted artists bridge the gap between the classic epoch and the modern period.

Their younger colleague, Nikolai Legat, completed the ballet course in 1888. Though he began his professional career in a humble capacity and at a low salary, his ability was such that he soon became Paul Herdt's understudy and generally known as an able classic dancer, though not a virtuoso. He began to teach in 1902, and was the first instructor to become conspicuous for his individual handling of his pupils, both in dancing and in corrective exercises. In 1905, he became second maître de ballet at the Marinski, but in 1911 an injury to the spine forced him to abandon dancing, though he continued to teach. He was on leave abroad when the war broke out in 1914, and settled in London.

Up to 1888, the ballet school graduated 891 artists, 626 women and 265 men, a majestic development from the modest beginnings under Jean-Baptiste Landé in 1738.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

GRANDEUR AND DECLINE OF THE GERMAN BALTS

By ALFRED BILMANIS

1. *German Baltic Colonization and Its Aims*

WHEN THE Germans made their mass exodus from the Baltic States in 1939, they admitted thereby that their alleged cultural mission in the Baltic area, which had been conducted for several centuries, was a complete failure, and that they had not succeeded in their push to the northeastern Baltic, regarded in Germany since early medieval times as the land of milk and honey. Foodstuffs were available there in quantity, such as dried and smoked meats and fish, honey, vegetables, rye, oats, barley, and wheat, as well as raw materials (timber, tar, hemp, flax, rope, sailcloth, tallow, wool, hides, potash, wax, furs and amber) There was an increasing demand for these goods in Western Europe, the population of which had considerably grown since the early Middle Ages.

Searching for these goods, Germans as early as the tenth century started to colonize the lands of the Northern Slavs, who dwelt on the shores of the North Sea in the basins of the rivers Elbe and Oder, and along the southeastern Baltic coast in Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Thence German merchants pushed farther northeast to the lands of the Poles and the Old Prussians, north of the Vistula river. They sailed on to the lands of the Latvians and Estonians farther up the Baltic Sea, following in the footsteps of the Eastern Vikings, particularly the Danes, who became the first complete masters of the Baltic in the eleventh century during the reign of Knut the Great. Soon thereafter the Danes concentrated their energies on England, and the German Hanseati profited by this Danish concentration to establish themselves as masters of the Baltic.

Balthasar Russow,¹ a chronicler of the sixteenth century, repeats an old story that in 1158 German merchants from Bremen ("Bremer Koeplude") driven by a storm to the Gulf of Riga, soon arrived at the mouth of the Daugava or Duna river, where they first met the sparsely-settled Liv fishermen belonging to a Finnish tribe dwelling on the Baltic outlets of Latvia. However, it seems not to have been an accident at all. As early as 1163, the Germans were full masters of the island of Gotland, called "Eystrasalts Auga" (the eye of the Baltic).² The wares they brought to old Latvia were broadcloth called "watemal," salt, soap, wines, dried grapes, figs, walnuts, raisins,

¹ Balthasar Russow, *Chronica der Provintz Lyfflandt* (1584), in *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum* (Riga, 1853), II, 11.

² G. Bie Ravndal, *Stories on the East Vikings* (Minneapolis, 1938), p. 22.

pepper and other spices, miscellaneous dry goods and utensils, weapons, knives, axes, saws, etc. using the market places known already to the Vikings.

Gradually German merchants took over the Viking trade in the Baltic. The growth of their business culminated in the first part of the thirteenth century, after they had organized the powerful Hanseatic League or the Merchants' Company of the North German cities. The wealth of the Baltic markets in the goods so needed by Western Europe was no novelty for the Vikings, but it was an agreeable discovery for the German merchants. Being monopolistic by nature, the Germans spread the news that they had discovered — *aufgesegett* — these Baltic countries and that consequently they were theirs.³ Actually it was by no means difficult to "discover" the Baltic lands, since the island of Gotland lies only about 80 nautical miles from the coast of Kurland. The moment their sailing vessels (at that time their draught was not great) entered the Gulf of Riga, it was likewise easy to "discover" the old Scandinavian trading port of Riga, the *locus Rige* or the *navium statio* (mentioned by the Chronicler Henricus de Lettis and situated upstream about 8 miles from the mouth of the Daugava river), or the adjacent port of the Semigallians, the Portus Semigallorum, on the left bank of the Daugava, and the Liv settlement of Ykescola, on the right bank of the Daugava, south of the big cataracts and directly opposite the port of the Semigallians.⁴

According to some German historians,⁵ the Finnish Livs migrated to Latvia, already inhabited by the Latvians, in search of better fishing grounds, which they found at the Latvian Baltic outlet — the mouth of the Daugava and Gauja rivers, rich in salmon, lampreys, flounder, eels, and other fish. They settled also on the shores of the Gulf of Riga, also rich in fish, particularly sardines, small herrings, etc. The Livs naturally tried to emancipate themselves from the overlordship of the Latvian tribes, the original masters of the land, and looked for help first from the Slavs and later from the Germans. The names of these indigenous Latvian tribes are mentioned by the chronicler Henricus de Lettis and they are: the Kuronians, the Semigallians, and the Selonians living south of the Daugava river, and the Talavians and Latgallians to the north of the river.⁶

³ Russow, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴ Henricus de Lettis (Heinrich der Lette), *Origines Livoniae Sacrae et Civilis, 1180–1227*, ed J. Gruber (Frankfort, 1740), reprinted in *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum*, I, 52 (1198, 1200, 1201).

⁵ Dr. A. Bielenstein, *Die Holzbauten und Holzgerate der Letten* (St. Petersburg, 1907), II, 640.

⁶ Henricus d. L., *loc. cit.*, *passim*, annis 1185–1209. The Russian Primary Chronicle also mentions the Kuronians, Semigallians, Latgallians and Livonians (*PSRL*², Leningrad, 1926, vol. 4. *Kors'*, *Zimēgola*, *Lēi'gola*, *Liv'*, corrupted to *Ljub'*, *Lib'* in various texts).

The German merchant-explorers took stock of this situation and used it to their profit and to foster their purposes and aims. The master-mind of the Hanseatic League, the high Council of Bremen, had also discovered that the Kuronians, the Semigallians, and the Selonians would resist fiercely, being favored by their geographic position, since they had the Gulf of Riga and the river Daugava as a natural border to the north, and the Baltic Sea on the west, while to the south they bordered on their friendly kinsfolk, the Samogitians, a Lithuanian tribe. But quite different was the position of the Latgallians and the Talavians, whose neighbors to the north were the Estonians and to the east the Slavs. They were in constant feud with the Līvs dwelling at the mouth and along the right bank of the Daugava river, thus separating the Latgallians and Talavians from the Kuronians and Semigallians. The northern Latvian tribes were often ravaged by the Estonians, by the Slavs of Pskov and by the Lithuanians, and so the Germans offered them their help, which was accepted, just as "baptism" was also accepted as a condition for German protection.⁷

It is worth while mentioning that the German missionaries did not arrive in a completely pagan country. As early as the eleventh century Hiltuin, a missionary from Scandinavia, had preached among the Balts. In 1048 a church was built by the Danes in Kurland.⁸ In the twelfth century a part of the Latgallians and the Talavians already knew the Greek Orthodox religion. In 1209 there were several Greek Orthodox churches in Guerceke (from Guersk — Viking trader), on the right bank of the middle Daugava, the residence of King Vissewald of Lettia.⁹ King Talivald of Talava (bordering on Estonia and Pleskau — Pskov), as well as his sons, belonged to the Greek Orthodox religion, and was converted to the Roman Catholic faith in 1214, a year before his death.¹⁰

The German trick was to pose as friends and allies of the Latgallians and the Talavians after using the same method with the Līvs, whose lands at the mouth of the Daugava and on the estuary of the Gauja they already had transformed in 1207 into the German principality of Livonia. This tiny Livonian principality was systematically enlarged by the time-honored processes of diplomacy and force as conditions required.

⁷ Henricus d. L., pp. 133-136.

⁸ Bishop Adam of Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, ca. 1075, ed. H. B. Schmeidler (Hannover, 1917), p. 244.

⁹ Henricus d. L., *loc. cit.*, Prof. A. Švābe, "Jersikas Karal valsts" (The Kingdom of Jersike), *Senātnie un Māksla* (Antiquity and Art), 1 (1936), 15.

¹⁰ Henricus d. L., *op. cit.*, p. 180.

The chief aim of the first German Bishops Meinhard, Berthold, and particularly Albert (1199–1229), beside “baptizing” was to develop trade between the Hanseatic cities and the baptized lands. In order to foster the trade of his new residence (Riga), Albert obtained in 1201 from Pope Innocent III an interdict on the *Portus Semigallorum*. This forced German and other merchants to trade only with Riga.¹¹ To the crusaders he ceded one-third of the land which he had obtained for use from the local tribes as compensation for the promised protection (usually two-thirds of their holdings) and later simply annexed.¹² In 1211 Albert granted the German burghers of Riga and the merchants from the island of Gotland (also Germans) exemption from taxes.¹³

The obvious aim of the German colonizers and crusaders was to exploit to the highest possible degree the newly converted Baltic peoples, and they pursued this aim so brutally that Frederick II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, issued in March, 1224 at Catania a manifesto,¹⁴ by the terms of which he took under his high protection the converted inhabitants of Prussia, Samlandia (north of Königsberg in East Prussia), Semigallia, Livonia, Estonia and other Baltic provinces.

After asserting that he had obtained reliable information about what was going on in the Baltic, the Emperor proclaimed:

Universos et singulos eorum cum omnibus bonis eorum sub nostra et imperii protectione et speciali defensione suscipimus . . . eis et heredibus eorum . . . confirmamus perpetuo libertatem et omnes immunitates. Eximimus eos eciam a servitute et iurisdictione regum, ducum et principum, comitatum et ceterorum magnatum . . . ut nonnisi sacrosancte matri ecclesie ac Romano imperio, quemadmodum alii liberi homines imperii teneatur parere . . . nullusque eos . . . impetere, molestare, offendere vel eorum quietem perturbare presumat . . .

This sounds like the Four Freedoms of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, even before Emperor Frederick II, the Popes also tried to persuade the crusaders to abstain from harming the converted Baltic peoples, e.g., Pope Innocent III in 1208,¹⁵ in 1211,¹⁶ and in 1215,¹⁷ and Pope Honorius III in 1219.¹⁸ In 1225 Pope Honorius almost repeated Frederick's manifesto in his Bull issued on January 3 in Rome. It declared: “Sub beati Petri et nostra protectione sus-

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 78.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 112 (1207).

¹³ *Les Sources de l'Histoire de Lettonie*, II (Riga, 1937), 43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 78–79.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 31

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 59

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69

cipimus, ut in libertate vestra manentes nulli alii quam soli Christo . . . et ecclesiae Romanae sitis subiecti.”¹⁹

But the arrogant German colonizers, blinded by their greed, disregarded the Emperor's manifesto and likewise ignored the admonitions of the Holy See, which excommunicated the Livonian Order and laid interdicts on it. They continued on their road of bloody conquest. The wars with the Semigallians and Kuronians, which began in 1219, ended with the subjugation of these Latvian tribes also at the end of the thirteenth century.²⁰ Thus bondage and servitude became the destiny of the Latvians converted to Christianity, and they were made peons of the knights and of the vassals of the Livonian Order.

The new principality of Livonia or the Terra Mariana, which on February 2, 1207 the German Emperor Philip II had recognized as a part of the Holy Empire,²¹ soon became an outpost of the German *Drang nach Osten*. On the other hand, the “baptized” lands of the Baltic peoples became a good source of income for the masters of the area: the burghers of Riga, Reval, and other Hanseatic cities, the vassals of the Archbishop and of the Livonian Order, the ministerials of the Archbishop and the Knights of the Order — all Germans. But simultaneously a grim feud over supremacy arose between the city of Riga and the Livonian Order (1297–1491). This of course weakened the new Baltic principality, and when, in the sixteenth century, during the wars with Muscovy, it came to a supreme test of solidarity, patriotism, and sacrifice, the principality of Livonia appeared to be a degenerate state. Neither the burghers, the knights, nor the vassals of the Order were ready to give up even a part of their accumulated wealth for the organization of a military force sufficient to oppose the menacing enemy from the east. As no more crusaders were available, mercenary soldiers had to be hired from Germany. When these were not paid on time, they sold out to the enemy and delivered the castles of the Livonian Order to Muscovy. Subsequently, in order to preserve their status, privileges, and wealth acquired by devious processes, the German nobles agreed to the partition of Livonia. Although the responsible rulers, they were unable to preserve the unity of their adopted land. Thus in 1561, by agreement with the German nobles,²² Livonia was partitioned between Poland and Sweden,

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁰ “Latvijas Vēsture” (Latvian History), *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca* (Latvian Encyclopedia), Riga, 1935, xi, pp. 22297–22299.

²¹ *Les Sources*, II, p. 28.

²² A. Švābe, “Sīgismunda Augusta Livonijas Politika” (The Livonian Policy of Sigismund-August), *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls* (Journal of the Institute of Latvian History), II (Riga, 1937), 507–509.

and partly sold to Denmark. (The German Bishop von Muenchhausen sold in 1559 his Bishopric of Pilten and Oesel to the King of Denmark.²³)

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Livonian nobles residing on the part ceded to the Poles went over to Sweden after Poland, under the young King Sigismund III, had begun to question their titles to the land by the *Ordinatio Livoniae I* of 1589 and the *Ordinatio Livoniae II* of 1598. Taking advantage of Polish-Swedish differences at the time, the Livonian nobles tried in 1599 to obtain the legalization of their privileges and of the institute of serfdom in the form of a code prepared by David von Hilchen, a newly created Livonian nobleman, who was supposed to have influence among the members of the Polish Sejm in Warsaw. But the Hilchen code was rejected.²⁴ Having failed to secure from Poland what they wanted, the German nobles of Livonia now turned to Sweden, which was then in the ascendancy. Through this action Sweden became the master of almost all of Livonia proper by the beginning of the seventeenth century. But bitter disappointment awaited the Livonian nobles. When a certain Engelbert von Mengden prepared for the Swedish Crown a Livonian code (largely based on the Hilchen code), which would have practically legalized serfdom and confirmed the illegally held landed possessions, it was rejected by the Swedish Government.²⁵ Undaunted, the German squires now turned to local authorities to achieve their end. Consequently in 1671 a Swedish Governor-General of Riga promulgated on his own authority a so-called *Landesordnung* or Police Ordinance by which serfdom was actually legalized. But news of this measure eventually reached Stockholm, and the Swedish Government soon revoked this *Landesordnung*.²⁶ Simultaneously the Swedish Crown introduced far-reaching reforms. The peasants obtained the right of appeal to courts and even of direct complaint to Stockholm. But the biggest blow to the German noblemen's prestige was the reform of the local courts under which peasants could serve as jurors side by side with the landlords. At the same time the Swedish Government ordered the courts to investigate the land titles of the German squires.²⁷

Having failed in their attempts to obtain satisfaction from the

²³ "Latvijas Vēsture," p. 22305; J. Meuvret, *Histoire des Pays Baltiques* (Paris, 1934), p. 96.

²⁴ R. Vipper, "Līfjandiskie barony v roli teoretikovu krepostničestva," *Istoričeskij Žurnal*, 1943, 11-12, p. 44.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Swedish Crown, the Livonian nobles now turned to Muscovy under Peter the Great, who invaded Estonia in 1699, four years after the disbanding of the oligarchic Livonian diet. Tsar Peter promised the German nobles what was not his to give, i.e., the legalization of all of their privileges. Consequently, after Livonia was annexed to Russia in 1721, the most gruesome state of bondage and serfdom was established there, to the complete satisfaction of the German overlords.²⁸ A century later, the Kuronian German squires, seeking to legalize the results of their land-grabbing in Kurland — the core of present-day Latvia — betrayed this land to Russia in 1795.²⁹ Finally when, in 1917, the democratic Provisional Government of Russia granted to the Latvian and Estonian nations self-government in the form of territorial autonomy, the German nobles faced the prospect of losing everything. Therefore they approached the German Kaiser in 1918, begging him to annex Kurland, Livonia, and Estonia.³⁰ These facts speak for themselves.

2. *Propaganda and Reality about German Culture in the Baltic*

Foreign diplomats, newspapermen, businessmen and others, whether travelling to and from Russia and passing through Latvia and Estonia or whether filling assignments there, often were astonished at the picture of high civilization and culture presented by the Baltic States. They could see good roads, bridges, neat farmhouses, well-fenced gardens, rich forests and reforestation on a large scale, well-cultivated fields and green meadows, sleek cattle, European cities, well-dressed people, good hotels and restaurants, rich markets filled with abundant products, Gothic churches full of worshippers on Sundays, as well as modern theatres, opera houses, concert halls, clean trolley and railway cars, busy depots and stations, asphalt-covered streets etc., etc. Upon inquiring about this phenomenon, they were advised by their informers, usually the local titled Germans who knew how to approach important foreigners and generally spoke fluent English, that this was all the result of German cultural and civilizing activities in Latvia. The German Balts allegedly built up these landscapes, created prosperous agriculture, etc., but the ungrateful Latvians and Estonians had robbed them of their big estates and were now squandering all this wealth. Thus a legend was soon created in Western Europe about the brutal behavior of the Latvians

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Latvian-Russian Relations Documents* (Washington, 1944), p. 38

³⁰ *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918, Russia, II* (Washington, 1932), pp. 838-835.

and Estonians toward the German minority, particularly the titled landed nobility.

Actually all this wealth was created by the hard toil of the Latvians and Estonians themselves, who formed more than an absolute majority of the population and have inhabited their countries at least for two millennia or more.³¹ They were known as fine agriculturists, cattle-breeders, seed-cultivators, seafarers, and forest-clearers long before a German had set foot on the Baltic shores. The Roman historian Tacitus of the first century A.D. praised the Baltic peoples as fine agriculturists who were better than the lazy Germans.³² The Balts, whom he calls *Aestorum gentes* — people living on the shores of the Gulf, the estuary of the *mare Suevicum*, as he calls the Baltic Sea — lived and wore clothes similar to those of the Germans (Suevi), and spoke a language more akin to that spoken in the British Isles (Britanniae propior). They possessed amber, a great Roman luxury. This testimony of Tacitus and similar evidence from Bishop Rimbart of the ninth century,³³ from the Icelandic Viking Scalagrimsson of the tenth,³⁴ and from Bishop Adam of Bremen of the eleventh century,³⁵ destroy the legend of early German cultural preponderance.

Archaeological excavations also testify to the great wealth and advanced civilization of the Baltic peoples. The results of these excavations have been described in a recent work by the Latvian archaeologist Professor F. Balodis.³⁶ Bronze utensils, gold and silver jewelry, iron weapons and instruments, leather shoes and saddles, and many other artifacts have been uncovered. Many Roman, Greek, and Oriental coins have been found, proving the existence of early trade relations. This wealth was the main reason why the Germans invaded the country. The above mentioned Bishop Adam of Bremen, in his chronicle written in 1075, mentions especially that the Kuronians had *aurum plurimum* (lots of gold), thus giving a valuable hint to the merchants of Bremen.

As further testimony, the chronicler Henricus de Lettis (Heinrich der Lette) describes the wealth of the Latvian city of Guerceke, the residence of King Vissewald of Lettia, which the Knights of the Order ransacked and burnt in 1209.³⁷ The Latvians, according to

³¹ Bielenstein, *op. cit.*, I, 4, "Latvju Aizvēsture" (Latvian pre-history), *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, XI, 21425-21427.

³² Tacitus, *De Origine et Situ Germanorum* (Germania), ed. R. P. Robinson (Middletown, Conn., 1935), p. 322.

³³ *Les Sources*, II, p. 3.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10

³⁵ Bishop Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 190

³⁶ Prof. Fr. Balodis, *Det äldsta Lettland* (Stockholm, 1940).

³⁷ Henricus d. L., pp. 133-136, *op. cit.*, par. 4, 1209.

Henricus, had their castles well supplied with foodstuffs, kept in cellars in order to withstand sieges. Describing the murder of King Talivald (1215), Henricus states that the King had a treasure of high value. But with all this wealth and wellbeing, the Latvians were politically disunited. This disunity helped the Germans to achieve the subjugation of the country in the thirteenth century and to destroy the native princely dynasties: in Semigallia the family of King Viesturs,³⁸ in Lettia—King Vissewald,³⁹ in Talava King Talivald⁴⁰ with numerous sons, and in Kurzeme—King Lamikis.⁴¹

The Baltic people also had a cosmogony and Sun-mythology, similar to the Indo-European, as reflected in their rich folklore (the Latvians alone produced more than 240,000 Dainas or folksongs); numerous folk-tunes were collected; the Latvians possessed their own musical instruments, beautiful national costumes, decorative folk-arts: in brief — they possessed all the qualifications of a civilized people long before the Germans first arrived. And this civilization was not only brutally interrupted by the invading Germans, but also prevented from developing in the ensuing centuries. After all, it was not the Germans but the Polish Jesuit Fathers who published in 1585 the first Latvian book — the catechism of St. Peter Canisius.⁴² It was not the Germans but the Swedes who in 1622 opened the first college in Riga, who established the parish organizations in 1630, who opened courts and who in 1681 liberated the peasants from bondage.⁴³ In 1686 the Swedish Government also financed the translation of the Bible into Latvian.⁴⁴ It was not the Germans but the Moravian Brethren who in 1738 opened the first normal school in Livonia.⁴⁵

It was not a German, but the Irish count G. Brown who, as Russian Governor-General in 1765, insisted on the establishment of compulsory primary education in Latvia, on the alleviation of corvées, and on the end to the sale of serfs.⁴⁶

It was not a German, but a pastor of Flemish origin, G. Stender, who in 1765 published the first Latvian primer.⁴⁷ It was not a German, but a pastor of Irish extraction, K. Watson, who in 1882 began

³⁸ *Les Sources*, II, p. 26.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 36.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 62.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 141–142.

⁴² "Latvju Baznīcas Vēsture" (Latvian Church History), *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, XI, p. 21547.

⁴³ "Latvju Vēsture," p. 22332.

⁴⁴ "Latvju Baznīcas Vēsture," p. 21567.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21586.

⁴⁶ "Latvju Vēsture," p. 22344.

⁴⁷ *Es Vinu Pazīstu* (Latvian Who's Who), Riga, 1939, p. 458.

to publish the first Latvian newspaper⁴⁸ in a printing office established at Mitau in 1769 by J. Steffenhagen, an immigrant from Holland.⁴⁹ And so forth.

3. *German-Balt Landmarks in Riga*

After fostering so-called German *Kultur* in Latvia over a period of several hundred years, the German-Balts nevertheless have left no notable monument to their rule. The only medieval sculptural monument in the town of Riga is the statue of Roland the Swordbearer, erected on the square before the old City Hall. The statue merely symbolized the rights of the Council of Riga to pronounce death sentences within the city's territory. It is interesting to note that the Council of Riga was composed of Councillors designated by the Merchants' and Artisans' Guilds, which held supreme mastery of Riga not only during medieval times but until the middle of the nineteenth century. But where are the monuments of the German noblemen's rule? In the suburbs of Riga there was another medieval monument, if one can classify it as such. It was a wooden statue of St. Christopher bearing the Christ-child on his shoulder, erected at the pier of the old ferry-boat which crossed the Daugava river, outside the City walls, near the so-called "Red Warehouses." This statue was actually erected by the proceeds from the donations of pious travelers. In modern times it was defaced by the Bolsheviks, but its remnants were later saved by the Latvian State Council for the Preservation of Antiquities and placed in the Historical Museum in the Castle of Riga.

The Castle of Riga itself, which was alternately the seat of the Archbishop and of the Masters of the Livonian Order, is a primitive building of no architectural value whatever. Its original staircases were built of brick. In modern times, during Latvia's independence, it was reconstructed and embellished and served as residence for the President of State. At the same time the State Archives, the State Printing Office, and the Historical and Ethnographical Museums were also located in the spacious castle. An additional tower, the Tower of the Three Stars of Latvia, was erected to replace one which had been destroyed in a war several centuries ago.

The second German monument of Riga to be mentioned is the bust of J. G. Herder on a pedestal placed in the square before the Dome. But this bust was erected at the end of the nineteenth century by a group of enlightened German burghers to honor the memory of the

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 515

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 457

German philosopher who from 1764 to 1769 taught in Riga. He was not particularly popular at that time because of his "radical" views and the interest he showed in Latvian folklore, of which he made the first collection and with which he also acquainted Goethe and Schiller. Feeling uneasy in Riga, J. G. Herder left that city for good.⁵⁰

During Latvia's independence, the Germans, profiting by the statutory law of cultural autonomy, opened in Riga a Teachers' College dedicated to the name of Herder and called it the "Herder Institute."⁵¹ It is curious to note, however, that the director of the Institute, Dr. V. Klumberg, was a germanized Latvian, his cousins still being good Latvian farmers.

During the German occupation of Riga in the last war, after September 3, 1917, the local German Balts erected on the square before the Court of Appeals a wooden statue of a German *Landeswehrmann*. The site chosen was to illustrate that German might goes before right. All German Balts were allowed to buy (though only for gold and silver payments) a special iron nail to be driven into this statue until it would be completely iron-clad and the German treasury accordingly richer in precious metal. When the Latvians reoccupied Riga, the patriotic youths of Latvia dragged the statue down from its pedestal, paraded it through the streets, and finally threw it into the Daugava river, so that the *Landeswehrmann* might appropriately float back home to the "Fatherland" whence he had come.

With regard to treasures of art, the City of Riga, one of the medieval strongholds of the Hanseatic League (since 1227) on the Baltic, was a veritable orphan as compared with Bremen, Stettin, Lübeck, — cities which the Germans considered their home, and therefore embellished. Riga was only a place to obtain wealth.

The so-called Dom Museum, the only one in Riga dating from German times, was established in the house of the Dom Chapter, which adjoined the Cathedral, and looked more like a storehouse of miscellaneous objects from unclaimed estates, including pieces of furniture from liquidated city offices and portraits of venerable burghers. True, there was exhibited a small collection of objects collected from old Livonian tombs, but this section was not classified and contained no objects of gold or silver whatever. They usually were melted down! The Dom Museum possessed no printed catalog. A similar so-called "museum" was in Jelgava (Mitau). A collection of objects produced by local artisans was exhibited at the residence of the Little or Artisans' Guild in Riga. It is known that a great number

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁵¹ *Valdības Vēstnesis* (Latvian Government Gazette) No. 119, May 31, 1927

of these artisans, however, were of Latvian origin.⁵² Since the seventeenth century Latvians had excelled as skilled workers, of that period, P. Einhorn, states that Latvian artisans outdid the German ones.⁵³

The Riga City Library, also a German creation, was housed in the old City Hall, where the city archives were preserved. The City Library possessed no really rare books or manuscripts. It was also created from casual donations. The Library of Latvian books (28,000 volumes) belonging to the City of Riga, was donated in 1925 by the bibliophile J. Mišņiņš.⁵⁴

The chief building representing medieval Riga, the Cathedral of St. Mary (the Dom) and the churches of St. Peter, St. John, and St. James, were built entirely by the rulers of Latvia in medieval times, that is to say, by the Catholic Prince-Archbishops. Only a handful of buildings erected by Hanseatic merchants on the quarter known as Old Riga remind one of the Gothic of the Middle-Ages.

An interesting old landmark of Riga was the club of the "Black Heads," the ministerials of the Archbishop, so named for their black hats. The club-house was rebuilt after a fire in Dutch renaissance style. In the sixteenth century it became strictly a bachelor club for German merchants, particularly of importers of colonial wares.

Foreign ship-captains had free access to the club, but not Latvians. The patron of the club was St. Maurice, a Moor of Africa, to symbolize the name of the "black-heads" and to indicate the character of the merchant members. The rich collection of silver (more than 3,000 pieces) donated by prominent visitors (kings, dukes, etc.) was evacuated by the board of the club to Russia at the beginning of the first World War, but was never returned as it could not be located.

The most beautiful modern buildings of Riga, such as the seat of the Diet or Parliament, the Conservatory, the previously mentioned Court of Appeals, and others, some 75 in number, were erected in the second half of the nineteenth century under the Russian regime by the Latvian architects J. Baumanis (1834-91), his pupils K. Morbergs (1844-1926) and K. Pekšens (1859-1928), and others.⁵⁵ During the period of Latvia's independence, other beautiful buildings were built, notably the Club House of the Latvian Social and Literary Society, the Palace of Justice, various ministries, etc.

⁵² J. Straubergs, *Rīgas Vēsture* (History of Riga), Riga, 1938, pp. 184-185.

⁵³ P. Einhorn, *Historia Lettica* (Dorpat, 1649), reprinted in *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum*, II, 590.

⁵⁴ *Es Vīnu Pazīstu*, p. 348.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 59 349, 377.

Not only the town houses of the German squires but their country seats as well were far from resembling French châteaux. Usually they were quite unimposing, with the exception of certain stylish castles in Kurland and Vidzeme or Livonia proper.

The most impressive castles in Kurland were built by Duke Ernest Biron of Kurland (of humble origin) and his son Duke Peter. They are the work of the famous Italian architects of the eighteenth century Rastrelli and Quarenghi.⁵⁶ One of these buildings, the majestic Ducal Palace of Mitau, was burned in 1919 by the retreating German soldiers, who had also burned the Riga Opera House. The Latvian Government rebuilt both. The Castle of Jelgava (Mitau) was eventually made the seat of the Academy of Agriculture. The beautiful castle of Rundale, with a pleasure-garden in the style of Versailles, also built by Rastrelli, was restored by the Latvian Government and established as a subdivision of the National Historical Museum. Quarenghi built the castle of Eleja in Kurland, which was also destroyed in the first World War.

Among the Livonian castles one should mention the castle of Zarnikava, built by Haberland, in Empire style. This castle belonged to themorganatic wife of Grand Duke Paul, an uncle of Tsar Nicholas II. The Countess of Zarnikava was the daughter of the Jewish millionaire Stieglitz of St. Petersburg and the divorced wife of the Livonian nobleman von Pistohlkors. The castle was used in modern Latvia as a school. The German baronial castles were in modern Latvia mostly transformed into high schools, hospitals, agricultural institutes, etc. However, a certain number of the castles continued to be the property of noblemen who lived there as farmers, as, for instance, the castle of Straupe, belonging to Baron von Rosen, and others.

During the present war many of the buildings mentioned above were demolished by artillery fire. Thus, the Old Riga quarter was completely destroyed in the three days of fighting in the summer of 1941. The retreating Soviet-Russian Army burned the "Black-Heads" club, the old City Hall, and all adjacent buildings, including the church of St. Peter, which had the highest (440 feet) wooden steeple in the world.

After all this one may ask the question: what became of the huge incomes of the German Balt merchants and landlords accumulated during the centuries? So far as can be ascertained, they were partly

⁵⁶ "Latvju Arhitektūra" (Latvian Architecture), *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, xi, pp 21500-21506.

invested in Hanseatic trade and partly transferred to Germany. In more modern times they were squandered by the scions of the Baltic nobility in foreign capitals, especially in St. Petersburg, where they played a prominent role at the imperial court. It was indeed "easy come, easy go." At the same time, they were very reluctant to spend money in Latvia on public schools, libraries, hospitals, museums or such other "luxuries."

4. Germans But Not Balts

Like their brethren the Prussian Junkers, who adopted the name of the subjected, fierce and non-German Prussians, the Germans in the Baltic lands, too, liked to be known as "German Balts." They considered themselves to be a special superior race of Germans, predestined to be the Paladins of Germanism on Germany's eastern borders. At the same time they were servile toward the Polish Kings and the Russian Tsars, who upheld their illegally obtained privileges and huge estates.

In the so-called "Polish Inflantes," as the south-eastern Latvian province of Latgale was called while under Polish domination (1561-1773), the local German nobles (von Manteuffel, von Tiesenhausen, von Ropp, von Sieberg, etc.) became completely polonized in order to maintain their properties there.⁵⁷

On the other hand, the russianized Germans aided the Russian government in the partitioning of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, commanding Russian troops, and holding the posts of Russian envoys to Poland, as ascertained by the Russian historian Kostomarov. He mentions among the most active prosecutors of the Orders of Catherine II, Baron Igelstrom,⁵⁸ General von Weimarn,⁵⁹ Baron Stackelberg,⁶⁰ General von Derfelden,⁶¹ Baron Fersen,⁶² von Knorring,⁶³ von Palmbach,⁶⁴ Graf Mellin,⁶⁵ Graf Sivers,⁶⁶ von Rautenfeld,⁶⁷ etc.

The Latvians themselves never called the local Germans "Balts"; their names for these intruders was *vāci* (pronounced vatzi), a name allegedly derived from a tribe of Germans, the Vakia-Goths, with whom the Latvians in prehistoric times might have had some territorial contact. Germany is called *Vācija* (pronounced "Vatzia") in Latvian. The Lithuanians call the Germans *Vokiečiai* and Germany

⁵⁷ *Litovskaya Metrika* (Moscow, 1903-1914), I-III.

⁵⁸ N. J. Kostomarov, *Poslednie Gody Reči Pospolitoi* (St Petersburg, 1870), p. 96.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 464

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 489.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 539.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 675

Vokietia; and the Estonians call them *Saxad*, or "people of Saxony" but never "Balts." The real Balts are the indigenous inhabitants of the Baltic shores, their designation being a collective noun — the Balts — standing for the Old Prussians, Lithuanians, Livs, Latvians and Estonians.

5. German Social Classes in Latvia

In 1935, according to the official Latvian census, there were 62,144 Germans in Latvia, including 5,651 foreign born Germans. The native Germans numbered 56,441 or 2.96 percent of the country's total population.⁶⁸ In Estonia the Germans formed 1.50 percent of the population, and in Lithuania 4.10 percent. Here the Germans were mostly peasants, while the large landowners were generally Polish, with a few Russian nobles.⁶⁹

Not all German Balts were nobles. In modern Latvia noble Germans were not listed separately from non-nobles in the census, because the class of nobility had been abolished in 1920 by a decision of the Latvian Constituent Assembly.⁷⁰ However, among themselves the Germans had their castes, being divided into: (1) the titled nobles, (2) the non-titled nobles, and (3) the patricians, whose ancestors were burgomasters or councillors of the cities of Riga, Tallinn or of other Livonian Hanseatic towns; (4) the higher Lutheran clergy (Superintendents, Oberpastors, etc.), (5) the intellectuals — university graduates, doctors, lawyers, architects, financiers, newspaper editors, etc.; (6) members of the first guilds of wholesale dealers, including the gold and silversmiths; (7) members of the Little Guild i.e., that of the artisans; (8) finally came the rank and file — butchers, bakers, barbers, tailors, clerks, foremen, tax-collectors, small merchants, actors, etc., and (9) peasants.

In 1935 there were about 14,721 German peasants in Latvia, about 1,800 of them being the descendents of the peasant families which Empress Catherine II imported in 1766 from Bavaria and Württemberg, and the rest German colonists from the Volga settled after the Latvian revolution of 1905.⁷¹ The German peasants lived in compact colonies mostly in northern Vidzeme or Livonia. The purpose of bringing the Bavarian and Württemberg peasants into Latvia had been ostensibly to "educate" the Latvian peasants in

⁶⁸ *Latvija Skaitļos* (Latvian Statistics), (Riga, 1938) p. 65.

⁶⁹ O. J. C. Norem, *Timeless Lithuania* (Chicago, 1943), p. 272.

⁷⁰ *Likumu un Ministru Kabineta Rīkojumu Krājums* (Collection of Latvian Laws), Riga, 1920, No. 187.

⁷¹ M. Skujenieks, *Latvija Zeme un Iedzīvotāji* (Latvia. Land and People), Riga, 1926, pp. 295, 296.

the higher arts of German agriculture. But the very opposite happened: these German peasants adopted the more adequate methods of the Latvians, a situation strangely reminiscent of the previously mentioned statement made by Tacitus. Besides, these German settlers lived in secluded communities and would not mingle with their Latvian neighbors. As the result, and because of the strict endogamy which they practiced, many degenerates were to be found later among them. On the other hand, the German colonists from the Volga became the principal supporters of the German nobles and the conservative counterpart of the radical landed Latvian peasants.⁷²

It is interesting to note that these and other German peasants were settled on manorial lands which were sold to them on favorable terms. Unlike the Latvians, they were exempt from taxes and enjoyed many privileges, such as the right to own mills, distilleries, breweries, etc. Their education also received more attention, and they had greater opportunities offered to them, since they were able to move to the cities, take up business, and become artisans, pharmacists, etc., backed as they were by their kin, the squires.⁷³ Naturally, this did not make for good feeling among the oppressed Latvian peasantry. Nevertheless, these German peasant colonists benefited by the extensive Agrarian Reform of post-war Latvia and obtained plots of land in equal measure with the Latvian peasants themselves.

Like the German peasants, the German middle class also showed signs of racial degeneration. The Germans tried to strengthen their ranks with germanized Latvians and Estonians, who were contemptuously referred to as *karklu-vāci*, or "Willow Germans," by the Latvians and *Kadakas-Saxad* or "Juniper Germans" by the Estonians, willow and juniper being considered the most useless and at the same time the most flexible kind of tree. However, neither the Germans nor the Russians could denationalize the native Latvians and Estonians, who with every passing year were becoming more and more conscious of their rights and of their innate capacity to achieve full status as a nation and a state.

6. The "Herrenvolk"

The German nobles, the "Herrenvolk," were always very particular about their high-born dignity, and therefore extremely exclusive. According to the statistics of 1839, there were in all the Baltic provinces of Kurland, Semigallia, Livonia and Estonia only 685 heredi-

⁷² M. Skujenieks, *Latvieši svešumā un citās tautas Latvijā* (Latvians abroad and foreign nationalities in Latvia), Riga, 1930, p. 37.

⁷³ *Id.*

tary German noble families: 154 in Kurland and Semigallia, 253 in Livonia, 225 in Estonia and 53 on the Estonian Islands. Of this total number 177 were descendants of the knights or vassals of the Livonian Order or of ministerials of the Archbishopric. They were the real *indigenat* and the foundation of the *matrikul* or scrolls as well as of the Diets of the nobles in Kurland, Livonia and Estonia. Most of them were bearers of titles granted by German kings and emperors, such as Baron or Freiherr, Graf or Count. The rest were nobles created by the subsequent rulers of Latvia and Estonia: the Polish and Swedish kings and the Russian tsars. Thus 67 were ennobled by the Polish kings from 1561–1772; 103 by the Swedish kings from 1610–1721, and 338, or about 50 percent, by the Russian tsars during the period 1721 to 1839.⁷⁴

The “new” noblemen were originally descended from the burgher class, and with few exceptions did not bear titles. This untitled German gentry used the particle *von* before their family names, and they were classified as *Verdienstadel* or nobles who achieved their status by serving as officers or officials. The titled nobility intermarried very unwillingly with them. Furthermore, a distinction was already being made between a land-owning and a landless nobleman. Of the 253 German noble families registered in Livonia proper or Vidzeme, only 162 belonged to landowning families, and these were the upper strata from which the dignitaries of the Diet were chosen: the Landmarshall, the Landrate, etc.⁷⁵

According to the census of 1897, there were in Latvia 8,124 Germans of noble birth, but only 2,293 or 2.69 percent of them belonged to the gentry.⁷⁶ In 1913 the German noblemen still owned 48.1 percent of the arable land of Latvia,⁷⁷ which they had acquired mostly by devious processes ($\frac{5}{8}$ of all Livonia, $\frac{2}{3}$ of Estonia), as was proved by the Swedish land reduction inquiries of the seventeenth century.⁷⁸ The German squires of Livonia based their “rights” on the alleged *Privilegium Sigismundi* of 1561, which, however, was never signed by Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland.⁷⁹ Likewise, the alleged decrees of the Swedish kings in favor of the German landed nobility of Livonia never existed in reality. The only “right” acquired by the German nobility was that given them by Peter the Great, whom they treacherously supported against Sweden. The Treaty of Nystad of

⁷⁴ A. Švābe, *Latvju Tiesību Vēsture* (History of Latvian Law), Riga, 1934, III, p. 34.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, III, p. 33. ⁷⁶ M. Skujenieks, *Latvija* (Riga, 1926), pp. 331–332.

⁷⁷ *Latvija Skaitļos*, p. 174.

⁷⁸ J. Hampden Jackson, *Estonia* (London, 1941), p. 60.

⁷⁹ Švābe, “Sigismunda Augusta Livonijas Politika,” p. 109.

1721 cancelled the Swedish investigation of the German titles to the land; yet by the same treaty, in Article ix, His Imperial Russian Majesty in the name of the Holy Trinity promised "to maintain all the inhabitants of the province of Livonia, Estonia, and Oesel, nobles and commoners, cities and magistrates, and the guilds of artisans in all their privileges, customs and prerogatives, which they enjoyed under the dominion of the Kings of Sweden."⁸⁰ Furthermore, Article x of the Treaty stipulated that schools should be supported in the same way as under the former Swedish rule. Now it is known that in 1681 the Swedish king liberated the Latvian and Estonian peasants from bondage and serfdom, and they obtained the right to appear before the courts, to attend high schools, etc.⁸¹ Under Russian rule, the German squirearchy promptly annulled all this. In 1716 the Russian Governor-General of Riga, Prince Galitzin, issued a decree about fugitive serfs, thus restoring this institution which Sweden had abolished.

The Livonian nobility used all its connections in St. Petersburg to enforce serfdom on the Latvian peasants.⁸² In 1739 Baron Rosen, a member of the governing board of the Livonian Diet or *Landrat* tried to convince the Russian government, in a memorandum which he submitted, that the German nobles had a right to Livonian lands and population in virtue of the Roman *jus belli*.⁸³ In 1740 the Livonian Diet of nobles again tried to obtain the legalization of a code for serfs prepared by Baron Budberg and von Schroeder — and also based on Roman law. However, the Russian Crown again refused to recognize this code.⁸⁴ No one of subsequent rulers of Livonia — the kings of Poland and Sweden, or the tsars of Russia — would legalize the abuses of the German squires, even though the tsars tolerated the oligarchic regime in Livonia.

Finally, in 1817–1819, by permission of Emperor Alexander I, all lands of the Latvians and Estonians were taken by the German squires as ransom for the peasants' personal freedom.⁸⁵ The agricultural crises of the 1840's and of the 1850's and the proselytizing of the Greek Orthodox priests among the landless Latvians with promises of land were instrumental in compelling the squires to sell a part of these lands to their tenants. From 1849, when the Latvian peasants gained the right to buy land of their own,⁸⁶ up to 1914, they had redeemed 39.4 percent or 2,467,000 hectares (one ha = 2.47 acres) of

⁸⁰ *Latvian-Russian Relations*, p. 20.

⁸¹ Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁸² Vipper, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

⁸³ Švābe, *Latvju Tiesību Vēsture*, III, p. 40.

⁸⁴ Vipper, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁸⁵ Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–80.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 96–97.

Latvian arable land, despite very difficult and onerous conditions, since the squires exacted from the peasant buyers 6 percent mortgages.⁸⁷ In 1913, 1,338 manorial estates larger than 110 ha each still accounted for 48.1 percent of the land, or 2,942,514 hectares.⁸⁸ This land was usually leased to Latvian tenant-farmers under onerous leases.

But even if he did not possess landed property, the future of any scion of the Baltic German nobility was assured. Lucrative positions were available for younger sons of German noblemen in the offices of the local Diet, in different branches of the association of the large landowners, in the Riga municipality, in the Russian state and municipal administration, in the police, the army, the navy, the diplomatic service, and the Church. A German nobleman would always favor one of his kin: that was the unwritten law of German ethics. If one became an invalid, there were special rest-houses and hospitals for noble patients and homes for noble spinsters. It was enough to be born a German nobleman to be well taken care of. For nobles with university education it was considered fitting to serve in the judiciary the positions of forest inspector, steward of large estates, higher local police officer, etc., were always considered *standesgemäß* (honorable). All such posts were available primarily to German nobles, while such occupations as county doctors, pastors, etc., were held to be acceptable, though less honorable. The organization of the Germans was such that, prior to the independence of the Baltic States, all the better local jobs were in German hands, in spite of the fact that they constituted a very small minority of the population.

7. Tsarist Russia under Herrenvolk Domination

Throughout tsarist Russia proper state administrative organs were also subservient to the German nobles. It is well known what an important role they played at the Court of St. Petersburg, in the country's higher administration as well as in the army and the navy.⁸⁹ This German role in Russia's state life was traditional and dated from the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁹⁰ The *Almanach de Gotha* for 1876 states that of 1,064 higher Russian State dignitaries of that year only 25 percent were of native Russian extraction. In 1871 of all Russian General Staff officers 58 percent and of all the Russian generals 74 percent were Germans.⁹¹ Tsarist Russia was, in fact, practically in German grip.

⁸⁷ *Latvija Skaitļos*, p. 174

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁸⁹ V. J. Gurko, *Features and Figures* (Stanford, 1939), p. 101.

⁹⁰ B. von Campenhausen, *Alphabetsches Verzeichniss*, 1747.

⁹¹ A. Švābe, "Latviju Tiesību Vēsture," *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, XI, p. 22149

A russified German nobleman was usually nominated Governor-General, i.e., representative of the Tsar, in the Baltic Provinces, and thus the entire life of these provinces was in the hands of German Balts. Of 15 Livonian governors during the years 1790–1885, 14 were German nobles; of 12 governors of Kurland between 1795 and 1882, 10 were German nobles.⁹² The Russian bureaucracy in the Baltic Provinces trembled before the German nobles, as it did in Russia proper. One can well imagine the situation of the Latvians and Estonians under such a régime! But it was pleasant for the Germans

8. *Latvian Renaissance Unsuccessfully Hampered by German Balts*

Throughout the period of the Latvian and Estonian renaissance of the nineteenth century, the Germans did their utmost to persuade the Latvians and Estonians through their pastors, who were subservient to the nobility because they were usually appointed to their parishes by the local landlord, to remain on the land and not to go to the cities, which were described as being full of moral pitfalls. The purpose of this manoeuvre was to keep the Latvians as a class of peasants and to prevent their political enlightenment. Consequently the Latvian patriots and leaders, who encouraged their fellow-countrymen to obtain an education and to enter business and professions, were branded by the reactionary German Balt Tories as "dangerous innovators," "nihilists," "revolutionaries" and "Young Letts."

A progressive Latvian newspaper, the *Peterburgas Awihses* (1862–1865), published in liberal St. Petersburg in the 1860's, was suppressed through intrigues of the German nobles.⁹³ They demanded that before printing the newspaper should be sent for censorship to Riga because it was being published for circulation in Latvia. This of course meant the death of the paper. However, all such measures failed to stop the emancipation of the Latvians and Estonians. Under liberal Russian laws they were entitled to enter universities and thus became Russian Government officials, officers, scientists, etc. At the beginning of the twentieth century both Latvians and Estonians had their own middle classes and intellectuals in all fields of human activities, and were becoming dangerous competitors for the Germans.

At the outbreak of the first World war there were in the Russian army scores of Latvian and Estonian generals, colonels, and officers of lower rank. The civil service too included many high ranking Latvian and Estonian officials, whose successful careers were possible because of their university education.⁹⁴ During the first World War

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ "Latvijas Vēsture," p. 22363.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 22399–22402.

the Latvians organized an army of their own, with their own officers and generals, an indubitable proof of political state maturity. As a matter of fact, during the war between Russia and Germany (1914–1918) the halo of the German Balts and of the German oligarchy in St. Petersburg lost its lustre, to remember only the affair of General von Renenkampf, who failed to save Samsonov when the latter was trapped in Eastern Prussia. Most of the Germans mobilized in the Russian army were sent by secret mobilization order to the Caucasian front in order to avoid having them to fight their kinsmen, the Reich-Germans. Some of the Baltic German nobles managed to emigrate from Russia before and during the war. Many of them actually entered the ranks of the Kaiser's army, and later appeared as officers in the German occupation army of Kurland and Livonia.

9. German-Balts and the Reich

By May, 1915, Kurland was already occupied by the German armies in spite of the existence of strong Russian military and naval bases at Liepāja (Libau) and Ventspils (Windau), and the German government proclaimed the permanent separation of this province from Russia. Now the German nobles of Kurland could act openly and manifest their real sympathies. On July 28, 1915, they issued an appeal to the Reich for military protection and for a dynastic union with Prussia.⁹⁵ On September 22, 1917 they submitted a petition to the German Chancellor, in which they pointed out what an excellent terrain for colonization the Baltic provinces would be for the Germans that had been driven out of Central Russia; and they even offered Field Marshall Hindenburg one third of their lands free of charge for disabled German soldiers.⁹⁶

Their plans for the Baltic provinces were as follows: two separate states were to be set up — one, Kurland, in dynastic union with Prussia, and the other the Duchy of united Estonia and Livonia, which were occupied by the German armies in 1917–1918 to be incorporated into the German Reich. The petition, submitted on March 8, 1918, by the Kuronian Diet,⁹⁷ stressed the idea of a true German "cultural basis" for this arrangement because of the existence of the Baltic aristocracy. The economic basis was to be supplied by the influx of German colonists — mostly demobilized soldiers. To the Latvians and the Estonians was reserved the status of farmhands under this plan. On April 12, 1918, after the signing of the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 3, 1918), by which the Bolsheviks

⁹⁵ *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, x, p. 19190.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19161.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

renounced all claims to the Baltic provinces, a *Landesrat* consisting of appointed representatives of Livonia, Estonia and the Estonian Islands, convened at Riga. This was nothing but a combination of the old Diets of the Baltic German nobility, seasoned with a sprinkling of German burghers and clergymen who were completely subservient to their noble kinfold. Of the 58 members of this *Landesrat*, 34 were Germans, in spite of the fact that the Germans formed only about 3 percent of the local population. The remainder were picked elders of Latvian and Estonian rural communities, 24 in all. This improvised *Landesrat* "requested" the German Kaiser to take the provinces under his protection.⁹⁸ On August 27, 1918, by the supplementary German-Bolshevik treaty, the frontier between Livonia and Russia was fixed from Narva along Lake Peipus and down to Dunaburg.⁹⁹ On September 22, 1918, the German Kaiser recognized the independence of the Baltic countries and the notorious *Landesrat* as the source of the Baltic Government.¹⁰⁰

The next step would have been the realization of the historic dream of the German Balts to incorporate the Baltic lands into Germany. However, for some reason the German Government had doubts concerning these plans of the Livonian nobles to recreate the Livonia of the Middle Ages as a part of Germany, and no decision was forthcoming for some time. Meanwhile the Latvian and Estonian National Councils (in exile) voiced strong protests abroad. At the same time the powerful German Catholic Party, which was favorably inclined toward Lithuanian independence and toward the aspirations of Latvian Catholics, as well as the German Social-Democrats,¹⁰¹ who supported the Latvian and Estonian Social-Democrats, also expressed sharp objection to this plan which, if realized, would have eventually strengthened only the German reactionaries. But later events themselves nullified this ominous German Balt project. On November 7, 1918, the German Balt puppet *Landesrat* appointed a so-called "Council of Regency,"¹⁰² consisting of 8 persons: 4 German Balts and 2 Estonian and 2 Latvian "quislings." Then, on November 8, 1918, the revolution broke out in Germany, the Kaiser fled, and the Germans were compelled to sign an Armistice on November 11. The same day the Government of Great Britain recognized as a de facto government the Latvian Provisional National Council, which was elected at Walka on November 18, 1917 by Latvians, and which was the real depository of Latvia's sovereignty. Seven days later, on

⁹⁸ Dr. P. Kalniņš, "Kā izauga Tautas Padome" (Latvian State Council), *Latvijas Republika Desmit Pastāvīšanas Gados* (Ten years of independent Latvia), Riga, 1928, p. 58.

⁹⁹ *Latvian-Russian Relations*, p. 51 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Kalniņš, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁰² "Latvju Vēsture," pp. 22385-22386.

November 18, 1918, in liberated Riga, the Latvian State Council, consisting of the members of the National Council and of additional representatives of the Democratic Block of Riga and the national minorities, elected the first Latvian Government with K. Ulmanis as Prime Minister. The puppet *Landesrat* vanished. A number of the German Balt nobles, however, continued to plot on their own account.

10. Last Attempt of German Balts Ends with Disaster

One of the Livonian nobles, a certain von Stryk,¹⁰³ conceived a plan for the revival of the State of the Livonian Order which existed from 1530, when the Grand Master was recognized secular ruler of Livonia, and until Nov. 28, 1562, when Livonia was partitioned. This feudal German principality was to be reestablished in the Baltic provinces through a *coup de main*. But von Stryk was arrested. Then the initiative toward establishing a German-dominated Livonian State was taken by a Kuronian, Baron Manteuffel, chief of the German territorials — the *Landeswehr*. On April 16, 1919, he proclaimed a certain Latvian germanophile pastor and well known author, A. Niedra, as Prime Minister in Libau, where a Latvian-German Balt state was to be set up.¹⁰⁴

This German putsch was made just at the time when the Latvian army was engaged in fighting at the front against the Bolsheviks. The indignant Latvian nation refused to recognize A. Niedra and continued to support the legal Latvian government of Karlis Ulmanis, elected on November 18, 1918, in liberated Riga.¹⁰⁵ The Latvians then turned on the new foe. The German *Landeswehr*, reinforced by German regulars of the von der Goltz group, was met and defeated at Cesis on June 22, 1919, by a joint Latvian and Estonian military force.¹⁰⁶ Finally, in November, 1919, the last remnants of the German forces were thrown out of Kurland altogether. The German nobles had played their cards and had lost.

The Latvians and Estonians were naturally furious at this treachery of the German territorials in falling upon their rear while they were engaged in deadly fight against the Bolsheviks. Only the intervention of the Allied Military Commission, especially of the British Commissioner, Sir Stephen Tallents, saved the German *Landeswehr*

¹⁰³ A. Kroders, "Latvijas Valsts Liepajas Laikmets" (The Latvian Government in Liepaja), *Latvijas Republika Desmit Pastāvīšanas Gados*, p. 30.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid* ¹⁰⁵ *Latvian-Russian Relations*, p. 59.

¹⁰⁶ L. Ekis, *Latvia. Struggle for Independence* (Washington, 1942), p. 10.

from complete extermination.¹⁰⁷ It was only after strong representation from the Commissioner that the Latvian and Estonian High Command agreed to conclude an armistice with the defeated German territorials. The *Landeswehr* was reorganized as the Thirteenth Tukums regiment of the Latvian Army and, in order to avoid any future recurrence of treachery, the command of this regiment was given over to the Assistant Commissioner, Colonel (now Field Marshal) Sir Harold Alexander.¹⁰⁸ The regiment then took a sector of the front against the Bolsheviks. Later, after the peace treaties with Germany and Russia had been signed (July 15, 1920 and August 11, 1920), the *Landeswehr* was demobilized, whereupon there was at once organized and duly incorporated a Society of Veterans of the *Landeswehr* with headquarters in Riga

11. German Balts and Baltic Independence

During the same period, and while their kinsmen were active in Latvia, another group of German nobles — the German Balt Committee — tried to intervene at the Allied Peace Conference in Paris in order to gain some advantage for themselves. Like many other "White Russian" nobles, the German nobles living in Russia proper had left the country after the Bolshevik *coup d'état*, some going to Germany and others remaining together with the majority of Russian émigrés in Paris, London, etc. During their long years in the Russian diplomatic service, many of these German Balt nobles had acquired friends and relatives among members of the Western European aristocracy, which dominated the diplomatic service of the Western Powers. As a matter of fact, it was this intimate inter-relationship which secured a measure of success to the "German Balt Committee" in Paris. This committee, comprised of large Russian and German landowners of the Baltic provinces, claimed to represent the Russian and German minorities of the entire provinces; it was headed by a certain Baron Meyendorff. According to the minutes of the Conférence Préliminaire de la Paix (Commission des Affaires Baltiques, procès-verbal Nos. 1-18), Baron Meyendorff approached the chief of the Commission, Sir Esmé Howard, former British Minister to Stockholm, with complaints against the Latvian and Estonian governments.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Sir Stephen Tallents, *Man and Boy* (London, 1942), p. 327.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹⁰⁹ M. W. Graham, *The Diplomatic Recognition of the Border States*, Part III. Latvia (Los Angeles, 1941), pp. 409-433

The principal theme of Baron Meyendorff's complaints was the extensive land reform policies of the newly established Republics. In Latvia, the agrarian reform provided the creation of a land fund for allotment to landless peasants, to be made up of all manorial estates larger than 100 hectares (1 hectare = 2.47 acres) and of all lands owned by the state and by the municipalities. Out of this land fund 193,284 parcels were distributed.¹¹⁰

At the same time the German Balts, guided of course by the same idea of preserving their privileged position, had, according to Professor M. W. Graham, assured Admiral Kolchak, head of the Russian Nationalist Government in Siberia, to the effect that they had no desire to be separated from Russia.¹¹¹ It is abundantly evident from all these maneuvers that the German Balts did not believe in the viability of the Baltic republics and that they continued to hope and work for the reestablishment of any sort of transitional régime that would prove amenable to their own claims for security and the exercise of their "rights."

In taking cognizance of Baron Meyendorff's exposé, Sir Esmé Howard assured him that he would forward the Baron's desires regarding the Baltic minorities to the Council of Five, *with the Commission's approval*.¹¹² This is proof of how great was the influence of the German Balts at the Peace Conference, in spite of the efforts overtly made by their kin during the German occupation of the Baltic provinces to make the latter a part of the imperial Reich! The Marquis della Torretta, followed by Commandant Aublet of France, both apparently influenced by a note of Baron Meyendorff on the subject of the withdrawal of German troops from the Baltic region as demanded by the Latvians, expressed in July 1919 *much greater concern over the fate of the German and Russian minorities than over the fate of the Latvians and Estonians in case of a German withdrawal*.¹¹³ However, Mr. Philip Kerr (subsequently Marquis Lothian, late British Ambassador to Washington) expressed the view that the minorities were sufficiently protected by the presence of General Gough, the Allied Commander-in-Chief in the Baltic region.¹¹⁴

The German Balt nobles also tried to influence the Paris Peace Conference to demanding from the de facto Baltic governments complete cooperation in the intervention for the restoration of a "recognized Russian government," upon whose subsequent consent the ultimate fate of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia was to depend. A

¹¹⁰ *Latvija Skaitlos*, p. 178.

¹¹² *Ibid.* ¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

¹¹¹ Graham, *op cit*, p. 427.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

resolution to this effect was in fact proposed (procès-verbal No. 12, Annexe iv, pp. 16–17) on July 2, 1919, to the Council of Ambassador by Sir Esmé Howard.¹¹⁵ This would have constituted a reversal of the de fact recognition that had been accorded to Latvia by the British government on November 11, 1918, in the form of delaying final recognition and of making it contingent upon an agreement. with the "Mother-Country," Russia. These proposals were obviously designated to entangle the three Baltic Republics in the far-reaching schemes of intervention which marked that era, while promising them in return only the most illusory status, depending on the caprices of Kolchak, the Russian Political Conference, and other similar Russian authorities. But on July 29, 1919, the Council of Ambassadors refused to adopt Sir Esmé Howard's recommendation.¹¹⁶

This marked the end of the policy of the *cordon sanitaire* as well as of German Balt intrigues in Paris, but not of German Balt activities in the Baltic.

12 *German Balts Obtain Equal Rights with Other Latvian Citizens and Cultural Autonomy*

After the collapse of the Bermondts adventure in November, 1919, which represented the last effort of certain German Balt circles to restore their old position, it became evident that the game was lost. In 1920, peace treaties were signed with Russia and Germany, and in 1921 Latvia was recognized *de jure* by the Great Powers. The Latvian Constituent Assembly decided that Latvia should become a republican state, with equality realized for all Latvian citizens. Full cultural autonomy was extended to the minorities (by the law of December 18, 1919),¹¹⁷ but the oligarchic Diets of the nobles of Kurland and Livonia were dissolved on June 29, 1920 by decision of the Constituent Assembly.¹¹⁸ Simultaneously all titles and class distinctions, as well as the caste system of the Guilds in the Riga municipal government and the preferential vote of the homeowners (mostly Germans), were abolished in the townships.

Former German and other nobles were allowed to retain their titles only as an integral part of their family names. This did not confer any legal privilege, but marked the liberality of treatment extended by the Latvian state to its former opponents. The latter were in fact

¹¹⁵ *Conférence des Préliminaires de la Paix. Commission des Affaires Baltiques* Procès-Verbal No. 12, Annexe iv, pp. 16–17

¹¹⁶ Graham, *op cit*, p. 432.

¹¹⁷ *Latvijas Pagaidu Valdības Likumu un Rikojumu Krājums* (Collection of Latvian Laws and Decrees), December 31, 1919, No. 156.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, August 31, 1920, No. 187.

treated with fairness and without discrimination. Upon partitioning of the large estates among the landless peasants, landowners were left middle-sized farms with all the necessary inventory and livestock. A few of these estates were confiscated, because their owners had been duly convicted as traitors for participating in plots against the state after the proclamation of Latvia's independence, but many of these were restored in part to their owners, when the latter were granted pardons by the President of Latvia.

In general, the German Balts enjoyed the same rights as Latvians and had cultural autonomy besides. They obtained commissions in the army and navy; they entered the civil, diplomatic, judiciary and municipal services; practised medicine, law and other free professions; the chairs of colleges and universities were accessible to them. Many of them once more became prosperous, especially those who entered business, finance, commerce and industry.

However, the German Lutherans, forming only 5.48 percent of all the Lutherans in Latvia, preferred to establish a separate German Lutheran church organization, forming their own Synod, electing their own Bishop (A. Poelchau), and founding their own theological school at the German Herder Institute in Riga.¹¹⁹ They made great efforts to maintain their own parishes, no matter how small numerically, and tried hard to continue to hold on to the largest Lutheran churches in the capital, reluctantly sharing these churches with the Latvians through the establishment of an elaborate schedule of services. In 1935 there were 242,731 Latvians in Riga, as compared with 38,523 Germans,¹²⁰ yet the latter demanded the Cathedrals of St. Mary and of St. Peter for their exclusive use. At the beginning of the present century the Latvians had been obliged to build the church of St. Gertrude by popular subscription for this very reason.

In independent Latvia this situation became intolerable, and in 1931 by referendum a law was passed assigning the Dome or Cathedral of St. Mary Latvian for the use of the great majority, while the Cathedral of St. Peter was made the Cathedral of the Garrison consisting of soldiers also predominantly of Latvian origin (93.45 percent Latvians and only 5.48 percent Germans).¹²¹ These acts of the Latvian majority provoked combined protests from the Germans which culminated in ostentatious services in the Germany cemetery. Even intervention from abroad was tried, and this "Kulturkampf" ended only when the Baltic Germans obeyed the call of Hitler and abandoned the entire region in 1939-1940. Curiously enough, the German Lutheran Bishop was the strongest promoter of this mass exodus.

¹¹⁹ *Valdības Vēstnesis*, No 119, May 32, 1927, No 219, September 30, 1927.

¹²⁰ *Latvija Skatīlos*, p. 67.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, p. 72.

There was, indeed, no future in store for them comparable in any sense with their brilliant past. Lettland was no more "Fettland," nor Lievland "Blievland," an inviting land of fat and plenty. Their children sooner or later would have become Latvians under the pressure of circumstances. They were surrounded and submerged by Latvians and had to speak the Latvian language. Latvians were rapidly attaining leadership in all fields — intellectual and economic. The Germans, shorn of their privileges, were being assimilated in the democratic mass of Latvia's citizens. The same happened in Estonia. So they preferred to go back to Germany.

13. German Balt Mass Exodus in 1939

The gloomy prospect of completely losing their privileged status was one of the primary reasons why the Baltic Germans voluntarily left Latvia and Estonia on such a large scale in 1939–1940. The liquidation of the properties of the German repatriates were assumed by the German Trust Company in Riga, the *Umsiedlungs Treuhand Aktiengesellschaft* or UTAG. The final accounts were to be settled through the German government with repatriates. The repatriation convention was signed by Latvia and Germany on October 30, 1939, and was ratified by Latvia on November 9. It was published in the Official Gazette, *Valdības Vestnesis*, No. 247 (October 30, 1939), and No. 255 (November 9, 1939).¹²² The Germans were to leave Latvia not later than December 15, 1939, but this date was subsequently extended. According to the agreement, only personal property could be taken along. Real estate, houses, farms, cattle, machinery, gold and silver specie were taken over by the UTAG, and the final date of settlement was set at December 31, 1941.

It has been said that the German government realized a handsome profit on this transaction (more than one hundred million dollars). The repatriated German Balts, however, were not brought to Germany, but were settled in the Polish provinces occupied by the German armies at the beginning of the war, mostly in Poznan. Some were assigned to Gotenhafen, as the Germans had renamed the Polish port of Gdynia, which the newly arrived German Balts among themselves had renamed "Totenhafen" or the harbor of the dead. There is certainly no way back to Latvia for them. After conquering the Baltic States from the Russians, Hitler did not allow the evacuated Germans to return to Latvia, but held them, as seasoned and experienced oppressors, in the Polish border regions where he had first settled them.

¹²² An English translation of the text of the Convention can be found in *Latvian-Russian Relations*, Appendix vi.

In his recent book on Russia, Sir Bernard Pares pities "these poor people" and states textually: "They might be thought useful here (in the Polish Corridor, where most of them were settled by Hitler) but what of their removal from where they had always been?"¹²³ The fact is that they left the Baltic States quite voluntarily, and were legally released from their citizenship there.

Sir Bernard Pares is evidently more concerned with the fate of these Germans, who freely emigrated to their mother-country, than with that of the 200,000 Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians forcibly deported by the Bolsheviks to Siberian prison-camps. Furthermore, the eminent writer finds no other name for the indigenous Baltic people than "the subjugated under-dog population — the Letts and Estonians," whom the Russians, according to him, "stirred up against the Balt-Germans."¹²⁴ The latter, according to Sir Bernard, "had a highly advanced civilization of their own — with order, discipline, property, learning and literature . . .,"¹²⁵ whereas the former two never gained any recognition on the map as nationalities until the Versailles settlements of 1919. It is to be noted, in this connection, that on historical maps of Livonia the designations "Esten" and "Letten" as a rule are marked as subdivisions of that province.

All one can say of Sir Bernard Pares' treatment (though, perhaps, mistreatment would be more accurate) of historical facts is that he seems to have been duped by some alleged "expert" on Baltic history. But the facts clearly are quite to the contrary, and even Sir Bernard's standing as a historian can hardly change them.

It has been a commonly repeated error in the English speaking world to call the Baltic Germans the "backbone" of the Baltic States. It was assumed that without this "backbone" these countries would lose their independence. It suited the purposes of German propaganda to have this fiction believed. The clearly documented fact is that if the German Balts had had their way the Baltic States would have been either satellites of the German Reich, or supporting provinces of a hoped for resuscitated Russian Empire. Real independence was the last thing the German Balts wanted the Baltic peoples to have.

14. *In Memoriam*

Somewhere in Finland the Finns erected a monument to a Swedish Governor-General with the simple inscription: "The inhabitants were satisfied with me and I with them!" But the Latvians did not have a single German Governor-General of this kind. The only good for-

¹²³ B. Pares, *Russia* (Penguin Books (London), 1940), p. 247, American edition (New York, 1941), p. 214.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

eign domination was the Swedish one, which period the Latvians call "The good old Swedish days!" The Germans, on the contrary, are not popular in Latvia. They had established there bondage, serfdom, and the most retrograde squirearchy in Europe. All too few were the humane and enlightened Germans who tried to introduce reforms; and they were invariably overruled and ostracized by their peers.

The few good men among the German Balts will always be remembered. Foremost among these is Duke Gothard of Kurland (1561–1587), who was sensitive to the spiritual needs of the Latvians and in 1567 ordered the building of 70 new churches, since the existing 3 churches and 9 chapels were insufficient. He ordered also the printing of hymnals and of a religious handbook (*vademecum*) in the Latvian language, the first of which appeared in 1586.¹²⁶ His grandson Duke James (1639–1682) made Kurland again a prosperous maritime country. In 1649 the Kuronian Lutheran superintendent-general Paul Einhorn wrote a Latvian history, in which he stated that all Latvian inhabited lands — Kurland, Semigallia and Livonia — had always belong to Latvians, who called themselves *Latvji*. The Latvians, according to P. Einhorn, inhabited all the northeastern Baltic shores from Danzig to Libau, which is also attested by the existing geographical names in East Prussia such as Kurische Haff (Gulf), Kurische Nehrung (Sandspit), Kurische Niederung (Lowlands) and many others. In 1644 Rehehusen wrote a *Manductio ad Linguam Lettonicam* — a handbook of the Latvian language; also in the seventeenth century Mancelius wrote a *Phraseologia Lettica*. The Livonian Pastor Ernest Glueck (an immigrant from Germany) in 1689 translated the Bible into Latvian.¹²⁷ The Landrat or Councillor of the Diet, Baron Schoulz von Asheraden, tried to ameliorate the situation of the tenants and issued liberal peasant laws for his estates in 1764, but was therefore ostracized by the other German nobles.¹²⁸

Pastor Eisen von Schwarzenberg, an enlightened immigrant from Germany, wrote a memorandum in 1764 on the abominable conditions of the Latvians and Estonians, which was printed by the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg and which he submitted to the Empress Catherine II, thus being instrumental in raising Empress Catherine's interest in the Latvians.¹²⁹ Last but not least, Garlieb Merkel, the son of a Livonian pastor, wrote a flaming accusation against the German squires in 1796 under the title *Die Letten*, a

¹²⁶ "Latvju Baznīcas Vēsture," p. 21560

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 21566–21567.

¹²⁸ Švābe, *Latvju Tiesību Vēsture*, III, pp. 48–51. ¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

pamphlet which was published in Leipzig, translated into French by the famous Abbé de Siéyès, and read by Emperor Alexander I.¹³⁰ The effect of this was the inclusion of the Baltic provinces in the decree of 1804, which created a class of hereditary tenants. This decree was prepared by the liberal Colonel F. von Zivers, who had also read G. Merkel's appeal.¹³¹ Baron Hamilkar von Voelkersam should also be mentioned as the man who in 1849 advocated in the Livonian Diet the passing of decree allowing tenants to buy farms of their own: eventually he also was ostracized by his peers.¹³² There have been several German pastors who deserve merit for promoting the Latvian language, literature, press and the study of Latvian folklore, of whom Pastor Dr. A. Bielenstein is the most prominent.¹³³

In more modern times, too, a few Germans actually participated in the establishment of the Latvian State Council, the most prominent being Dr. Paul Schiemann, a brilliant editor. It is interesting to note that during the German occupation of Riga (in 1917) Dr. P. Schiemann was imprisoned as a dangerous radical. He was a member of the Latvian Constituent Assembly and of all subsequent Latvian parliaments.

Some other Germans cooperated with the Latvians in strengthening the Latvian state; foremost among these are Count A. Kaiserling, Admiral of the Latvian Navy; Baron Stromberg, of the General Staff; Baron Duesterloe and von Bruemmer of the Department of Justice; and von Bulmerincq of the Riga municipality. There are several more such names to be remembered. But they were all sporadic "knights errant."

However, most of these good people willingly followed the call of Hitler and left Latvia with an easy conscience, departing with bag and baggage. It is said that the older generation followed the younger, which had become deeply imbued with Nazi doctrines. On the other hand, it may have been the premonition of the imminent Bolshevik invasion that moved them all.

In any case, the exodus was complete.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Es Vīnu Pazistu*, p. 163.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

THREE NOTES ON THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF KIEVAN RUSSIA

By GEORGE VERNADSKY

I. *The Slave and the Grantee (Kholop and Vdach)*

THE SO-CALLED Expanded Version of the *Russian Law (Lex Russica, Pravda Russkaya)*¹ consists of three parts: the revised *Pravda* of Yaroslav's Sons; Vladimir Monomach's Statute; and some supplementary enactments. It is at the end of the third part that clauses dealing with slaves and grantees are placed (Sections 110–121). Some students of Russian legal history call this collection of articles a special "Statute on Slavery" to correspond to Vladimir Monomach's "Statute on indentured laborers" (*Zakup*)² It may be dated in the second half of the 12th century, possibly in the reign of Prince Rostislav of Smolensk and Kiev (1160–67).

The statute opens with a general statement on the sources of slavery (Section 110). According to this section, a man may become a slave in three ways: (1) being bought by some one; (2) marrying somebody's female slave without making a written agreement with her master; and (3) accepting service in a lord's household without a written agreement.

The text of cases (2) and (3) is pretty clear, but that for case (1) is very obscure and may be interpreted in different ways. The clause (1), in the Russian original, reads as follows: *ože kto chotja kupit' do polugrivny, a posluchy postavit', a nogatu dast' pered saměm cholopom'.*

The first problem with which the student is faced in an attempt correctly to interpret the meaning of the clause is the following: have we here before us a case of somebody's slave being bought by a third person; or is it the case of a man voluntarily selling himself into slavery? Some students of the problem, as for example, M. F.

¹ *Pravda Russkaja*, ed B. D. Grekov, Vol. I (Moscow-Leningrad Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., 1940); hereafter quoted as Grekov. For comments on the Expanded Version of the *Pravda* the Trinity copy has been used (Grekov, pp. 104–117), for the Short Version, the Academy Copy (Grekov, pp. 70–73). I have prepared an English translation of both versions, to appear in "Records of Civilization." Among the recent studies on the *Pravda Russkaja* as well as on the social history of Kievan Russia at large the following three books are of particular importance: B. D. Grekov, *Kievskaja Rus'* (3d ed., Moscow-Leningrad, 1939, 4th ed., Moscow-Leningrad, 1944; the page references below are to the 3d ed.), S. V. Yushkov, *Narysy z istorii vynyknennia i počatkovogo rozvitku feodalizmu v Kyivs'kii Rusi* (Kiev, 1940) (hereafter quoted as Yushkov, *Narysy*); and M. N. Tikhomirov, *Issledovanie o Russkoi Pravde* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1941).

² On slaves in Kievan Russia see Grekov, *Kievskaja Rus'*, pp. 107–114; Yushkov, *Narysy*, pp. 48–53, A. Yakovlev, *Cholopstvo i Cholopy v Moskovskom gosudarstve*, I (Moscow-Leningrad, 1943), 8–22.

Vladimirski-Budanov and A. V. Solovyov accepted the first of these alternate solutions.³ Others, as for example, M. A. Dyakonov and L. K. Goetz, preferred the second.⁴ In my opinion, it is the second solution of the problem which must be considered definitive. As Dyakonov aptly puts it, the legislator deals in this clause with only one aspect of the origins of slavery: that when a man becomes a slave by his own action. This is patent in cases (2) and (3) of Section 110; it must be true of case (1) as well. It is characteristic that such an important source of slavery as capture at war is not mentioned at all. Presumably, it has not been dealt with since it is not the result of a person's own action or will. Thus, we must interpret case (1) in Section 110 as that of a man voluntarily selling himself into slavery.

The next difficulty facing us is the meaning of the word *chotja*. Most of the students of the *Pravda* understand it as a conjunction denoting "although," or "be it." The word is widely used in that sense in modern Russian and — less often so — in old Russian. It is undoubtedly used in that sense in Section 17 of the Expanded Version. Most of the students of the *Russian Law* ascribe to the word *chotja* in Section 110 the same connotation as it has in Section 17. They fail, however, to take into account that, taken in such meaning, the word hardly makes any sense in Section 110. A. V. Solovyov attempts to save the situation by referring the word *chotja* to *do polugrivny*: (if anyone buys a slave) "be it for less than half a *grivna*."⁵ The trouble with this explanation is, that *do polugrivny* means here not "for less than half a *grivna*" but for "not less than half a *grivna*," which meaning is obvious if we compare this section with Section 22, where the same expression, *do polugrivny*, is used patently in the sense "not less than half a *grivna*."

Thus, *chotja* in Section 110 cannot be interpreted as "be it." How then can we understand the meaning of it. A. B. Efron has suggested the derivation of *chotja* from *chot'*, a term found in some parallel readings to Section 26 of the Short Version, which term he explains as "herdsman."⁶ In such a case, the clause would read as follows: "If anyone buys a herdsman for not less than half a *grivna*." A. B. Efron's interpretation is tantalizing but hardly can be accepted, since we

³ M. F. Vladimirski-Budanov, *Obzor istorii russkogo prava* (7th ed., Petrograd-Kiev, 1915), p. 401; A. V. Solovyov, in his review of A. B. Efron's book (quoted in Note 6 below), *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, xi (1940), 288.

⁴ M. A. Dyakonov, *Očerki obščestvennogo i gosudarstvennogo stroja drevnei Rusi* (4th ed., St. Petersburg, 1912), pp. 105–106; L. K. Goetz, *Das Russische Recht*, III (Stuttgart, 1912), 418–422. ⁵ Solovyov, *loc. cit.*

⁶ A. B. Efron, *Etjudy po istorii russkogo juridičeskogo byta*, I (Brussels, 1939), 125–132 (hereafter quoted as Efron, *Etjudy*).

should expect in the text not a reference to a particular social category of men bought, but rather a reference to the state of mind of the man bought — to his willingness to sell himself into slavery. It may be therefore suggested that *chotja* is used in Section 110 not as a conjunction but as a participle of the verb *chotěti*, “to wish.” As a participle, *chotja* means “willing.” Participles were used in old Russian in two forms, the short and the expanded. In the short form they were not subject to declension. If we understand *chotja* in our text as a short-form participle, we must refer it not to the subject of the sentence (the buyer, in this case), but to the direct object (the seller.) While this is admissible, it is also possible that in the original text of the *Pravda* the participle may have been used in its expanded form, which, for the accusative case, would be *chotjašę*. Two letters (*shch*’ = *šč*’ = ШЧ) at the end of the word easily might have been omitted by a later copyist. In any case the meaning of the text seems to be perfectly clear: “If anyone buys [a man] willing [to sell himself into slavery] for not less than a *grivna*, and produces [due] witnesses, and pays one *nogata* in the presence of the slave himself.”

The meaning of the payment of one *nogata* has also been subject to different interpretations: Vladimirski-Budanov considers it a deposit on account of the price to be paid, while V. I. Sergeevich sees in it the notary public’s fee.⁷ Sergeevich is undoubtedly right.

As to the minimum set for the slave’s price, half a *grivna*, it is a very low one. According to Section 16, the payment to the prince for killing his slave is 5 *grivny*. Notwithstanding the low minimum price, the intention of the legislator is obviously that of limiting any possible abuses in acquiring slaves by the setting forth of three legal requirements: the minimum price; the presence of witnesses; and the payment of a toll to the notary public.

If these three conditions are not fulfilled, the self-selling into slavery is not considered valid. Instead of sales, the deal becomes a “grant” (*dacha*).⁸ The legal position of the grantee is dealt with in the next section of the Expanded Version of the *Russian Law* (Section 111).

The section, in the old Russian original, reads as follows: “A vŭ dačę ne cholop, ni po chlębę robotyat’, ni po pridatčę, no ož ne dochodyat’ goda, to voročati emu milost’, otchodit’ li, to ne vino-vat est’.” In translation: “And the recipient of a grant is not a slave; and they shall not enslave people by demanding an additional payment [as accrument] for a grant in grain; [the grant may be re-

⁷ Vladimirski-Budanov, *Obzor*, p. 401, V I Sergeevich, *Drevnosti russkogo prava*, I (3d ed., St Petersburg, 1909), 145.

⁸ On “grant” (*dača*) and “grantee” (*dačę*) see Grekov, *Kievskaja Rus’*, pp 124-125.

turned by work]; only if the grantee has not completed his term of work, he has to return the grant; if he has completed the term, he is not in default."

In order better to understand the meaning of this clause we have to compare it with a similar clause in the *Zakon Sudniĭ Ljudem*.⁹

That *Zakon* is a Bulgarian law manual, of which the original version appeared not later than in the tenth century, and a revised version, probably in the eleventh. The clause in question occurs in the revised redaction (Section 77):

In the old-Slavic original it reads as follows: "Ašče sja dast' čelověkŭ u tošna veremjani ili žena, dern' emu ne nadobe, a poidetŭ proč', dast' tri grivny, a služilŭ daromŭ."

In translation: If a man, or a woman, at the time of a famine, enters the service [at a lord's], he (she) does not become a slave; when he (she) leaves, he (she) shall pay 3 *grivny*; and he (she) shall not claim any wages for his (her) service."

Here we have a reference to the motive of men and women applying for a grant: they are supposed to do so chiefly in the time of famine, or, presumably, of any other public calamity or troubles. The legislator obviously attempts to prevent the rich of taking any advantage of the situation. While the *Zakon* presupposes the payment of 3 *grivny*, in addition to a term of work, to cover the grant, the *Pravda* knows of no such payment and even, if I rightly understand the meaning of the clause, forbids the grantor to demand any accrument, or interest, on the amount granted. Thus, the grant (*dača*) is not a loan but a subsidy — a favor (*milost'*), to be repaid by work.

In some later copies of the *Pravda*, instead of *v dače* ("in the grant") we read *vdač* ("the grantee"). It is possible that that term was formed on the basis of Section 77 of the *Zakon*. The latter deals with a man (or woman) entering the service at the lord's. In the Slavonic original *Ašče sja dast' čelověkŭ*, "If a man gives himself (to the lord)." *Vdač* is thus a man who "gives himself" to the lord for a grant. However, in the Trinity copy of the *Pravda*, which presumably is closest to the original copy of the Expanded Version, we read *v dače*, and not *vdač*.

It should be noted in this connection that the term *dača* was known not only to the Russian law of the period, but likewise to the law of the Baltic Slavs. While in Russian the expression was (to be) "in grant" (*v dače*), the Baltic Slavs used to speak of working "in accord-

⁹ T. Saturnik, *Príspevky k šírení Byzantského práva u Slovanů* (Prague, 1922), Appendix, pp. 143-164 (hereafter quoted as Saturnik).

ance with the grant" (*po dače*), or of being "under the grant" (*pod dačeju*). Pomeranian documents of the thirteenth century mention the institution, in Latin transcription, as *podacia*, *podaiža*, *poddas*, etc.¹⁰ By that time, the institution of *dača* among the Baltic Slavs developed into one close to slavery. It is described by Pope Gregory IX, in 1239, in the following words: "Our brother, the Bishop of Roskild informed us that the prince and the people of the Rana region in the Slavonic country have a certain bad custom which may be called usury, in their language it is called *poddas*. The creditor receives yearly from the debtor a certain quantity of grain, flax, and other things, to the amount of almost twice that of the loan; not satisfied by that he collects five *grosh* from the debtor when the latter is giving his daughter away into marriage; without that payment he would not be permitted to give his daughter away. Accordingly, the debtor has to pay the creditor a certain amount from each head of cattle he sells. And if the debtor dies before having repaid the loan, those abominable conditions are conferred on each of his descendants, so that if any one of them fails to appear for payment [of his share], a bunch of straw is put in the court hall [to represent him], after which he is excluded from the society of regular villagers and is turned into a full slave of the creditor."¹¹

II. The Peasant and the Herdsman (*Smerd and Khop*)

The Short Version of the "Russian Law" consists of two main parts: the so-called Yaroslav's *Pravda*, and the *Pravda* of Yaroslav's Sons. The chief objective of this latter is to enforce the authority of the princely power by providing special protection for the princely servitors and princely domains. A double bloodwite is ordered for the murder of a high official, and special fines imposed for the murder, or injury, of different categories of people working on princely estates or dependent on the prince in one way or another.

It is among those protective ordinances that the clause on the peasants and herdsman takes its place (Section 26).

In the Russian original the section reads as follows: a vŭ smerdě i vŭ chopě 5 grivenŭ" (And for the *smerd* and the *chop*, 5 *grivny*).

The *smerdy* (which is plural from *smerd*) were peasants who, although personally free, were placed under special jurisdiction of the prince. While they enjoyed the prince's protection, their legal status

¹⁰ A. Gilferding (Hilferding), *Istorija baltŭiskich Slavjan* (St. Petersburg, 1874), pp 131-132. Cf. I. Pervolf, *Germanizatsija baltŭiskich Slavjan* (St. Petersburg, 1876), p. 226

¹¹ Hasselbach et Kosengarten, *Codex Pomeraniae Diplomaticus* (Greifswald, 1862), No. 276, as quoted by Hilferding, p. 132

was somewhat limited. If a *smerd* died without male descendants, his estate went to the prince.¹² The very term *smerd* had a depreciatory connotation, since it was, in popular parlance, linked to the verb *smerdĕti*, "to stink."

In my opinion, the popular etymology, in this case as in many others, should not be accepted without reservations. The original derivation of the term must have been a different one. In view of the fact that the word does not sound either Slavic, or Germanic (or Greek for that matter), we have to look to Turkic and Iranian dialects for possible explanation. While no similar root can be found in Turkic, from the Iranian we may extract the word *mard* (man) which is obviously very close to *smerd*. For a parallel derivation, we may point to the Persian word *marg* ("death"), which appears as *smert'* in Russian.

One may recall in this connection that the *Russian Law* uses two other terms to denote "men": *muži* (plural from *muž*), and *ljudi* (plural from *liudin*). *Muž* is used in a general sense ("a man," *i.e.*, any man) but also in the specific sense of "man of a noble origin," — a "knight," as Grekov interprets it. *Ljudi* constituted what we may call the middle class of rural society in Kievan Russia. They were organized in guilds (*verv*) and were, in certain cases, collectively responsible for a crime committed within the boundary of a guild.

Smerdy, as we already know, constituted the lower class among the freemen. If my interpretation of the derivation of the term is correct, it means that they also were "men" (*mard*), but of the lower grade. Since the term derives from the Iranian, it is to the Iranian period that we must refer the origin of the *smerdi* as a social group — that is, to the period of the Alans and of the Antes. We know that the Antes were Slavs, politically organized by the Iranians.¹³ Different groups of Slavs were subject to the Iranian domination in a different degree. Some tribes accepted Iranian princes but enjoyed considerable autonomy and eventually won their freedom; other groups were organized as peasant communes working for the Iranian chieftains. It is these men (*mard*) who, in my opinion, might have been the social ancestors of the *smerdy*. This type of peasant group might have survived and kept its peculiar status through all of the successive political changes in South Russia: thus, peasants of such a status worked first for the Alanic chieftains, then for the princes of the Antic tribes, for the Khazar *beg*, and for the Magyar *vovoda*. They apparently

¹² On *smerdi* see Grekov, *Kievskaja Rus'*, pp. 125–142, Yushkov, *Narysy*, pp. 71–95; E. A. Rydzevskaya, "Slovo *smerd* v toponimike," *Problemy Istočnikovedeniia*, II (1936), 5–16; also Yushkov, *Feodalnye otnošenija i Kievskaja Rus'* (Saratov, 1925), pp. 33–60.

¹³ See G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* (Yale University Press, 1943).

retained the same status under the *Rus'* princes of the Kievan period.

Let us now examine the term *chop*. It is usually considered a misspelling of *cholop* (slave). And indeed, in the Archaeographic Commission copy of the Short Version we read *v cholope* and not *v chope*. Likewise, in Section 16 of the Expanded Version (Trinity copy) the reading is *cholop* and not *chop*. This, by itself, is not, however, an irrefutable proof against the possibility of the reading *chop* in the original copy of the Short Version. The Archaeographic Commission copy is dated in the fifteenth century (as, indeed, the Academy copy is). The term *chop*, not being in general use then, could not be understood by the copyist who corrected it to *cholop*, so much so that he might have seen the reading *cholop* in the Expanded Version. As to that latter, it was compiled about a century later than the Short Version and represented a different picture of the Russian social trends.

Thus, we must approach the term *chop* without letting the reading *cholop* prejudice us, and it is certainly to the credit of A. B. Efron that he did approach the problem of the *chop* in this spirit.¹⁴ However, he complicated the issue by considering the term *chop* a mere mutilation of the term *chot'* which term is used, instead of *chop*, in the so-called Tatishchev copies of the *Pravda*.

What social category could a *chop* possibly represent? It is known that the Russian jurists of the period of the *Pravda* were familiar with Byzantine law. Some of the Byzantine law manuals, such as the Agricultural Law (*Nomos georgikos*), the *Ecloga*, and the *Procheiron*, were translated into Slavic in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Prior to that, in the tenth century, a Slavonic compilation of Byzantine law, known as the *Zakon Sudniĭ Ljudem*, appeared in Bulgaria; as has already been mentioned, it was enlarged, probably in the eleventh century, and revised several times since. Some of the revision work must have been made in Russia, and in the thirteenth century a curious amalgamation of the *Zakon* and the *Pravda Russkaya* was prepared.¹⁵

What help could a Russian jurist find in those law manuals when confronted with a task of formulating clauses on the legal position of the peasants? Peasants are given considerable attention both in the *Nomos Georgikos* and in *Zakon Sudniĭ*. And — what may help us in our special problem — on several occasions peasants are mentioned together with herdsman.¹⁶ Thus, we find the peasant (*georgos*, γεωργός) and the herdsman (*agellarios*, ἀγελλάριος) mentioned in

¹⁴ Efron, *Etjudy*, pp. 105–169.

¹⁵ S. V. Yushkov, Editor, *Pravda Rus'ka* (Kiev: the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 1935), pp. 137–168

¹⁶ Cf. Efron, *Etjudy*, p. 120

several sections of the *Nomos Georgikos*. The corresponding terms in the Slavic translation of the *Nomos* are *zemledelec* and *pastyr*.¹⁷ Likewise, there is a parallel discussion of the duties of the peasant (*ratai*) and the herdsman (*pastyr*) in Section 47 of the *Zakon Sudnji*.¹⁸

Thus, both in the *Nomos Georgikos* and in the *Zakon Sudnji* the peasant and the herdsman are closely associated one with the other; they constitute a standard social pair, so to say. Returning now to our clause on *smerd* and *chop* in the *Pravda* we see that here, too, we have a social pair. Of it, we know that the word *smerd* denotes "peasant," and consequently we may presume that *chop* might have denoted "herdsman."

It should be noted in this connection that "Khop" (*chopŭ*) was the name of a Patzinak (*Pečeneg*) tribe; it is mentioned in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' work *De Administrando Imperio*, and we also know from the same source that the Russians used to buy horses and cattle from the Patzinaks.¹⁹ When large herds of cattle were bought by the Russians, the latter must also have hired — or bought — Patzinak herders to drive and to tend that cattle. Presumably, a considerable number of those Patzinak herders — some of them, at least, from the Khop tribe — found their way to Russia. Such Khop herders must have been employed chiefly on princely estates, since it is the princes who owned at that time the largest herds. Eventually the name might have been used in a broader sense denoting any herder of Patzinak extraction or any herder at large.

III. Freedmen and Aliens (*Izgoi*)

The connotation of the term *izgoi*, as well as its origin, belongs to the moot problems of Russian social history of the Kievan period.²⁰ As early as in 1854 Mikutski suggested the derivation of the term *izgoi* from the Lithuanian language, where *izgois*, he asserted, means "going out" (from the verb *eiti*, to go). **Izgoi* would be a man who "went out," that is, left his commune or any social group he might have belonged to. A. E. Presnyakov, agreeing with Mikutski as to the meaning of

¹⁷ For the Slavic translation of the *Nomos Georgikos* see A. S. Pavlov, "Knigi Zakonnye," *Sbornik* of the Section of the Russian Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences, XXXVIII (1885), No. 3, pp. 42–62.

¹⁸ Saturnik, p. 156.

¹⁹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, "De Administrando Imperio," chapters 2 and 37, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CXLIII, cols. 161 and 313.

²⁰ On *izgoi* see Grekov, *Kievskaja Rus'*, pp. 142–150; Yushkov, *Narysy*, pp. 103–106; M. Szeftel, "La condition juridique des déclassés dans la Russie ancienne," *Archives d'histoire du Droit Oriental*, II (Brussels-Paris, 1938), 431–440.

* The two forms are actually not connected, since **izgois* (cf. *išgojimas*) should be related to *gōti* ("walk slowly").

the term, pointed out that it might be derived from the Gothic language: *usgauja*, an expatriate. The Gothic theory has been recently developed by A. B. Efron in much detail.²¹ Another method of philological approach has been to explain the connotation of the term *izgoi* by deriving it from the Slavic root *goi* which denotes "life," "abundance." A. V. Solovyov has recently pointed out that the old Slavic verb *goiti* means "to let live," hence, "to provide means of subsistence," "to care for." The Slavic prefix *iz* means "out," "out of," "from." An *izgoi*, according to Solovyov, is a man deprived of the means of subsistence and thus needing special protection.²²

The best way of approach to the problem of *izgoi* is of course through an examination of the source evidence. Unfortunately, as we presently shall see, there is some contradiction between the sources of the twelfth century—which supply us with the bulk of the evidence—and those of the eleventh.

The "classical" text on the *izgoi* is the famous passage in Prince Vsevolod's "Statute on the Church Courts" (1125–1136). *Izgoi* are mentioned there among other categories of people subject to the authority of the church courts.²³ "And there are three kinds of *izgoi*: the priest's son who remained illiterate; the freedman; and the bankrupt merchant." Then follows a gloss: "And let us add the fourth kind of *izgoi*: the orphaned prince." Thus, according to this source, an *izgoi* is a man who has lost his former social status and is in need of special protection: that protection is given him by the church.

Numerically, freedmen must have constituted the largest group of *izgoi* at the time of the issuance of Vsevolod's statute. It should be mentioned in this connection that when a slave was buying his freedom and his lord asked a larger amount than for what he himself bought that slave, or than the "normal" price of slave, the difference between the "normal" price of the slave and the price set by the lord for his redemption, was called *izgoistvo* ("izgoyism"). The church tried to combat such practice, considering it a great sin.

In most cases the freedmen were settled on church or princely estates in the capacity of tenants. It seems that they were more or less bound to the estate and could be disposed with the estate. Thus in his charter to the church district of Smolensk, Prince Rostislav grants "to the Holy Virgin and the Bishop" two villages "with land and *izgoi*."²⁴

²¹ Efron, *Etjudy*, pp. 19–104.

²² Solovyov (as quoted in Note 3, above), p. 285.

²³ M. F. Vladimírskii-Budanov, *Khristomatija po istorii russkogo prava*, I (6th ed., St. Petersburg-Kiev, 1908), 209

²⁴ Vladimírskii-Budanov, *Khristomatija*, I, 222–223.

On the whole, from the evidence of the twelfth-century sources a more or less clear picture of the position of the *izgoi* and their place in Russian social structure at that time may be drawn. However, into that picture the *izgoi* mentioned in Section 1 of the Short Version of the *Russian Law* — an eleventh-century source — does not fit at all. In that section of the *Pravda*, a list of categories of men worth full wergeld is given. It reads as follows: "Be [the murdered man] a [Kievan] Russian — a palace guard, a merchant, an agent, or a sheriff — be he an *Izgoi*, or a [Novgorodian] Slav, [his wergeld is] 40 *grivna*."

It is pretty obvious that the *Izgoi* of the *Pravda* is socially quite different from the *Izgoi* as mentioned in Prince Vsevolod's Statute or in Prince Rostislav's charter. The *Izgoi* of the *Pravda* is listed among men of the upper and middle classes. No freedman attached to an estate could have been mentioned in such a list by any chance. Vladimirski-Budanov — rightly, in my opinion — suggested that the *Izgoi* mentioned in the *Pravda* might have been a member of princely retinue. But he did not explain how that connotation is to be correlated with the connotation of the term in Prince Vsevolod's Statute. Grekov considers the *Izgoi* of the *Pravda* a "city *izgoi*" not to be mixed with the "village *izgoi*" of other sources. He adds characteristically enough: "Of the city *izgoi* we know nothing."²⁵ It is but natural that the compilers of the *Pravda* did not care to explain the term *Izgoi* which must have been current and known to everybody in the time of Yaroslav. Unfortunately, we have lost the key to it.

Cannot that key be found somehow?

The only indication we may extract from the wording of Section 1 of the *Pravda* as to the social position of the *Izgoi* is his place on the list. The *Izgoi* is mentioned between the Kievan Russians and the Novgorodian Slavs. The *Izgoi*, then, must have constituted a separate group of their own, quite distinct from the other two. Since no such Slavic group is known to have existed at the time, we may presume that the *Izgoi* represented a group of alien extraction. We may be sure that it was not Scandinavian. The old *Rus* of Scandinavian extraction had by that time merged with the Kievan Slavs: they both must have been included into the category of "Russians." As to any newcomers from Scandinavia, they were known as Varangians and not as *Izgoi*. The Varangians are mentioned (together with the Kolbyags) in several sections of the *Pravda*. The *Izgoi* could not have been either Poles, or Greeks, or Magyars, or any other people

²⁵ Grekov, *Kievskaja Rus'*, p. 147.

of the west. That leaves only Turks and Caucasian natives for our consideration. No Turkic tribe bearing the name *Izgoi* is known, nor does the name itself correspond to any Turkic word. We have then, as our last resort, to turn to the Caucasians and Caucasian languages, and, being aware of the old connection between the Iranians and the Slavs, we naturally, in this connection, must think, first of all, of the Ossetians.

The closest parallel to the word *izgoi* in Ossetian seems to be the pronoun and adjective *iskaei*, which means "anyone's," "not ours," "strange," "alien." To this pronoun the noun *iskaeiwon* corresponds, which means "a stranger," "an alien," but also "a hireling," "a hired laborer."²⁶ Presumably, any Ossetians who may have happened to come to Kiev in Yaroslav's time, in the capacity of members of princely retinue, used to speak of themselves as "hirelings" or "strangers" (*iskaeiwon*), and it is by that name that they might have become known in Kiev generally. The name is certainly close enough to *izgoi*, especially if we take into account the inevitable difference between the Ossetian and the Russian pronunciation. We may recall that there was constant intercourse between the Russians and the Ossetians (*Yasi*) in the Kievan period. Several Russian princes married Ossetian girls, and Ossetians are known to be in the service of Russian princes.

The Ossetians were subdued by Prince Svyatoslav around 965, and later on, together with the Circassians (*Kosogi*), recognized the authority of Prince Mstislav of Tmutorokan, a brother of Yaroslav. Both the Circassians and the Ossetians fought on Mstislav's side at the time of his struggle for power against Yaroslav. They both were Mstislav's "hirelings" (*iskaeiwon*). In 1024, after Mstislav's victory, Russia was divided between the two brothers, the Dnieper River serving as the boundary line between their respective possessions.

Mstislav died without male descendants in 1036, and Yaroslav became the sole ruler of Russia after that. There is no doubt that in this case, as in many similar ones, many members of Mstislav's retinue (*druzhina*) — Ossetians and Circassians among others — pledged allegiance to Yaroslav and joined the latter's *druzhina* in Kiev. It is but natural that they must have asked for an adequate wergeld protection on the par with other members of the princely retinue.

It is generally admitted that Yaroslav's *Pravda* must be somehow

²⁶ V F Miller, *Osetinsko-russko-nemetskiĭ slovar'*, II (Leningrad, 1929), 640.

connected with the charters he issued to Novgorod in 1016 and 1019. The chronicles also mention that Yaroslav granted one more charter to Novgorod in 1036. According to Stratonov, this latter charter was really a table of payments due to the wergeld collector (*virnik*) on the part of the local population. This table was included in the *Pravda*.²⁷ The text of the *Pravda* as a whole might have been somewhat revised at that occasion, and it is possible that it is at that juncture that the term *izgoi* was added to the list of social groups in Section 1 of the Short Version.

Due to the inroads of the Cumans, connection between Kiev and Tmutorokan was severed by the end of the eleventh century, and no new contingents of Ossetian and Circassian hirelings of any considerable number could, after that date, enter the service of the Kievan princes. Those who had previously joined Iaroslav's *druzhina* must have been completely Russianized. This may account for the disappearance in the twelfth century, of the term *izgoi* in its original connotation.

There remains one more question: how can the coming into use of a new connotation of the term *izgoi* — that of freedmen working on church and princely estates — be explained? As we have seen, one of the meanings of the work *iskaeiwon* in Ossetian is "hired laborer." Besides, a considerable part of the freedmen — if not the bulk of them — must have been of alien extraction, since in that period prisoners of war were usually turned into slaves, and thus captivity constituted the main source of slavery. Consequently the possibility of connection between the notions of "freedmen" and "aliens" should not be overlooked and it is in this way that we may explain the origins of the term *izgoi* as used in the twelfth century.

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²⁷ See Tikhomirov (as quoted in Note 1, above), p. 81.

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN CZECH IMMIGRATION

By THOMAS ČAPEK

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR at first centered in Bohemia and, after the disastrous Battle of the White Mountain in 1620, Protestant partisans were forced to seek refuge in the neighboring states of Saxony, Silesia, Hungary and Poland. As their hope of an early return to their native land waned, they scattered to more distant lands, such as Holland and England. A few of the bolder exiles sailed on Dutch and English ships to America.

The first known immigrant from Bohemia of whom there is a distinct record was Augustine Herrman, who arrived in New Amsterdam in the employ of the West India Company in 1633. "A few of the settlers of New Amsterdam," remarks the historian Bancroft, "were the offspring of those early inquirers who listened to Huss in the heart of Bohemia." Of good education and masterful appearance, Herrman was, several years later, elected one of the Nine Men, a body selected from prominent citizens to aid the colonial governor by their counsel and advice. Being a surveyor and cartographer, he was delegated by Director-General Peter Stuyvesant to adjust a boundary dispute in Maryland which had arisen between the Dutch and the English. Thereafter, Herrman decided to change his allegiance and remove permanently to Maryland, offering to make a map of the province in consideration for a grant of a large tract of land in Cecil County from Lord Baltimore. He spent some ten years at it and produced a map and survey defining shore lines and boundaries entitled "Virginia and Maryland as it is Planted and Inhabited this present Year 1670 Surveyed and Exactly Drawne by the Only Labour and Endeavour of Augustine Herrman Bohemiensis." This map represented the outstanding achievement in his career, and is still preserved in the British Museum.

Herrman's holdings totaled 15,000 acres. His own residence he called Bohemia Manor and, together with other grants known as Little Bohemia and the Three Bohemian Sisters and the manorial privileges which accompanied them, this property made him one of the most important men in colonial Maryland. Herrman died in 1686. The tombstone which still exists to mark the place of his grave reads "Augustine Herrman Bohemian the first founder seater of Bohemea Manner 1661." A great grandson by adoption and one time resident of the manor was Richard Bassett (1745-1815) governor of Delaware and signer of the Constitution. Bassett's daughter married a Bayard, and when the original manor was destroyed by fire at the beginning

of the last century, this family erected a large brick Georgian residence on the site and have continued to occupy it ever since.

Another emigré of the same period was Frederick Philipse, the grandson of Viscount Philipse, sometimes spelled Felypsen, whose family had fled from Bohemia to Friesland, Netherlands, to escape persecution for his religious views. Although of noble lineage, he came to America as a master carpenter. Later he turned to trade in New Netherlands and rose to a position of affluence. For a good half century he was actively associated with almost every important act of the colony, serving as councilman during various periods from 1675 to 1698. Several properties which he had purchased in Westchester County, just north of New York, were consolidated by the Royal Patent of Philipsborough in 1693, with a manor seat at Yonkers where he dispensed regal hospitality.

History relates of a romance between Mary Philipse, sister of the third lord of the manor, and George Washington, then a Virginia colonel. But the heart of this beautiful and accomplished lady went to Roger Morris, a British army officer.

The Philipse family made two tragic mistakes. In the land of their forefathers they took part in a revolt against the King, and lost. In the land of adoption, they adhered to the King's cause in the War of Independence, and again lost. Their vast estates were confiscated, and the Philipse family perforce left with other royalists for England. It is interesting to speculate the course events might have taken had the warm friendship between Washington and Mary Philipse resulted in marriage.

Two historical monuments of the family survive. The original manor hall in Yonkers stands as a museum of colonial Westchester. In nearby Sleepy Hollow, made famous by Washington Irving's *Headless Horseman*, is a little church erected by Frederick Philipse, one of the oldest places of worship in New York.

The Moravian Church or *Unitas Fratrum* originated among some of the spiritual followers of Jan Hus, religious reformer and martyr of Bohemia. With the accession to the throne by the Catholic Ferdinand II of Austria, all non-conformist sects were forced to emigrate. The last of the bishops of the Moravian Church in Bohemia was Jan Amos Komensky (better known in the Latinized form as Comenius), a churchman and educator. Adherents of the Moravian Church sought refuge in other lands, but the "hidden seed" was preserved on the estate of a sympathizer, Count Zinzendorf of Saxony. It was here that a transition took place when the church assumed a strictly sectarian aspect and more or less lost its national color.

After the Moravians resolved to establish missions overseas, the

first group left for Georgia in 1734 but encountered local difficulties and moved to Pennsylvania, where they were subsequently joined by other adherents and settled the towns of Bethlehem and Nazareth. In the former they founded the first girl's seminary in America in 1743. About ten years later another group of Moravians, as they were called, purchased a tract of land for settlement at Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Sporadic immigration from Bohemia and Moravia continued until the revolutionary year of 1848, after which a steady influx set in. The highly colored reports of discovery of gold in California excited the Czechs no less than other Europeans. Official Austrian statistics indicate that between the years 1850-1855 departures from Bohemia and Moravia totaled 14,635. Bohemia was accorded recognition as a country of birth by the Director of Census in 1870, and from that date forward a fairly accurate count was had of the Czech immigrant.

Religious persecution and political oppression had brought occasional early immigrants, but the economic urge for greater security, real or imagined, was by far the strongest factor motivating departures. Conditions in Austria in the nineteenth century arose from current political and social inequalities; the Czechs were looked upon by the "master race" governing from Vienna as a decidedly lower social stratum. Absentee landlordism contributed to the sad lot of the peasant with feudalism not wiped out until 1848. Between the demands of the large land owners, the tax collector, and the Church, little was left to the average family. War with Prussia in 1866 did nothing to help matters, and Austria perforce made its Ausgleich or union with Hungary for the political division of its many-tongued people. By the time economic conditions improved through the self-help of the Czechs at the beginning of the next century, the tide of emigration became, nevertheless, so strong that it took the World War to put a halt to it.

News of opportunity through letters of forerunners and the lure of free land, unbroken and virgin, acted as an incentive to the greater immigration of Czechs who, by background, were fitted to develop the Middle West. In order to stimulate settlement in the new states and territories, official immigrant agents were stationed in New York as information centers and, working in cooperation with steamship companies, they distributed literature and advertised in foreign language papers.

Wisconsin inaugurated this policy of solicitation in 1852 and as a result much of the early flow of Czech immigration tended to gravitate toward this state where they found a soil and climate familiar to them. The story of the struggle of these pioneers constitutes a heroic

chapter in the history of the Czechs in America. Living in huts of sod bricks, with the women in the stubborn prairie alongside of the men at the plows, they braved intense winters, crop failures, and plagues. Today the Czechs of Wisconsin may be found in Kewaunee, Manitowoc, Price and Winnebago counties, literally reaping the rewards of the struggles of their fathers from their productive farms.

Minnesota boasted in 1850 of some 6,000 inhabitants and ten years later this figure rose to 172,000, mostly Scandinavians. But the Czechs also favored this state and settled in McLeod, LeSeuer, Rice and Steele counties, where they found adjustment simple and a relatively primary social organization awaiting them. Before long they invested in wagons and teams, married, and began life as landowners. Their farms bear like comparison with the Scandinavian.

The first permanent settlement of Czechs in Iowa was made in Johnson and Linn counties in 1854. Other settlements followed in Henry, Tama and Winneshiek counties, with Cedar Rapids as their urban center. Their industry and thrift enabled them to make considerable progress, and when the mass of settlers arrived between the years 1870-1880 they found their nationals well established.

Quite a number of Czech settlers, not being able to stand the rigors of the Wisconsin winters, left that state and migrated to Nebraska. Together with other Czechs, they filed claims under the Homestead Act of 1862 which provided for "distribution of public lands without compensation to homemakers who for the five years resided upon, cultivated and improved such lands." The Czechs, who are now found principally in Butler, Colfax, Saline and Saunders counties, constitute 11 percent of Nebraska's foreign stock. Their early trials are interestingly interpreted in Willa Cather's *My Antonia*.

Moravians, not to be confused with the religious sect of the same name, are settled in considerably large numbers in the south central part of Texas, to which the pioneers were attracted by the importuning letters of two pastors who wrote back to their Protestant congregations. They established communities in Fayette, Lavaca, Wharton and Williamson counties, where many of their national customs are preserved, particularly on festival days; their negro help has often learned a few simple phrases of their language.

An interesting settlement of Czechs was made at the early part of this century in Prince George and Dinwiddie counties in Virginia but, unlike others, the Czechs came from the Middle West and Canada, attracted by the equable climate. They found the lands held in large parcels, most of which had been neglected since the Civil War. They purchased comparatively poor land but through persistent efforts made it yield productive peanut and tobacco crops

which were marketed in Petersburg at the processing plants. Virginia, steeped in colonial tradition, was undergoing a period of transition from the old plantation management to the new farm economy and at first did not welcome the intrusion of a foreign element, but in a few years the Czechs, numbering some 4,000, won the respect of the natives and are enjoying comparative prosperity on their now debt-free farms.

The Twelfth Census (1900) shows 71,389 Czech males of the first generation and 32,707 of the second generation gainfully occupied; of this number 32 percent of the first and nearly 43 percent of the second generation were engaged in farming. These percentages bear witness to the distinctly agrarian character of the older generation of Czech immigrants. In most cases their sons have followed in the footsteps of their fathers, as the farms were productive and there was no incentive to yield to the lure of higher income in urban centers. The Fourteenth Census (1920) based on mother tongue indicates that there were Czechs — foreign-born and natives of foreign or mixed parentage — in the rural states where they predominate, as follows: Nebraska 54,024, Texas 49,929, Wisconsin 46,425, Minnesota 35,859 and Iowa 32,859.

Most of the early Czech immigrants who went to the Middle West and sought urban employment rather than farming settled in St. Louis and Milwaukee. Both of these cities had a considerable German element and the Czechs, with their background of Austrian schooling, had a command of the German language as well as their own. Later Czech immigrants showed a preference for Chicago, Cleveland, and New York.

By the time these immigrants had arrived, there was an exhaustion of free and cheap farm lands, and the tremendous industrial development of that era with its high wages for skilled labor and trades attracted many to these large centers. Seldom was a Czech found in heavy or unskilled labor, he was usually a musician, baker, butcher, carpenter, tailor or machinist.

In 1920 there were 106,428 foreign-born Czechs in Chicago, 43,999 in Cleveland and 43,839 in New York. For the last two decades there has been a gradual process of disintegration of the national communities in these cities. In Chicago the movement has been toward the town of Cicero, contiguous with the west side, and Berwyn, a rapidly growing suburb; in Cleveland toward Newburgh Heights and Maple Heights, and in New York toward suburban Queens County. This trend has been due principally to the desire of the second generation who have no need of segregation in lingual colonies and encourage their parents to move from the often dismal and crowded tenements

to a modern one- and two-family dwelling in some congenial suburb.

Whatever apprehensions our proponents of restrictive immigration laws have, or had, can be dissipated relative to the Czechs by a study of their record at Ellis Island. It may be somewhat of a shock to those of us who have considered the Czech merely as a "Bohunk" to learn that, for instance, in the decade 1899-1909, when the tide of immigration was the strongest, statistics show the Czech, of all races coming from the old Dual Empire, as having the lowest percentage of illiteracy (1.7 percent) and furnishing the highest percentage of skilled labor (24.6 percent). Likewise, in the ratio of males to females in the years 1899-1909, for the Czechs the figures were 56.9 percent males and 43.1 percent females, establishing the fact that they came here with families with the intention of settling permanently.

The reason for the rather good record of the Czechs is that the immigrants came from a substantial middle class, the explanation of which can be found in their background. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the leading Czech politicians assumed a passive attitude on the issue of political independence as being something at that time premature, and rather turned their efforts toward securing practical and local advantages for their adherents which would raise the general standard of living in Bohemia and Moravia. Fortunately, there was no social stratification such as might be found in Hungary. Witness the names of those guiding Czech destinies: F. L. Rieger, Kramar, Soukup, Klofac, Masaryk and Beneš — all commoners. On the other hand, the spokesmen for Hungary have been gentry: Count Andrassy, Count Tisza, Count Apponyi — men who had landed interests to protect.

The transition from Europe to America was not particularly difficult for the Czech, as the general social organization and standard of living was not radically different from that of his homeland. Following the quota laws of 1921, there came a period of rapid dilution of immigrant tradition and a weakening of ethnic communities. The infamous Pact of Munich in 1938 in which Czechoslovakia performed a tragic role, and the outbreak of war following shortly thereafter, brought about a strong recrudescence of group consciousness among Americans of Czech extraction, motivated by a keen and sympathetic interest in the political situation in Central Europe. Patriotic organizations were formed in every town and community where a group of Czechs could be assembled, to coordinate with the war effort. They are cognizant of the debt they owe America and by the same token America owes much for the distinctive qualities of the Czech participation in its national life.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA OR CZECHO-SLOVAKIA?

By ALOIS R. NYKL

IN NEWSPAPERS and in magazines, as well as in books (including *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *The American Year Book*) these two spellings are encountered, and a divergence of opinion exists as to which of the two is more correct or more desirable. The following explanatory remarks may be useful, as an unpretentious voice from the past, to those who will be in charge of bringing about a satisfactory solution of Central European problems. These remarks are not prompted, in the slightest degree, by the spirit of antagonism or animosity; on the contrary, they are intended as a contribution toward the removal of controversies, from a wider and more exact perspective, based on personal travels and experiences in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia, including the period September 10-25, 1938.

In this connection a careful perusal of historical material contained in *The New Europe* and in *The New York Times Current History* between 1917 and 1922 should render signal service. It has become too wide-spread a practice of late to dismiss important facts from consideration, and to regard yesterday as having been completely wiped out by today.

At the beginning of 1917, the Allied Governments of Russia, France, Great Britain, Japan, Italy, Serbia, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal and Roumania had rejected as "empty and insincere" the German peace proposal of December 12, 1916, transmitted to them through the good offices of President Woodrow Wilson. The latter had been re-elected in November, 1916, mainly on the planks "he kept us out of war," and "peace, preparedness, prosperity." The Central Powers, though apparently victorious on all fronts, and saying boldly "we are ready to fight and we are ready for peace," evidently feared America's possible entry into the war.

Such was the situation when *The New Europe* published on January 18, 1917, an article on the "Future of Bohemia," and on January 25, 1917, T. G. Masaryk's essay "Bohemia and the European Crisis." In this latter article we read (p. 33): "Bohemia is a part of Austria-Hungary, but, nevertheless, the Czecho-Slovaks are working and even fighting for and with the Allies"; and on p. 46: "In this vast struggle the place of the Czecho-Slovaks can only be on the side of the Slavs and of the Western nations." On p. 64 appears an excellent map showing "the racial distribution of the Czechs and Slovaks." In the issue dated February 17, 1917, there is an article on "The Liberation of Bo-

hemia," and finally, in the issue of February 22, 1917, a highly important essay by T. G. Masaryk on "The Future Status of Bohemia." There we read on p. 161:

"One of the nations to be liberated is the Czecho-Slovak," and on p. 162: The note to President Wilson proposes the liberation of "the Czechs and Slovaks" [des Tchèques et des Slovaques], whereas the English translation speaks of Czecho-Slovaks. . . . The Slovaks are a part of the Czech nation. . . . It will depend, for instance, how close the union is as to whether the name "Czechoslovak" "Czecho-Slovak," or "Czech and Slovak" will be decided upon. There is no doubt that the union of the two branches will grow. . . . It will, therefore, be generally agreed that the best designation of the State, which is to be composed of the Czechs and Slovaks, and of the non-Slav minorities, will be *Bohemia*. This will almost certainly be the name adopted for international use, for, in this case, terminology need take no account of internal qualifications, and will inevitably choose the simple term, especially as it happens to be the one by which the country is generally known. . . . Bohemia is projected as a monarchical state, though the more radical politicians advocate a Bohemian Republic. . . . A Russian dynasty, in whatever form, would be most popular, and, in any case, Bohemian politicians desire the establishment of the Kingdom of Bohemia in complete accord with Russia.

Then follows a very significant statement on p. 171: "So far as the German minority is concerned, I should not be opposed to a rectification of the political frontier; parts of Bohemia and Moravia, where there are only a few Czechs, might be ceded to German Austria. In that way the German minority could perhaps be reduced by one million." Masaryk concludes on p. 174: "I can say without exaggeration that the aims proclaimed by the Allies cannot be attained without the liberation of Bohemia. Her future fate will be the touchstone of the Allies' strength, earnestness and statesmanship."

These were Masaryk's views based on the situation in February, 1917. Commenting on them I published an editorial in the *Chicago Daily Svornost* under the heading *Československý Stát* (The Czecho-slovak State). By choosing this title I did not mean to oppose Masaryk's recommendation to call the new state *Bohemia*; quite the contrary, I was in favor of it. I disagreed, however, first: on the form of government: I was in favor of a republic based on the Swiss cantonal system. And secondly, the suggestion to cede the predominantly German regions to German Austria I considered to be entirely out of the question, except for the district of Eger (Cheb), which was really not a part of Old Bohemia, having been purchased from Louis

the Bavarian by John of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, in 1322. Other districts inhabited largely by Germans could have only been ceded for the most part to Germany, and no Czech statesman could have for one moment considered such a proposition as acceptable.

The so-called Sudetenland forms an inseparable part of a geographical and economical unit with Bohemia. The crests of Šumava (Böhmerwald), Krušné Hory (Erzgebirge) and Krkonoše (Riesengebirge) form a natural watershed. They contain coal, minerals, timber and radioactive mineral springs, indispensable for industry and tourist trade. The German majorities there, I argued, were largely composed of settlers and colonists on Bohemian territory, and would be content to live in harmony with the Czechs if not constantly stirred up by professional political agitators. I warned against including too many Magyars in Slovakia, because of their totally different Turanian character and habits, which would be a constant source of trouble. The question of Carpatho-Ruthenia (Červonnaya Rus') had not as yet appeared on the political horizon. Russophiles spoke of its annexation to Mother Russia; Russophobes were willing to leave it under Magyar rule. The term "Čechoslovak," as far as I know, was first used in Russia, as the title of a journal published in Kiev a year before Masaryk's first public appearance at Geneva, on July 6, 1915 (John Hus Day). In his brief address he emphasized the importance of the old adage "historia magistra vitae," [Cicero, *Or.*, II, 19] which now, thirty years later, should have more validity than ever. We might add: "Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honeste factis veritas sufficit" [Pliny the Younger, VII, 33].

As the only plausible and workable solution in the new republic I proposed the Swiss system of cantons, with a bilingual autonomy in mixed regions, and animated by the dominant desire to develop a compact geographical and economic unit on the basis of all available natural resources. The so-called *amerikanisace*, advocated by Masaryk and later by Bata, I considered to be unacceptable in Central Europe, because of the lack of space for expansion. The real Czech psychology, since the days of St. Venceslas, has always been that of holding one's own against powerful and greedy neighbors. Even when the Czech nation was at the summit of its independence and might in the days of King George of Poděbrady, in 1458, it never entertained plans of territorial expansion, which was the mainspring of the German *Drang nach Osten*, and the *Drang nach Amerika* of the Spanish *conquistadores*, Portuguese *bandeirantes*, and French, English, and Dutch traders with African negro labor.

The Luxemburg dynasty (John and his famous son Charles IV in

the fourteenth century) believed in adding to their holdings by clever purchases, anticipating Thomas Jefferson by 450 years. I believe that I express the innermost wish of all real Czechs in the Old Country when I say that all they desire is: "Nechte nám naše a dejte nám pokoj" (Leave to us our property and leave us alone!). It is true that during the 1919–1938 period considerable individual greed, known as *vyžírka*, has been injected into the younger generation, but as a nation, the Czechs never were and are not animated by any ideas of territorial conquest and expansion.

My predilection for the Swiss system dates from the time of my stay in Switzerland in 1903–1904. It was natural, therefore, that the idea of proposing a similar system in what I tentatively called *Česko-slovenský Stát* should have spontaneously occurred to me not as a mere vision, but as a concrete possibility. Districts with a German majority could have a bilingual autonomy, but the official language for the whole state would be Czech, as had been the case of German in Austria-Hungary until 1867. This policy I advocated also for Slovakia. It did not seem to me impossible that the Slovaks could simply drop the Magyar official language and adopt the Czech, which had been their literary tongue until 1840. Had there been no war in 1914–1918, the Slovak language would have been reduced in the magnificent Magyarország to the status of an insignificant dialect like Basque or Breton in France. "Krumpli nem étel, tót nem ember" (potatoes are no food, Slovak is not a human being!). The young Slovaks who grew up under the republic did not seem to realize this fact, but I remember that the magyarized Slovak school teachers were greater magyarizers than the Magyars themselves. Strangely enough, when Count Apponyi, the author of the 1907 magyarization laws, came to lecture to Evanston, Illinois, in 1923, and wept over the harshness of the Trianon treaty ("trianoni béke"), he was introduced to the cultured audience as one of the "Yankees of Central Europe," whereas I was called a heckler and disturber of the peace, when I dared to call attention to the Count's pre-war achievements. But in all justice, could one blame a Magyar patriot for working in behalf of his "mutilated" nation (*csonka* Magyarország)? The present-day Magyar motto is: "Hiszek egy Istenben, hiszek egy hazában, hiszek egy isteni örök igazságban, hiszek Magyarország feltámadásában" (I believe in one God, I believe in one fatherland, I believe in God's eternal justice, I believe in Magyarország's resurrection!) *Amen*. And for that reason, I repeat, the fewer Magyars there are in Slovakia, the better. They will never love the *bűdös csehek* (stinking Czechs).

On March 4-17, 1917, the dreams of the Pan-Slavs⁵ who talked about a Russian prince on the throne of Saint Venceslas were cruelly dispelled by the fall of the Czarist *régime*, to which Masaryk was a *persona non grata*, because of the critical attitude expressed in his book on Russia (*Rusko a Evropa*), published in 1913. It is self-evident that his above-quoted statements concerning Bohemia as a monarchical state suddenly lost their validity.

One of the enigmas of those days is the insistence of the German Navy, headed by Von Tirpitz, upon provoking the entry of the United States of America in the war, on April 6, 1917, by the adoption of indiscriminate submarine warfare. This turn of affairs naturally contributed to the strengthening of republican ideas among Czechs abroad. Consequently, the Swiss cantonal system had no serious opponents. Later research showed me, however, that the Swiss form of government had already been proposed by a Czech journalist in Chicago in 1915, somewhat prematurely, because the vision of Holy Mother Russia was at the time still uppermost in the hearts of the *Česká Družina*, the military unit in the Russian army, organized entirely and independently by Czech volunteers, without Masaryk, since August, 1914. Meanwhile, Pilsudski and the Polish K.O.N. (*konowcy*) were fighting on the side of the Central Powers against Russia.

In view of the then prevailing sentiment that World War I was a "war to end war," and that the Prussian or any other menace was bound to be forever eliminated — Viscount Ishii was touring this country talking about "eternal brotherhood" — it is natural that I felt convinced of the feasibility of my plan. Being by nature honest, benevolent, and able to straighten things out by peaceful talk — "hablando se entiende la gente," says the Spanish proverb — I believed that the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Germans, a few Magyars, and a few Poles could get along fairly well in the republic, if not constantly stirred up by agitators, as had been the case in the years 1907-1914. The Jews were no "problem" in Bohemia and Moravia, though they were not particularly liked, and the wealthy ones really sided with the Germans; in Slovakia, those who sided with the Magyars were free to change their allegiance or else go to their beloved Magyarország. The main object of the new republic, in my opinion, was to be: prosperity without luxury, based on available natural resources, fairly distributed, without violence. As expressed by the Czech proverbs: "Spokojenost s málem je bohatství. Čiň právě a neboj se ani císaře, ani krále. Svůj k svému a vždy dle pravdy." (Contentment with little is wealth. Do the right thing and fear no emperor or king. Stick to your compatriot, always truthfully.) Or,

as expressed in Kollár's (a Slovak who wrote in Czech) verses:

Pracuj každý s chutí úsilovnou
Na národa roli dědičné,
Cesty mohou býti rozličné,
Jenom vůli mějme všichni rovnou.

(Let everyone work assiduously on the land inherited from the ancestors; our ways may be different, only let us have the unity of will.)

It was plain that the citizens of the Czechoslovak State could not dream of conquering New Worlds, except in the realm of the spirit. All they could do within their territory was to hold their own against the pressure of their populous and powerful neighboring states, with the protection of the Allies. *Mutatis mutandis*, I thought that the same philosophy should be followed by other European states where lack of space vs. overpopulation would inevitably create unwelcome "problems." Each state should simply hold its own, avoid overpopulation, and leave its neighbors alone: this, in my estimation, was the only way to establish a Pan-Europa — or Pan-America, or Pan-Asia, for that matter. Any other system would necessarily mean that group A would dominate group B, willy-nilly, or vice-versa. My own great ideal was that of Jan Amos Komenský, expressed in his *Angelus Pacis*, and in Christ's words: "What profiteth a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

However, the events moved fast and in a direction far removed from this ideal. In May, 1918, Masaryk arrived in Chicago, and told the world on the 28th, in front of Blackstone Hotel: "My only purpose here is to arrange for the transfer of our 50,000 boys to the French front." He meant the Czechoslovak army, organized partly by the Česká Družina, partly by General M. R. Štefánik, and later by Masaryk himself. Two days later, on the 30th, Masaryk signed the famous Pittsburgh Pact, or Agreement between the Czechs and Slovaks, nearly all of them citizens of the United States of America, representing the prevailing sentiment concerning the future organization of the new republic. Full details are available in a booklet entitled *Slovakia's Plea for Autonomy*, published by the Slovak Literary Society, P.O. Box 150, Middletown, Pa., in 1935. The original draft of the Agreement was written in pencil; later it was engrossed and signed again on November 14, 1918, in the form reproduced on the opposite page. It consists of six articles:

1. We approve [sanction] the political program, which endeavors to bring about a Union of the Czechs and Slovaks in an independent state

comprising the Czech Lands [the lands of the Bohemian Crown] and Slovakia.

2. Slovakia will have its own administration, its Diet and its courts.

3. The Slovak language will be the official language in schools and in public life in general [in Slovakia].

4. The Czecho-Slovak state will be a republic, its Constitution will be democratic.

5. The organization of the collaboration of the Czechs and Slovaks in the United States will be amplified and adjusted according to the needs and according to the changing situation, by mutual agreement.

6. Detailed rules concerning the organization of the Czecho-Slovak State are left to the liberated Czechs and Slovaks and their legal representatives (to establish).

The signatories are: (Slovaks) T. G. Masaryk, Albert Mamatey, Ivan Bielek, Ján Janček ml., Milan Getting, Ján Pankuch, Michael Bosák, G. H. Miko, Rev. Józef Murgaš, Ignác Gessay, Józef Hušek, Andrej Schustek, J. A. Ferienčík, Ivan Daxner, Matúš Gazdík, Rev. Ján Kubašek, Rev. Pavel j. Šiška, Rev. L. J. Karlovský. (Czechs) Karel Pergler, Hynek Dostál, Dr. Fischer, Rev. Oldřich Zlámal, B. Šimek, Vojta Beneš, J. J. Zmrhal, Jos. Martínek, Dr. J. O. Pecival, Rev. Innocent Kestl, Jan Straka.

This document became the source of disputes, contradictory legal interpretations, and finally an open rift between the Czechs and Slovaks, especially the Catholic Slovaks. Impartial and unprejudiced historians should re-examine the evidence and agree on the best way to heal the wounds caused by these disputes.

In June, 1918, Masaryk changed his mind again. He gave orders that the 50,000 soldiers should retreat along the Trans-Siberian Railway and guard it for the Allies against the Bolsheviks, who had concluded on March 3, 1918, a separate peace with the Central Powers at Brześć nad Bugiem (Brest-Litovsk). This gave rise to the well-known Czechoslovak Anabasis, with its Kolchak and Gajda (Heidler) incidents. Woodrow Wilson's beautifully-sounding but unsound "self-determination" principle, proclaimed on January 8, 1918, meant to me the beginning of utter confusion and unceasing dissatisfaction everywhere, especially in lands where large minorities were involved.

For this reason I was quite in favor of changing the name *Česko-slovenský Stát* into *Česko-Slovenská Republika*, as the Slovaks wanted it, and as sanctioned by the above-named signatories of the Pittsburgh Pact. Masaryk himself, as shown before, rather favored the hyphenated term Czecho-Slovaks, though in his writings he almost

invariably speaks of Czechs and Slovaks. From the linguistic point of view his accent remained very strongly Slovak, also in English (For example: "Wilson, that's democracy, he pronounced. *Vylzón, dats demókresi.*") Štefánik had a much better ear for phonetics, and spoke Czech with a better *inner vibration* than Masaryk. Neither of them, as far as I know, ever referred to themselves as *Čechoslováci*. The late Premier Milan Hodža and the Socialist Minister Dr. Ivan Dérer always spoke of themselves as "Slovaks." Jan Masaryk, in an address at Harvard in 1942, stated: "I happen to be a Slovak."

Analogous situations in Europe are several: Norway and Sweden, Spain and Portugal, the former Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Poles and Ukrainians. The term "Czechoslovak, Czecho-slovakia" creates in the vast majority of Slovaks (*roduverní Slováci*) an instinctive antagonism, such as would be created in other people by terms like: Swedonorwegia, Hispanoportugalia, Amerocanadia, Austrohungaria. The term "Jugoslavija" is more plausible, because, after all, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes *are* "Jugoslavs," i.e., Southern Slavs. For that reason, I entertain doubts as to the Slovaks being willing to drop the hyphen. If they decide willingly, without violence, to cooperate with the Czechs in "Czecho-Slovakia," as stated in the Pittsburgh Pact, it would seem wise not to quarrel over a small detail in spelling. In their homeland they had had sufficient experience with "Czechoslovakia," then six months in "Czecho-Slovakia," and finally in a "Slovakia," trimmed by the *csonka* Magyars. If they really think that they can do better as an independent unit, after their past experience, let us leave them alone and be friends just the same, instead of eternally bickering and fighting. Europe, after all, is not a land of African or other native tribes, which have to be kept down "for their own good," according to the theories of *Lebensraum* philosophers of all shades and persuasions. Great Britain seems to be getting along passably with Eire. The vast majority of the Germans in Czechoslovakia will not call themselves Czechoslovaks, but Germans of Czechoslovak citizenship, and similarly the Magyars and orthodox Jews. Nor will there ever exist a Czechoslovak or a Czecho-Slovak language, but only the *Czech language* and the *Slovak language*.

The Pittsburgh Pact was quietly set aside in 1919 Slovakia had to be occupied militarily and guarded against the Magyar incursion of the Communist Béla Kun. Since educated Slovaks were not available in sufficiently large numbers, it was necessary to put into Slovakia many Czech officials and school teachers, whose ways were not always sufficiently tactful. Later, when a new generation of Slovaks grew up and began to look for positions, the Pittsburgh Pact ac-

quired more actuality. In *The New Europe* of 1920 we still find the name Czecho-Slovakia used, even by the well-informed writer R. T. Seton-Watson, but in the American press "Czechoslovakia" took the upper hand. Today, the wishes of the real, not fictitious, majority should be ascertained by a plebiscite, carefully supervised by an unprejudiced Anglo-American commission.

The second *sine qua non* of a durable peace, not only in Central Europe, but everywhere in Europe, is to keep European parliaments free from extremists of all sorts, on the right and on the left. In Bohemia, 75 per cent of the population (Czech and German) are Catholics. In Slovakia, 85 per cent. Hence, there can be no objection to a Catholic party, but decidedly without priests (Hlinka, Tiso, Šrámek) in politics. Priests should be spiritual leaders in their churches and nothing else. Apart from religion, the strongest element in the Czech political life is the Agrarian Party, composed of conservative farmers, who believe in private property. The Labor party, that of the industrial workers, comes next. For those, the best suited program would be the Scandinavian type of socialism, free from selfish labor agitators and dictators, who promise the people heaven and lead them to exactly the opposite. There also was a party of small industrials and business men (*živnostenská*), one of somewhat Leftist intellectuals (*národní socialisté*) and one of Nationalist intellectuals (*národní demokracií*). The *živnostenská* party protected the interests of the "small" man against the Baťa concern and similar undesirable monsters. In Western and Central Europe a course which would bring into existence many parties of unprincipled budget-eaters (*les budgétivores* of France) would mean putting back the same deadly poison into the social life of the various nations, large or small, which has caused their downfall. Europe can be regenerated only by solid virtue, not by slippery vice.

The Czechs, the Slovaks, and the Poles, as the closest neighbors, should by all means cooperate with each other, instead of hating each other and seeking alliances with their historical adversaries, the Germans, Magyars, Roumanians. Czecho-Slovakia and Poland can preserve their 1000-year old culture only on the basis of a system of private ownership and of a middle class, which believes in social justice without violence. If USSR agrees to keep out of the internal politics of the Czechs, Slovaks and Poles, cooperation along industrial and commercial lines would be possible. Should the traditional national basis of the Western Slavs be threatened, it can be safely predicted that at the very moment when the Allied occupying forces

depart the old difficulties will lead to new disasters, and World War II will have been fought in vain.

The Sudeten-German problem is largely one of numbers and of jobs. The German landowners in Bohemia and Moravia joined the Henlein Sudetendeutsche party only at the last moment in the summer of 1938, when they saw that otherwise they would lose their property as soon as the Sudetenland would become a part of the German Reich. These landowners and farmers really would prefer to live happily in Bohemia and Moravia, without any Protectorate. The main cause of discord centered in the Catholic German middle class, who disliked anti-religious socialism and communism, and also did not see how and where their growing children could obtain positions. The latter were being displaced everywhere by Czechs for obvious reasons, and of course were grumbling. A similar situation obtained in Slovakia, for reasons already mentioned. My observations during the past 45 years led me to believe that political affiliation is frequently dictated by the problem of a "job" or a "plum," as it is sometimes called. I have seen Socialists and Communists change into Fascists, Hakenkreuzler, Falangists and vice versa, mainly in order to "eat," and of course eat better than the rest of the citizenry.

From the many instances I could quote, let me select the case of a *pan vrchní* (headwaiter, Zahlkellner) in a bourgeois café in Prague as typical of the year 1938. This headwaiter, a bourgeois and a Catholic, had a son who could not find a job. Father was naturally greatly worried. One day he was beaming with joy: "My son has joined the Communist party and got a job." Then he added in the Prague facetious and not very polite vernacular: "Gottwald (Jewish leader of the Czech Communists) *je vůl, ale ček musí mít místo.*" (Gottwald is an ass, but a fellow must have a job)

Such problems exist even in this vast Republic of forty-eight states, some of them very thinly populated. Texas, for example, is an empire compared with such a small inland territory as Czecho-Slovakia. Texas has an area of 263,644 square miles and a population of less than seven million. Czechoslovakia's area was 54,244 square miles, with a population of 14½ million. This is not as bad as Java, where 48 million people live on an area of 51,032 square miles, or Japan proper, with 70 million people on an area of 147,702 square miles, but obviously Texas has a little more elbow room. The job, which the headwaiter's son secured, represented a monthly wage of 500 Kč (about \$20 a month), yet for him it was the acme of happi-

ness. Many people in Texas are not happy with \$20 per day. Now, if Texas permitted an immigration of 100,000 young Czechs and Slovaks, who would be gladly willing to work for \$2 per day, many a father's worry in Central Europe would disappear and the Communist party would lose many adherents. In Texas, these Czechs and Slovaks would be ardent Democrats and undoubtedly would support the white man's supremacy against the Negro and Mexican labor, in order to keep their jobs. But then Democratic Labor Unions might object to the lowering of the so-called standard of living. For all these reasons, the American Way of Life is applicable only in the United States of America and nowhere else, not even in England, Sweden and Switzerland.

It is unfair to suspect all those who favor the spelling Czecho-Slovakia of pro-Nazi sympathies. Linguistically, both Czecho-Slovakia and Czechoslovakia are unwieldy, and Bohemia, proposed originally by T. G. Masaryk, would be much preferable. For the Italians, Arabs, Japanese, such names as Cecoslovacchia, Tchekusluwakíya, Tchekkosurowákíya, are tongue twisters, with or without a hyphen. I heard Italians speak of *Cecoslamóks*, and Arabs about *Tchikislíks*. The general tendency was to abbreviate the name into "les Tchécós, los checos, the Czechos." On the other hand, Boemio, Būhēmī, Bohemiya-jin, would certainly sound easier and less outlandish.

These, I repeat, are well-meant observations of one actuated solely by honesty, fairness, and Komenský's desire for peace everywhere, including his native land. It is not his intention to start a polemic; only it seemed to him that those many dead who would undoubtedly see fit to make remarks similar to these should be given an opportunity to do so through the medium of one who faithfully remembers their tradition: men like Havlíček, Švehla, Rašín, Štefánik, Kramář, and, to some extent, T. G. Masaryk.

Time will show whether the Czechs and the Slovaks will follow the path of common sense or that of futile obstinacy. If they decide, by a real, not a fictitious majority, to achieve peace and collaboration in Czechoslovakia, very well. But if the Slovaks will join the fold with a hyphen and a capital S, I certainly do not see why they should be denied this privilege. And if they prefer to be left alone, let us leave them alone in accordance with Wilson's self-determination and more recently in accordance with the Atlantic Charter, if it be still valid.

If I am wrong, I should like to be enlightened.

NOVEMBER 11, 1944.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

MIHALY BABITS, HUNGARIAN *POETA DOCTUS*
(1883-1941)

By JOSEPH REMENYI

I

MIHALY BABITS, modern Hungary's most erudite poet, represents (though he never participated actively in politics) the enlightened principles of Count Istvan Szechenyi, the nineteenth century statesman. Count Szechenyi was considered by Lajos Kossuth "the greatest Hungarian," despite their political differences. Babits, Szechenyi-like, believed that politically, socially, economically, and culturally Hungary should be an equal of western Europe, without ignoring the obligations of her central and southeastern European geographical position.

However, Babits was not only a twentieth-century literary expression of Szechenyi's spirit; his aesthetic and philosophical temper, accompanied by catholic taste and interest, induced him to explore the universe in his own fashion. His roots were Hungarian, his outlook universal. In one of his poems he points out "how small this earth is"; but he also speaks about "the little house" where he was born. In the madness of modern life he was attached to spiritual and moral order. He knew that to reach it there were no short cuts, but he also knew that, in an age of shifting values, slippery slogans, and poorly administered national and international institutions, self-respect and faith in human dignity were necessary to rise above the exploiting tendencies of mere opportunism. He adhered to this conviction.

Babits was the most important poetic contemporary of Endre Ady, whose greatness he acknowledged. Like this apocalyptic poet of modern Hungary, Babits was conscious of the iniquities of Hungarian life, yet he differed from him in many ways. His creative freedom was closer to ideas of intellectual perspective than those of Ady's; he went further on the road of philosophical restlessness than his poetic confrère. On the other hand he possessed less intuitive spontaneity; he lacked Ady's powerful and matchless hallucinations. For a considerable time "radicals" and "conservatives" likewise frowned on him. Their attitude could be explained by Babits' unwillingness to be a playball of political rough-necks, or of drowsy reactionaries, or of ideologists whose honesty he did not question, but he often disagreed with their judgment.

Babits was born in 1883 in Szekszard, a quaint Transdanubian

community. His father was a district judge. In the stratified character of Hungarian society his people stood for the social norms of the intellectual middle class. He inherited the Christian concept that humans were endowed with a rational nature. His father's library contained "sound" books, showing interest in Homer and Horace, in the Scriptures and in nineteenth century Hungarian men of letters and poets, e.g. in Kazinczy, Berzsenyi, Vorosmarty. The environment at home stressed thoughtfulness and good manners and a certain class-consciousness. He studied in the Cistercian secondary school at Pecs, and acquired his professorial diploma in the humanities at the University of Budapest. As a member of the seminar of Laszlo Negyesy, a prominent literary historian, Babits was cordially received by two other members; by Gyula Juhasz, who later ranked as one of the best sonnet-poets of his country, and by Dezso Kosztolanyi, who triumphed over the verbal laxities of second-rate poets. These three poets, educated in the classics, yet "afflicted" with modernity, believed in the aesthetic will of Parnassien and Symbolist sensibilities. With the ardor of their youth they were interested in western European poets, mostly French, but in the case of Babits with a definite liking for English and American poets; this interest was the common ground of their friendship. They resented outmoded literary conceits, and gradually proved that the Hungarian language could be an instrument of unusual emotional and intellectual experiences.

For a few years the *homo aestheticus* prevailed in Babits. As professor of the humanities he taught in provincial towns, like Baja, Szeged, Fogaras, Ujpest. To live outside of Budapest had many disadvantages, but also its advantages; it aided the poet in the process of self-realization. He learned to distinguish between aesthetic and moral values, and accepted their interdependence. Babits moved to Budapest. As one of the chief contributors of *Nyugat* (West), an important literary periodical, and later as its editor, he shared with Endre Ady, Ignatus, Margit Kaffka, Zsigmond Moricz, Erno Osvat, Aladar Schopflin, Arpad Toth and other more or less untraditional creators and critics the precarious reputation of a "radical."

Nevertheless, as I said, Babits was not politically minded; he was a pacifist in a humanitarian sense, which is frequently misinterpreted by politicians. By this time his voice was heard and to a certain extent feared by the representatives of literary vested interests. His challenging attitude made him unpopular with tireless phrase-mongers. He resigned from his position as a professor, as he was rather expected to. In the meantime he married Sophie Torok, a

poetess in her own right. After the first World-War, when differences developed between him and some of his friends, he confined his work mostly to the editing of *Nyugat*, to the chairmanship of the Baumgarten committee of literary prizes, to pure creative and interpretative writing, and to the elaboration of the idea (akin to that of Julien Benda, the French writer) that poets and writers should be first of all artists, and that they should not be willing tools of political interests or truculent protagonists of political views. In an essay, entitled "A halhatatlanság halála" (The death of immortality), though recognizing the "magnificent past" of Ignotus, *Nyugat's* former editor, he carried his creed into a verbal battle, namely that he should always be governed by literary postulates, whereas, according to Babits, Ignotus subjected his convictions to the practice of politics in literature. It was unfortunate that these two capable leaders of modern Hungarian literature should have come to the parting of the ways; the truth is, that both demonstrated faith in the maximum values of the creative spirit, but they did it with opposing temperaments.

From the end of the first World-War till the time of his death in 1941, the prestige of Babits as a creator and as a critic increased. Younger writers and poets with diverse social and political interests but true artistic and intellectual aims judged him as one of the foremost spokesmen of twentieth-century Hungarian literature. He had imitators in the realm of poetry and disciples in the sphere of essay-writing. While there was a counter-current — either accentuating the realistic romanticism of Dezső Szabó, the novelist, and of his "neo-primitive" followers, or the champions of the *avantgarde* who were interested in "revolutionary" social and aesthetic creeds — on the basis of authentic critical consideration it was Babits who stayed in the spotlight of Hungarian literary life.

To gossiping critics he remained impenetrable. They called him a *poeta doctus*, using the words disparagingly. He was modern and classical, logical and irrational, complex and simple, vague and positive, bored and vital, sensuous and spiritual, austere and joyful; indeed, catholic in his taste to such a degree that he visioned life in its totality. He was a major poet in an age of disillusioning confusion; ironic in an environment that eulogized uncritical and self-centered enthusiasms. He never paid mere lip-service to values as values were the sublime and supreme realities of his world, hence the burning issue of his own existence. He disliked organized optimism. He believed in literary workmanship when many writers believed solely in "best

sellers" or in propaganda. His *bête-noire* was pseudo-literary journalism that vulgarized public taste. Crude or homespun individualism in the disguise of "honest folkways" aroused his critical resentment.

II

The incorruptible creative sensitivity of Babits was in profound contrast with the poetic beliefs and psychological manners of his predecessors who were writing at the turn of the century. It was mostly due to this fact that critics who admitted his ability were apt to be confused by his "never-to-be-satisfied" warring spirit. He was not unintelligible, but he had no panacea for every national problem, and did not espouse "causes" with evangelistic fervor. Babits, as a poet, novelist, short story writer, poetic dramatist, essayist, critic, literary historian, translator of ancient and recent poetry, occupies a unique place in Hungarian literature. In a disorganized world he stood for the kind of artistic probity which was in direct opposition to the slick and breezy competence of "timely" writers and poets. With some exceptions, his older contemporaries were much less interested in the inexorable forces of fate than in the expediences of the moment. Bombastic diction or transitory wit, principles, smoothly adjusted to the riddle of selfishly applied "historical necessities," or cynical repudiations of legitimate ethnic images, ideas that were merely sentimental in relationship to ideals, and ideals that resembled the imaginative scenery of assumed national importance, narrowed the horizon of Hungarian creators to a spiritual existence that Babits rejected.

Consequently this poet of imponderables remained solitary for many years. His unexpected metaphors, his baffling technique, his learnedness were not exciting to critics or readers who looked for thrills or for the obvious. No doubt there are tedious parts in his writing. In his yearning for clarity, Babits was prone to use too many definitive terms. As a whole, however, those attributes predominate that show an unfailing directive, concentrating on the essence of ideas, things and experiences. Here and there the harshness and bookishness of his images, his sensuous and abstruse concern with the incongruent, remind one of certain seventeenth century English metaphysical poets. But Babits' raptures have a noticeable Catholic language, deriving from his Catholic upbringing, and resulting, despite a mild baroque fancifulness, in less mystical shudders or whimsical effects. His Hungarianism produced mental and spiritual landscapes

for which he found gracious and unorthodox utterances in which few Hungarian poets ever equaled him. His sense of form was such that it embodied not only the freedom of an intellectual vocabulary but of colloquialism and all the variations that derive from the Protean instincts and judgments of his personality

The lyric, dramatic, narrative and critical substance of Babits' art springs from a tragic sense that has a Sophoclean perspective. While his opponents admit his importance as an aesthetician and literary historian, they are less magnanimous in recognizing his poetry and fictional prose. They seem to forget that feeling and thinking are not diffused in the art of Babits, but move on the same level. Babits rejected what John Crowe Ransom calls "the belletristic theory of poetry," unrelated to the essence of creativeness. He was the author of nine volumes of poetry; seven of these were collected in one volume, entitled *Versek* (Poems), containing his poems written between 1902 and 1927. Spiritually and aesthetically Babits is the best example in modern Hungarian poetry of the organic relationship between talent shaped by tradition and talent creating tradition. His indignations and opinions, the light and darkness of his words, should be regarded as instinctive and deliberate representations of a spirit that without the conscience of universality, would have considered itself an heretic of literature.

From the beginning of his creative activities he raised high hopes among the few individuals who understood poetry. He exasperated those who thought it was a disgrace not to write with self-evident patriotic implications, or not to recognize the immediateness of social problems. The tantalizing and elevating verbal and spiritual nobility of Babits, the *noblesse oblige* of his artistic personality seemed to his opponents an expression of disdain for the commonplace. The noise of those who preferred the beaten path to the disturbing newness of Babits' poetry in Hungarian literature, the self-assertion of mediocrities who patronizingly pronounced that he ought to have some regard for the basic virtues of his class, convinced Babits that the bondage of the past is too often synonymous with an incapacity to broaden its own outlook. In his first volume, entitled *Levelek Irisz Koszorujabol* (Leaves from Iris's Wreath), he introduced a concept of beauty hitherto unknown in Hungarian poetry. In the formative process of his poetic work he subjected himself to rigorous self-criticism. He was immersed in antique culture; this fact and a poetic commentary on strange or strangely expressed experiences distinguished his work from those poets whose bulky outputs, fixed views, maudlin beliefs

were close to conventional taste. One of his first sonnets, "Hegeso sirja" (The tomb of Hegeso) reveals his connection with the antique past.¹

My heart's true bride has slept two thousand years,
Dead for two thousand years, she waits for me.
A Greek girl, Hegeso, sedate to see,
From head to foot pale marble she appears.

Living, I swear, though none her breathing hears,
Her robe conceals a heart's grave systole.
Thoughts in that curly head flow full and free,
And bow'd she sits, pale, pensive and sincere.

Before her stands a slave, a little girl,
Who holds a costly casket, from whose freight
She sets out gems, rare amethyst and pearl;

Perchance (I dream) she means in jewell'd state
Her treasured virgin beauty to unfurl
When I, hereafter, come to be her mate.

In his early poetry Babits' taste was Parnassien, it seems that Jose Maria de Heredia's *Les Trophées* influenced him. Later he was disposed to eye the world with the sensitive discrimination of the Symbolists. Detachment and subjectivity in a background of indeterministic attitudes (though constantly tempted by unspeculative determinism) placed him above the empiricism of the moment; he did not permit time to make him dependent of transitoriness. His private vocabulary as well as his public vocabulary were valid because of the congenital poetic assurance they suggested. Too bad that so little of his work is translated into English; it would be interesting to show how he avoided the blind alley of merely stimulating versification. There were few poetic forms that he did not master; and his knowledge of world literature was so vast that in the receptive stage of youth he was able to blend contrasts of influences without betraying his own voice.

In his first volume the underlying psychological motive of his images was an attempt to integrate pride and courage into a manner of expression that would repudiate the omnipotent power of "incurable stupidity." He called himself "the priest of the Muses." Throughout this volume the craftsman struggles with sensibilities; the somber spirit with hedonistic freedom. "In Horatium," one of his finest poems, "Oda a bunhoz" (An ode to sin), "Himnusz Iriszhez" (A hymn to Iris), "Sunt Lacrimae Rerum," are poems in which

¹ The translations of Babits' poems are by Watson Kirkconnell

he handles his complex emotions with effectiveness, and with the appropriate voice of a young poet excited "by difference that is color, and by life that is different." He sings about the "brown gipsy clouds of eternity," about "fire, this immortal flag." One is apt to note in these poems a sense of historical dimensions made significant through creativeness, one also notes self-consciousness and a fear of wasting energies upon unimportant or worthless matters. "Messze . . . Messze" (Far, far away) is impressive in its intellectual romanticism, but disciplined by a classical sense of order. The poet visualizes Spain, Italy, Greece, Switzerland, Germany, France, England, Sweden; the scenes are the projections of a fertile imagination; the organic form of the poem reaches its climax in these two lines: .

How many towns there are, how many folk,
How many far, fair regions to invoke!

The volume suggests excessive restlessness. "Tuzek" (Flames), "A csendeletekbol" (Still life), "A vasar" (The market), "Mozgofenykep" (Film), "A vilagossag udvara" (The courtyard of light), "Fekete orszag" (Black land), "A lirikus epilogia" (The epilogue of the lyricist), reveal the crystallized subjectivity of a poet who lives in his "own prison." His poems illustrate an almost grim defiance of a resolute, yet vexed, tense and intense poet who seems to say that he will attain his end by always following his daimon.

In *Herceg, Hatha Megjon a Tel is* (But Prince, if Winter Should Come) one feels a strong regard for self-imposed poetic patterns. In this second volume there are allusions to a weary spirit, struggling with the settings of a drab existence, careful at the same time not to have his intensity impaired by the attacks of indifference of the moment. The poet is confused; in the poem, dedicated to Janos Arany, the great Hungarian lyric and epic poet, he admits bewilderment. This volume contains a number of short poems; the images are rich, emanating from a sensitiveness that is eager to comprehend, to live, to conquer the darkness of nothingness. The poems: "Ballada Irisz fatyolarol" (Ballad of the veil of Iris), "A sorshoz" (To fate), "Mindenek szerelme" (Love of all), "Oda a szepsegrol" (An ode to beauty), "Klasszikus almok" (Classical dreams), "A Danaidak" (The Danaides) show the matured expressiveness of the poet. The spirit of these poems, though subscribing to the realities of the objective world, is a continual reflection of that "prison" existence with which Babits invested his poetic realm. Several poems have English or French titles, indicating the poet's affectionate and lively interest in the "exoticism of the occident," made pictorial or musical through

the consciousness of English or French words. The idea of the absolute is essentially aesthetic and philosophical; cruelty and bitterness are rather identical with empiricism, than with the world of contemplation. Inferno is the place of "lazy sorrow" and "dead stars"; the earth is the place of "active sadness" and "violent desires."

The first two volumes present the course of a poetic mentality which proceeds with certainty only then when pragmatism is ignored. The third volume, *Recitativ* (Recitative), reveals the wounded spirit of the poet in a new light. As professor of literature in provincial secondary schools outside the cosmopolitan orbit of Budapest, or as a visitor of his native town, his cultivated soul registered obstacles which provoked his compassionate and his ironic nature. Deep melancholy carried the poet to grounds which were, after all, his native land, yet threatened his heightened sensitiveness with silence because of indifference or hopelessness "Hurting, freezing songs," "vinegar songs" were the expression of his pale or forlorn heart; then again poems of loneliness fighting tiresome or problematically amusing trifles. References to his sweetheart and to his relatives, images of piety and nightmares, were the varied directions of his interests, sometimes, but only on rare occasions, a buoyant voice merged into the inherent sadness of these poems; "warmth and soaring feeling," of which he speaks in the preface of one of his books, claimed his impatience with himself. He is now more closely allied with the outside world; he either invites realistic reality, or is invaded by it "Augusztus" (August), "A kolto eletenek pusztajarol" (From the desert of the poet's life), "Anyam nagybatyja regi pap" (An old priest is my mother's uncle) "Vakok a hidon" (The blind on the bridge), "Regi magyar arckep" (An old Hungarian portrait), "Ciganydal" (Gipsysong), "Level Tomibol" (Letter from Tomi), are poems abundant in direct expressions, melodius through assonances, alliterations, onomatopoeic qualities

His fourth volume, *Isten Kezeben* (In the Hands of God), containing his poems written between 1914 and 1916, will be remembered by their pacifistic eloquence. Some of the pacifistic poems were, indeed, a test of Babits' "non-political" poetic theory. At any rate, they incensed certain power interests (the war would not favor the "triviality" of peace); those who quibbled with the poet's patriotism were unable to understand his humaneness, and much less his fearlessness. The poet speaks *pro domo* in poems, like "Fiatal katona" (Young soldier), "Magamrol" (About myself), "Husvet elott" (Before Easter), but speaks also with the intonation of a prophetic pacifist, hastening "the dissolution of fog," bemoaning "the golden heart, golden smile"

of youth freely proffered to death as a gift. He sings about "dreary days in which the soul is cheap," and about peace, peace, peace, with the fervor of a "bloody song," that "tasted anxiety." At this time he was much "unloved"; yet he warned himself against being lethargic and to not blacken life with lovelessness. His fifth volume, *A Nyugtalan-ság Volgye* (The Valley of Restlessness) joins hands with the preceding volume in the panegyric of peace. By now Babits became the master of his medium. The emotional and imaginative, the ideal and brutal interactions of his expressions, related to immediateness and convictions that transcend immediateness, make this one of his most important volumes. "Egy filozofus halálára" (At the death of a philosopher) is not only a Miltonian tribute to a friend who was killed on a Galician battlefield, it is also an attack against the Teutons "responsible for senseless wars," and a sorrowful utterance of regret because "forms and rules shatter their own mirrors." Written with the "sad supremacy of words," "A jószág dala" (The song of goodness), "Zsoltár férfihangra" (Psalm for man's voice), "A könnytelenek könnyei" (The tears of the tearless), "Csillagokig" (To the stars), are magnificent expressions of a poet who was not deterred in his devotion to truth as he knew it. There are poems of other subjects in this volume, poems of patrician atmosphere, of love, passion, sunset, grape festivals, wine, of the sensation of touch and fragrance. But the pure force, the magic that inspired the poet was his respect for human dignity in danger of collapse. The poet's tragic sense, affected by the fatal position of his native land and by man's disloyalty to his own humaneness, speaks with dauntless honesty and irrevocable faithfulness to those principles without which the human mind and the human heart would be nothing but a foolish or diabolical battleground of unnecessary plots and counterplots.

With each successive volume, his poems revealed sagacity as well as unwillingness to succumb to flagwaving policies, accompanied by ingratiating or "noble" slogans. The core of his human and poetic issues was always a symbol of human dignity. In an inchoate civilization and culture, in a more mystifying than enigmatic age of destructiveness, he approached reality first with the authority of a poet, then with the frankness of human warmth, conscious of disappointments and of greatness. When his enemies or those who were unable to understand him stated that he was a "cold" poet, they only expressed an opinion that proved nothing. Babits was not merely aesthetically and philosophically versatile, but well versed in history, psychology, and natural sciences. His work does not suggest spontaneity, it suggests intensity. There was intensity in Sophocles, true,

less than in Euripides, yet it was there. How could he have written about doom without intensity? Babits' feet remained on earth, but the rhythmic variety of his work touched eternity. His classicism has a heart and intelligence, and, indeed, it is difficult to understand why his "feelings" (sometimes ebullient) were not recognized by many readers and critics. The only answer seems to be that he did not play to the gallery, or that his intellectuality made "hard reading" for those used to platitudinous tidbits

There is a characteristic confession in his sixth volume, entitled *Sziget es Tenger* (Island and Sea). In the poem, "Orokkek eg a felhok mogott" (Eternal blue skies in back of the clouds), he declares his belief in the worthwhileness of living, in struggle, in brotherhood and truth, in the wisdom of the superfluous, in pictures that portray a new world, in the soul that loves the universe, in matter to be conquered, and in his Hungarian heredity which he could not and would not discard, because such action would impoverish the world, and he believed in the enrichment of the world. The sequence of poems "Hazam" (My native land) shows the depth and warmth of his sensitive personality.

MY NATIVE LAND

The house

Fly, O my soul, and seek my native land!
 In the old house, hid by Venetian blinds,
 My mother's melancholy mutes its voice —
 Grief with grey hair but with a child's sweet face.
 Fly, O my soul, and seek my native land!
 It is indeed the room where I was born
 And which my eyes beheld the first of all.
 It is indeed the garden where I built
 My first fast-fleeting castles in the sand.
 All that my hands have built has been of sand:
 But solid there my grandsire's house still stands,
 Waiting for me to seek a haven there,
 A refuge from my years, these stifling ruins.

The town

Rise, O my soul, and seek my native land!
 A narrow house it is: the whole small town
 Awaits me like an archipelago
 Amid the verdure of the acacia-sea.
 Go forth, my soul, and seek my native land!
 There is the vineyard, the squat winepress too,
 Where, as I used to sit, and looked around,

The fervor and the doubt were lulled in song,
And all I gazed at in the sun's clear light
Was mine own country. Like a linen ribbon,
The road beneath me stretched out faithfully,
And the hills undulated like my heart
In lifting pleasant slopes to meet the sky.

The country according to the map

Fly, O my soul, and seek my native land!
Sweet chain of hills, care-free Hungarian land!
And yonder plain, beyond the horizon spread,
Is our own Alfold, where the dawn is born.
Fly, now, my soul, above my native land,
Horizon to horizon, once again,
From where that spider-web of silent silk,
Your memory, draws its thread, fly o'er the plain,
Beyond the spot where crazy boundaries rise;
And though the sword may trace these on the earth,
Let not your peaks be sundered from your plains.
It was your native land, and so remains,
And your deep love is witness to the fact.

The true country

Take flight, my soul, and seek your native land!
I once had dreamed of such a fatherland
As knew not tariffs or the soldier's sword,
As indivisible as the soul itself.
Dream, O my soul, dream of my fatherland
That has no need of weapons or of armour,
Being a living soul, and not dead earth!
For this dove's dream, foxes have bitten me,
Greedy, dark passions, jealous of their lair.
But never will a fox's dream be mine!
My eyrie, by its height, escapes them now.
My soul is as a bird; it wings the sky.
Although it still returns to its own nest.

Europe

Fly, O my soul, across my native land!
How once I flew! The towers seemed to float.
Mont Blanc bowed low, and low the orange-trees.
I have seen sober folk and merry folk,
Set in the grandeur of my native land.
In filial piety, I traversed Rome
As it had been the city of my fathers.
Avignon smiled on me as well as Tolna,
While joyously in the same sun there bathed,

With one great soul through all the nations spread,
 Binding a living network of the lands
 Into a single soul, a single people,
 Europe, my land — that rends itself today!

The globe

My soul, enlarge my fatherland yet more!
 How small this earth! And this dim spark of heat,
 Whose nest the earth is, in the dark of space!
 Sad sphere! A Crusoe's island in the Void!
 Fly, O my soul, o'er this my fatherland,
 And while the insensate Crusoes in their folly
 Slaughter each other and forget their island —
 And so their glance will never reach the shore —
 You, hovering high above the farthest reef,
 A watch amid the electric gulfs of space,
 Perchance may glimpse at last an unknown ray,
 A hint of hope inspiring you to song,
 Like a rich ship to Robinsons grown old.

Epilogue

But still, my soul, cherish my fatherland!
 The coldness of the Void is not for you.
 There is the globe, and there the small, warm isle,
 The spiritual bed of holy Europe.
 You never can forsake my fatherland:
 Wherever you go wandering by earth's roads,
 You'll bear my own dear country with you still.
 An obstinate tang, an unobtrusive air,
 Is locked in you like hell in a damn'd man;
 But even to death, as Eden's shining dream
 Goes with a man who treads this sinful earth,
 There ever will attend you that small town,
 Ay, and that little house, where you were born.

Babits was fully aware of the shelterlessness of the poet in modern times. He was very conscious of his isolation. In this volume there are poems — for example "A sziget nem eleg magas" (The island is not high enough), "Temetoi tavasz" (Spring in the cemetery), "Csonka Magyarorszag" (Mutilated Hungary), "A ven koteltancos" (The old tightrope-walker) — that symbolize his sometimes mocking, sometimes hapless solitude. In spite of a certain romantic motivation, the expression of this loneliness is astonishingly well balanced. Never pedestrian, rarely formless in its fluctuation, never foreign in its phraseology to classical discipline. "Regen elzengtek Sappho napjai" (They sang long, long ago in Sappho's day) is a poem that should be

a fair illustration of his gifts that did not exclude him from reality, only from the contemporary conceit of realism.

Song dies, song dies, alas! without avail
The daring maiden plucks with haughty hands
At strings that vibrate in uncanny wail,
A violin that only understands
The groans of dying throats . . . There is no tune,
No rhythm to grief, in word or syllable,
No mind of soul and harmony commune,
Only lungs pant, only the throat makes bruit,
And queasy stomachs rumble, fat and full.
For song is dead indeed; the age is mute.

To whom then dost thou speak to-day, my heart?
They say that millions moan across our world,
And yet we brothers utter aught apart?
Yet, pray, is he a brother, who with curl'd
Unfeeling lip denies a friend's complaint
Unshar'd by him. The world is selfish grown.
Just common hunger, common fever, faint
Confusion stammering — and beyond that crew
Lies loneliness and silence. Song has flown,
And love, like doves' soft kiss, is silent too.

In our hearts, my dear, song's word is rife,
They sang long, long ago in Sappho's day.
Kiss me! For song is dead, and grieving life
Takes refuge where two hearts own single sway.
Once men were truly men, but now, a heard
Of tired beast that chew the cud of care.
Be thou an island till the fens that gird
Thee round grow red with sunrise! Learn to con
Cocoons that breed bright moths. Who need despair?
The old gods pass and go, but man lives on.

His last three volumes of poems, *Az Istenek halnak, az Ember el*, (The Gods die, Man lives on), *Versenyt az Esztendokkal* (Race with the Years), and *Jonas Konyve* (The Book of Jonah) are timeless realizations of a human and poetic will that learned to treasure life for what it is and what it seems to be. There is an element of *consolatio mystica* in them, an admission that "only God sees with the eyes of everyone"; but also a fascinating and fantastic conclusion about the "holy pain" that throws opposites into oneness. There is self-pity and mercy in the poet's soul. This feeling, however, does not mean an intellectual deadlock, and it does not imply separation from irony.

With one great soul through all the nations spread,
 Binding a living network of the lands
 Into a single soul, a single people,
 Europe, my land — that rends itself today!

The globe

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Paradoxical religious images, outward and inward forces appear with equal necessity in the poet's work, trying to understand the momentary and the ultimate. The poem "Szentjanosfo," (The head of the Baptist) bespeaks for the contradictory negations and speculations of the poet.

Who could speak jestingly and airily?
 Dear comrades who still struggle and strive much
 To grasp the gossamer word, we carry stones
 Within our breast! And we must dance!
 Oh, what Salome
 Could dance thus?
 The blood-ensanguin'd earth, like John the Baptist's head,
 Dances in aery Destiny's cold lap, although it still
 Has life, has life in it! Sometimes it shrinks,
 Convuls'd with pain, and sometimes through its swoon
 Flashes a sudden light;
 In fierce Salome's lap, the dripping head
 Dreams of the Christ-to-be.

Chimeras and space-time conquering consciousness contribute to the fundamental flesh and soul conflict, to the self-examinations of the poet through pride and penitence. The full impact of Babits' poetry, the poet's selfconsuming spirit battling with reason and reasonableness, is vividly felt in the poem, "Psychoanalysis Christiana." The "dark music" and the "restless sensitiveness" of his being reaches its final destination. He simplified his images, but not at the expense of their exactness. One finds Aeschylean religious elements in these three volumes, also Euripidean pessimism, but mostly a parallel temper with that of Sophocles. As if a curse were put upon humans by the gods; times are *always crucial*, only some times more so. Apparently all that man can do, is to seek the key that opens the door of life's mystery and not to permit darkness, dreariness, and hideousness to deter him in this search. "Verses Naplo" (A Diary in Verse) is a somewhat Horatian sequence of poems unified by the delight and sorrow of a summer day in the poet's cottage on the hill of Esztergom in the company of his wife and their little girl. "Oh, the abundance of color before death!" In these three volumes "the hairshirt of the monk" stayed with him, but the memory of sensuous beauty too. In a world dominated by the madness of totalitarianism that aimed at his native country, Babits in "A magyarok istenehez" (To the god of the Magyars) implored the Hungarian tribal god who is "not the brother of poisonous little Wotans" but "God of everyone." He ventured into the land of waste and into the land of faith, with

the flawless technical competence of a genuine poet. In the jumble of hollow and screaming words, in the jungle of erroneous judgments and gullibility, he remained interested in the essence of human destiny.

For several years Babits was a sick man, but when he wrote his last book of poetry, *Jonas Konyve* (The Book of Jonah), even his illness was a source of strength. The utilitarian world could not destroy the spirit; the purposelessness of things and events could not exterminate the need for understanding; knowledge, irony, humility, pity and choice-determining intelligence helped the poet to arrive at the conclusion that in a panicky and sinful world words were stronger than the loathsomeness of Nineveh; the poet was stronger than the experience that wished to destroy him. In the midst of masters and slaves, of women and mimes, one senses that Jonah is the symbol of man's helplessness, unable to discover the intentions of the Eternal; one, however, also senses the pathos of the inquiring and singing spirit, the *heroic tragedy of articulation*, that could not refrain from the responsibility of striking and sighing words, though knowing that the Unknown and the Unknowable are the final judge.

III

As any poet worthy of the name, in his prose work too Babits viewed the world *sub species aeternitatis*. The discord between his sense of values and the stereotyped or indifferent culture of his surroundings, of course, has bearing upon his fiction. To come to grips with the simple albeit significant fact that one must face readers, accustomed to jingoistic trash or to tepid, perhaps counterfeit honesty, required not only a truth-detecting disposition, but in order to overcome the clumsiness of this situation, it required a tenacity of purpose and a predisposition to face misunderstanding without fear. Babits knew how to translate experiences into fiction; and no trickiness of his opponents, no melodramatic homily, no plotting, mordant or pedantic animosity could make him servile to views in which he had no confidence. A certain irascibility, sometimes pronounced irateness, accompanied his pungent or subtle answers directed towards his critics; with age he learned to ignore puny actions. His extraordinary analytical intelligence, endowed with a seismographic sensitiveness, enabled him to employ methods of writing that resulted either in aesthetic pleasure of moral significance, or in an unique psychological pleasure. He published eight volumes of novels, short stories, fables, harmonizing traditional habits of writing with modern psychology. His knowledge of modern psychology affected the outlook and tech-

nique of his work. For the background of his tales he has chosen either contemporary scenes, or the subterranean sphere of the psyche. The progression of his stories is assisted by effective probabilities. It should be pointed out that he was fond of the detective stories of Edgar Allan Poe, and recognized in their contrived structure the kind of brilliancy which appealed to him when he enjoyed reconstructing exciting meaningfulness from vague premises. Influenced by William James (this is rather an assumption) he was interested in the spiritual mask of alternating entities. He was susceptible to Freudian influences, but never to an extent where his stories would have been plain case histories, illustrating the validity of the psychoanalytical method. He was, first of all, a creator, never shirking his artistic obligations. Whatever innovation he applied to the art of story-telling, his idiom was that of the artistic writer and not of the psychological experimentalist. The context of some of his stories is startling; his writing is usually compressed. Yet his most ambitious fictional effort is longwinded. In his shorter narrative works one finds stilted words and sentences. Generally, however, the richness of his spirit, the diverting unconventionality of his convictions, assert themselves. Babits never lacked style, only sometimes his prose-style did not contribute sufficiently to the understanding of the grandeur or grimace of his vision.

Karacsonyi Madonna (Christmas Madonna) reveals the writer's interest in the fantastic. *Golyakalifa* (The Stork-Caliph) shows Babits' curiosity for the subconscious. *A Torony Arnyeka* (The Shadow of the Tower) contains fables and tales; the inimitable qualities of a literary artist, the delicate shades of the tangible and the intangible, make this collection valid. *Hat Haldas Rozsakert* (Six Acre Rose-Garden) is a representative collection of short stories. *Kartyavar* (Castle of Cards) is a satirical novel of social criticism, portraying the political, social and economic bleakness and unscrupulousness of a modern Hungarian industrial and commercial community. It is a city of poor taste and bluff, keeping up with the loud tone of sordid and, from an ethical point of view, parasitic "modernity." The writer's character-delineation is refreshing, his "busy people" are cheap and pretentious opportunists or coarse entrepreneurs. This is a Hungarian "Main Street" story, not typical of the agrarian communities, but instructive as a travesty of "sophisticated" and brutal individual and collective egotism, unfit from a desirable social point of view and inclined to over-emphasize and embrace purely materialistic objectives. *Elza Pilóta vagy a Tökéletes Tarsadalom* (Pilot Elza or the Perfect Society) comes very close to the sort of sardonic despair that one observes in some of Aldous Huxley's symbols. The central theme of the novel is

related to a "civilization" that accepted "eternal warfare" as unavoidable. There is a story within a story; didactic in its implication, but not shoutingly so, suggesting an ideal microcosm that is on the level of realizable human capacities. Technically and psychologically the novel is a meritorious achievement of Babits, the introspective man and Babits, the ironic recorder of human unhappiness. In *Halál-fiai* (The Sons of Death), the writer exceeded the usual length and ignored the bizarre features of his other stories. There seems much paraphrased autobiography in this novel; it was evidently motivated by a profound conscience revealing anxieties about the Fools-Paradise of the Hungarian middle class and its disintegration. There are splendidly drawn figures; for example, the character of an old lady, "Cenci neni," who seems to be the wisest person in an environment of tired and tiring people. The reader participates in a world whose customs became anachronistic and the characters pathetic or silly. For these qualities of characterization the novel deserves praise. One of the major characters is Imruska, mouthpiece of the writer. Imruska's "literary" dissertations and philosophical statements are somewhat opinionated, but one should not censure him unhesitatingly. He spoke and acted in settings that necessitated his numerous objections and he was young. Parts of the novel are vigorous, but the torrent of words interferes with the unity of the book. The novel, picturing the end of an era, has elements of greatness without being truly great.

Timar Virgil fia (The son of Virgil Timar) is Babits' best novel. In fact, it is a long short story, persuasive, absorbing, coherent. Introduction, presentation and denouement create an atmosphere of expectation and fulfillment. One's emotional response is immediate. The analysis of the three major characters is complete, therefore convincing. The love of Virgil Timar, who is a teacher and a member of a religious order, for a half-orphan student, Pista Vagner, his feeling that he is his "spiritual father," and the return of the "real father," Vilmos Vitany, an able but sceptical and materialistic journalist, the "real father's" ability to impress the boy with his fatherhood, though he neglected him heretofore, the boy's decision to follow his father, thus betraying his faithfulness to his "spiritual father," the conflict of attitudes and instincts, of evident and ineffable factors, the entire plot is knit together with an artistic sureness, with a creative sense of understanding, with an intuitive and positive concentration on the comedy and tragedy of the possessive and unpossessive traits of human nature. No glittering embellishment, no conspicuous imagery, no verbal dressing-up, no lifelessness spoil the unity of the story, or the delight that its psychology of contrasts offers.

Referring to Babits' prose, his three volumes of literary essays,

Irodalmi Problema (Literary Problems), *Gondolat es Iras* (Thought and Letter), *Elet es Irodalom* (Life and Literature), his literary history *Az Europai Irodalom Története* (The History of European Literature) and his autobiography *Keresztutkasul Az Eletemen* (Criss-Cross Through my Life), must be mentioned. The aesthetic and moral critic and historian, the philosophically and psychologically trained appraiser of values, the spirit that respected the cultural legacy of the past and endeavored to find values in the often uncongenial flux of modern life, upholds in these studies those principles which were destroyed or were in danger of destruction by organically insensitive and amoral forces. Regardless of whether Sophocles or Saint Augustine of the ancients, Bergson of the moderns, or Hungarian writers and poets of the past or of more recent times were the subjects of his critical evaluation, Babits, attracted to their loftiness, made them attractive to those who in the age of "progress," of decaying or decayed taste, were not sufficiently conversant or were unconcerned with them. In his *History of European Literature* Babits emphasizes the view that the history of literature is epitomized in the interrelationship of great creative minds. He does not dismiss minor writers, but never ceases to accentuate their secondary importance, compared with the really great. With an intellectual chastity rare anywhere, with an integrity that knows no half-way measures between artistic honesty and dishonesty, he never fails to point out that the comprehension of and the respect for human dignity is not only imperative to the pattern of a substantial life, but it is the criterion of truly significant literature. His autobiography reveals more of the spirit of his life, than of external facts

IV

Babits knew how to assimilate the poetic culture of other nations. He found deep enjoyment in them; he did not travel much abroad, nevertheless he received poetic solace from distances in time and space. His linguistic interests were varied; he moved with ease in the labyrinthine world of Greek, Roman, French, English, German, Italian, American literature. His interests in translations expressed his reverence for the distinctive creations of foreign lands, and his abiding faith in universal beauty. For him it was not a rhetorical question but a decisive feeling, whether — allowing inevitable technical difficulties — it was possible for a Hungarian poet to discover adequate poetic diction for the interpretation and transplantation of ancient and modern foreign poetic works. As a translator, his taste was eclectic, but never superficial. He asserted that poetic translations were independent creations; there is no impassive translation, while

conveying the rhythm of other poets. In view of all this, it is natural that he never violated his responsibility as a translator, and that his translations are as much a part of his creative spirit as is his original work.

The translations of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Dante's *Commedia*, to which he wrote a scholarly preface; Shakespeare's *Tempest*, Goethe's *Iphigenia*, his *Amor Sanctus*, a collection of fifty Latin hymns, *Erato*, a book of antique and modern erotic poems, and his poetic anthology of foreign poets entitled *Pavattollak* (Peacock-feathers) prove his admiration for the task he set before him. He called himself a poor *graculus* who arrayed his spirit with peacock-feathers. His translations (transplantations), are not inferior to the original. In most instances the impression one gains is of a total poetic experience in the Hungarian language. Wordsworth, Tennyson, Meredith, Wilde, Swinburne, Rossetti of the English poets, Baudelaire, Richepin, Verlaine of the French, Carducci of the Italians, Vogelweide, Lenau, Heine, Liliencron of the German inspired Babits to translations. This list is not particularly revealing of Babits' taste; it is not a unit of the poet's sole sympathies as to the kind of foreign poets he was fond of. By translating them, Babits stressed aesthetic perceptions which, prior to him, were not generally accepted by Hungarian poetic translators. Most of these translations, with all their admirable characteristics, were, in a pioneering sense, matters of aesthetic importance. Dante or Shakespeare, of course, and other great writers and poets of foreign countries, had their good Hungarian translators in the past; but it was Babits, and among his contemporaries, Dezso Kosztolanyi and Arpad Toth, who included into their list of translations poets heretofore unknown by the Hungarian public.

Babits as a playwright was less exceptional. *Laodameia* is a closet-drama. The theme is not fully developed. In *Vihar* (Storm) he used the theme of a fable, written by Janos Garay, a nineteenth century Hungarian poet of ballads and patriotic lyric verses. It is an unfinished play. *A literator* (The literator) is Babits' tribute in dramatic form to Ferenc Kazinczy, the enlightened nineteenth-century Hungarian writer and critic, whose life and work were a source of encouragement to his friends and later generations. The play, in its intent, is a comedy, but not a thoroughly successful one. Babits, absorbed in ideas, ideals, and images, was not destined to be a playwright according to box office terms. But even in these book-dramas we meet the virtuoso of the Hungarian language, and the spirit of a poetic nonconformist.

V

In the literary and political Babel of twentieth century Hungary Babits knew that he was fighting a more or less losing battle. His complete works were published in ten volumes, the various literary societies were proud to claim him as a member, some of his work was translated into German, French, English, Italian, and other languages, nevertheless his real achievement was that of *succès d'estime*. In his quest for values he never yielded to greedy external success which is a parody of appreciation. He was always a literary artist with an independent spirit.

As a witness and as an expression of the tragic lot of the cultured man in his native land and all over the world, he offered evidence of understanding and intellectual bravery that should make his importance clear to his own people as well as to the people of other countries. His tragic sense, as I stated before, akin to a Sophoclean acceptance of the ceaseless warring of the human spirit (although much less conservative in its political and social aspect), was immune to the margin-intelligence of those who were satisfied with the clever or meaningless technique of adjustment. He possessed the faculty of an inspiring and impartial intelligence, relying on ideas and ideals, never desisting from the duty of critical consciousness. He said that "the poem gives birth to the poet" thus admitting, in a Kantian sense, the relationship of meaning to awareness.

Babits demonstrated the fallacy of those psychological aestheticians who conceive art as the purest form of mere experiences. In his world of life and art experience had to have meaning. His pulsing heart and thinking brain could not be reconciled with the mechanical version of "common sense"; they also had to defy the unquestionably unpleasant noise of literary parrots, shopkeepers and money changers. Babits was treating them with anguish and contempt. His integrity explains his resentment of literary expressions in which the dominant note ridiculed the generalization of truth or the need of truth. There was enough scepticism in him to appreciate the unique, but not so much that it did not seek to discredit the merely unique for the sake of the universal. His Hungarianism contained the best that his heritage could give him; his universality implied the exchange of the creative spirit of a comparatively small nation with the creative spirit of every other nation that remained true to its own natural and cultural obligations. His sense of honor, his distrust of demagogism, his indisputable ability would have made of him a poet and a writer of primary importance in a more fortunate country; in Hungary, in an environment of flying banners, historical phrases,

uprooted illusions, in a country victimized by outside and inside enemies, he represented the universal revolt of the spirit against local pettiness and unfairness, and against the unreasonableness and hypocrisy of the rest of the world. He also represented the responsibility of good style, of the uninterrupted necessity of thinking, of imaginative sanity, of creative poise, of the artistic vernacular of the spirit.

One could quarrel with some of Babits' canons regarding his pamphleteering, rightist and leftist, contemporaries and their political casuistry. One could say that his concept of enduring worth in literature was sometimes subject to justified criticism. One could discern in his loneliness, in its lyrical and ironic manifestation, a self-designated policy, sincere but occasionally too arbitrary in its relation to those who did not see eye to eye with him. The flesh and blood richness of some other great writers and poets was not one of his characteristic attributes. Nonetheless, his grasp of ideal values and his superb talent entitle him to universal recognition. This recognition should save Babits from the linguistic solitariness of a Hungarian poet.

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REVIEWS

GEORGE V. LANTZEFF, *Siberia in the Seventeenth Century. A Study of the Colonial Administration*. University of California Publications in History Volume XXX Berkeley, Calif. University of California Press, 1943 235 pp.

RAYMOND H. FISHER, *The Russian Fur Trade, 1550-1700*. University of California Publications in History Volume XXXI Berkeley Calif. University of California Press, 1943 275 pp.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA is well equipped and well situated to sponsor the studies of the Far East of which Siberia constitutes an integral part and deserves particular attention. A land rich in resources and economic potentialities, a realm that is apt to make any German "*Lebensraum*" hungry, Siberia still remains, strangely enough, a *terra incognita* for many people even in Russia, to say nothing of foreign lands. In this connection, the University of California Press through its publications in History series has performed a most valuable service by releasing these two volumes. Both of them are devoted to the same subject and constitute a complementary set. These publications came as a result of graduate study under Professor Robert J. Kerner who has contributed much to the encouragement of the study of Eastern Europe and Siberia.

The first volume under consideration is that of Dr. George V. Lantzeff, who performed a pioneering task in the study of Siberian colonial administration in the seventeenth century. Dr. Lantzeff examines Russian colonial administration from a very broad view, carefully analyzing the feudal aspects of Siberian colonization, territorial organization, military, financial and political administration, relation between Church and State, and the treatment of the natives. It is doubtful whether the near future will witness a more laborious and conscientious work. The author plowed through a most amazing amount of historical material, a good deal of which is documentary evidence, such as the great collections of the Archeographic Commission, the various publications of the Academy of Sciences, the Siberian Chronicles, and the voluminous "Acts" which constitute an invaluable treasure for the student of Siberian history. All these resources, thanks to the foresight of the University of California and at the urgent advice of Professor Kerner, were purchased from the late Professor Milyukov and today are the property of that University. Dr. Lantzeff made excellent use of these resources, and contributed a long-needed study of a land which is bound to become most vital in future world economy.

The other volume, that of Dr. Raymond H. Fisher, deals with a more specialized field, though not a less important one, namely, the rôle of fur trade in the colonization of Siberia. Fur trade was more than a source of livelihood for the Russian of the Middle Ages: it was one of the most important items of export; fur was a medium of exchange in many cases and a means of paying tribute or taxes to the State; furs were used as diplo-

matic bribery on many occasions to appease the wrath of foreign states or militant tribes when the sword of Moscow was not sharp enough to be too effective. Furthermore, constant search for the precious sable led to constant exploration eastward and the blazing of pioneering trails until the Russian reached the Pacific. Behind the hunter invariably followed the soldier and state official, thus leading to colonization and judicial claim of the vast Siberian lands. Like Dr. Lantzeff, Dr. Fisher uses the valuable and voluminous library facilities of the University of California profusely, and from all evidence has mastered the Russian language sufficiently enough to handle such difficult sources as fifteenth and sixteenth century documentary publications.

All in all the two volumes are welcome as a most useful contribution to the lifting of the curtain upon the Siberian stage. It is the sincere hope that the University of California continues these studies in the field of economic history, a field in which America is justly showing particular interest. Both volumes are accompanied by excellent bibliographical lists and adequate indexes. If any criticism is necessary as a part of a review I can only say that Dr. Lantzeff's work has an overabundance of Russian terms which could be easily eliminated by adequate translation into English. It is not only unnecessary but absolutely imposing upon the English reader to use such terms as "chelobitnyiia," "desiataia denga," "Prikaz," or several dozen other terms when in each case an English equivalent can be easily found.

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR,
University of Nevada.

WILLIAM MANDEL, *The Soviet Far East and Central Asia* (New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1944). Pp. xv + 158. \$2.50.

THIS VOLUME, by a Research Associate of the American Russian Institute, is issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, as one of the latter's Inquiry Series. It is a handy reference compendium rather than a unitary work — and it is strongly reminiscent of the curate's oft-mentioned egg. There are parts that are *very* good. The work falls mainly into four sections: the Author's Preface, seven chapters on the Soviet Far East, which constitute the heart of the study; three essays on Central Asia; and five appendices.

Mr. Mandel's Preface is a stimulating twofold essay in which he analyzes in part various important factors relating to the Pacific Area and to Central Asia. Here he explains the objectives and methods of his study. He calls attention to what every student of both Russian and Far Eastern history must certainly bear in mind — but which is, nevertheless, often overlooked — namely, that in the modern age (and it held true although less conspicuously, in the pre-modern ages) developments in the Pacific and Far Eastern regions, as well as in those of the Near and Middle East, can be fully understood only when the relations of these areas with the Western world are taken into account. The applications of

this fact to the present World War, particularly the contiguity of Soviet frontiers with those of Germany and Nippon, are clearly, if briefly, brought out.

The seven chapters on the Soviet Far East (Fortress on the Amur, Nature and Natural Resources, Transportation, Population and Land Settlement, Cultural Development, Economic Development, and The Far-East in War Time) are replete with materials largely factual and statistical in nature. Inasmuch as relatively few non-citizens of the Soviets are acquainted at first hand with Siberia as a whole, and there exists comparatively little source material which is not of Soviet origin, it is natural that the sources used by the writer are in the main official and semi-official. It is equally natural that the style in which they are indited should be lyrical, and lyrical they, and the book based on them, indisputably are. All who are acquainted with Sunday School works of fiction of the late 'nineties and early 1900's, and the Rollo and Elsie Dinsmore series, and California Chamber of Commerce booklets, and Nipponese-inspired accounts of the Paradise or even Heaven-on-earth which is "Manchukuo" since 1931, will feel as uplifted after reading accounts of the blossoming of the Bolshevik rose in the Siberian former tsarist desert as they did when young after an inoculation with the virus of Rollo and Elsie. It just does not seem possible that all the lovely things could have been done that reportedly have been done, and that all the people of new Siberia could be as able, ambitious, and unselfish as they are said to be in the source materials used by Mr. Mandel in his study. The ways in which little busy capitalist bees have improved the shining hours have been so improved upon by the Siberian Socialist hive-workers that in comparison the former appear like drones.

"Fruit orchards extend right to the edge of the thick virgin forest. At the foot of the hills there grow wild grapes and lemons, and just inches below these redden bunches of cultivated raspberries and currants.

"We are in the sunny and fertile Suchan valley. Its riches are being exploited by the collective farmers in the Maritime Territory as one would expect of real Soviet people . . . [on] the red Guerrilla Collective Farm. . . . Mrs. Kseniia Gutsel'ak, voiced what was in everyone's mind when she declared at a general meeting of the farm, 'You'll find the members of my gang in the fields until all work is completed.' Others followed her example. People worked without rest day and night and finished the winter sowing in fourteen working days . . . (p. 61)."

Although it is generally inferred that ambition and patriotism alone account for the phenomenal progress in both urban and rural developments which is undoubtedly taking place, there are occasional indications (pp. 67-68) that pressures other than purely moral are at times exerted. Here and now as in other parts of the world and at other times, "the end justifies the means."

The three essays dealing with Soviet Central Asia, based on earlier

published articles, are of interest and importance equal to the chapters above mentioned. More smoothly written and less statistical, they read less like *The Statesman's Year Book* and constitute an important commentary on many of the influences and effects of the Russian Revolution upon old Asia. The appendices, too, are of especial value, as are the several maps included.

HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR,
The University of Chicago.

C. A. MANNING, *Ukrainian Literature, Studies of the Leading Authors* Jersey City Ukrainian National Association, 1944. Pp. 126.

IT IS ONLY of late that there is apparent on this Continent a slight interest in the literary record of Ukraine. The spur is derived, no doubt, from the recent world events in which that country is playing no mean role. Like Russia, Ukraine, which forms a goodly part of the Soviet Union, now begins to inspire curiosity in those who pursue their researches in comparative Slavic. That interest has come somewhat belatedly, to be sure; for it is inconceivable that a nation of some forty million, possessing a large store of historical achievement, with a creditable output of fine letters, should be so long virtually neglected by those delving in the Slavic field while other less important kindred races have had their literary endeavors dealt with minutely, in all their phases and aspects, almost to exhaustion.

The reason for this neglect requires no research. Before the Russian Revolution Ukraine was held to be a kind of Russia Minor, its people but an inferior part of the one and indivisible whole, its language a hybrid dialect and its literature an accidental, and by no means important, tributary of the Russian elemental stream of letters. That view, for obvious political reasons, prevailed during the long centuries of the Imperial régime, spread through Europe and beyond, and, it is to be regretted, took root in even those who prided themselves on critical minds. The lie to this misconception was given by the Soviet régime itself which, regardless of the political status given to Ukraine, allowed its literature a distinct place of its own and even encouraged its development. That was especially the case in the third decade of this century. Yet the cultivation of Ukrainian literature among other non-Slavic peoples continued to languish, and remained on the level on which, to imitate a Shakespearean phrase, there was none too poor to do it reverence, despite the certainty that among the Slavic literatures it is, we venture to say, third in importance.

Owing, therefore, to the much protracted disregard with which it has thus far been treated, it is heartening to welcome the appearance of Professor Manning's study which purposes to give a brief survey of Ukrainian literature. The survey is brief indeed, but comprehensive none the less. Moreover, as matters now stand, anything that appears in print

with regard to that literature, be it scanty or even deficient, is to be accepted gratefully by unprejudiced Slavists and amateurs of Slavic studies.

The book constitutes a series of short monographs of the leading Ukrainian authors. In each is presented the life and work of a writer in as concise a manner as possible. While the work is on that account of a somewhat patch-work character it still possesses a semblance of a whole and is a far cry from the *Brief Survey of Ukrainian Literature* by A. P. Coleman, published by the Ukrainian University Society, New York, 1936. It is undoubtedly a long step forward in the English-speaking world toward a historical analysis and synthesis of Ukrainian Literature and, later, to specialized studies of its writers and movements. Likewise it is a sign that scholarship in matters Ukrainian appears to be coming into its own.

Regardless of some limitations, Mr. Manning is to be credited with a greater than common insight into his task. He understands clearly the spirit of Ukrainian Literature, whose chief characteristic is its democratic element. With that influence it is imbued, at times, to the degree of superfluity, from Ivan Vishensky, who, in his democratic appeal, is the "Shevchenko" of the sixteenth century, down to Stefanik and the pre-war writers. In his essay on Shevchenko, which, by the way, is the best thus far written on the poet in English, that point is clearly brought out. One of the greatest among all national poets of the world, Taras Shevchenko is likewise one of the greatest among the democratic poets. Bear witness his mighty *Caucasus* in which he becomes the very seer of liberty, championing the cause of the oppressed, whoever and wherever they be. How at odds here with Pushkin, who revelled in the conquest of the *Circassians* when he wrote in his *Prisoner of the Caucasus*. "Bemean thyself, Caucasus, Yermolov comes."

In his sketch of Vasil Stefanik's work Mr. Manning falls short of the excellence of his other monographs. His evaluation of that writer as "a consummate artist and miniaturist in words" and "an author of whom any literature may well be proud" is true enough. But he does not make Stefanik's greatness to bear in his recounting of the various short stories, each of which is really so compact as to be worth a first-rate naturalistic novel. The translation of the examples does not ring true. It is entirely unconvincing and does not persuade the reader of Stefanik's paramount artistry. It is to be admitted that he is a difficult author to treat in a translation, but one nevertheless feels that something better could have been done with this chapter to do justice to so excellent a writer. Perhaps, instead of commonplace recountings of those gem-like masterpieces, Mr. Manning might have concentrated on a single, well-rendered representative piece to bear out the man's artistic worth. The method of mere condensation of the contents of a story in one's own words very often, as in this case, has a nullifying effect and makes the author appear palish indeed.

The work is interspersed with historical material which assists non-adepts to understand the spirit of Ukrainian Literature; for while it is true that every literature reflects to a greater or less extent the political, social and economic circumstances surrounding it, this is the more true of Ukrainian literature which is almost entirely the product of the signs of the times. Hence the necessity of some such coordination as is evidenced in this study. In so doing, and especially by dwelling on the persecution of the Ukrainian word and deed by the Tsarist overseers, Mr. Manning helps to clarify why the Ukrainian Nicolai Gogol, and V. Kapnist before him, became entirely Russian figures; and why such writers as Marko Vovchok and Hrihori Kvitka-Osnovianenko, in spite of achieving notable success in their efforts in Ukrainian, still had strong inclinations to Russianizing.

It is to be regretted that some of the recent writers receive such meagre attention in this book. The foremost Ukrainian poet of the present century, Pavlo Tichina, gets but a passing glance. One of the greatest symbolists and impressionists of Europe, Mikola Khvilowy, is considered only in the light of his strained relations with the Soviet government. Both deserve much better than just a glimpse. Maksim Rilsky, the greatest master of the Ukrainian language in the realm of poetry, is altogether ignored, as is such a versatile talent as Volodimir Vinnitchenko. These and other omissions make an inexcusable gap in this otherwise commendable history of Ukrainian literature.

The work suffers yet for another lacuna — lack of an adequate bibliography. While the "General" section appears fairly exhaustive, that of "Individual Authors," under which are assembled Ukrainian literary items translated into English, is far from complete. Many translations known to this reviewer are not mentioned. These, he is told, will, in the next edition, be added to those already listed.

Even if they are, the bibliography will appear scanty, and will glaringly reveal how little has been done in the matter of Ukrainian literature, and how infinitely more remains to be done. Let us, therefore, hope that Mr. Manning's book will serve as an impetus to further research in that direction. It is certainly the first serious study in English, or in any other non-Slavic language for all that, of Ukrainian literature, and as such is to be commended regardless of any criticism one may find necessary to level at it.

C. H. ANDRUSYSHEN,
Cambridge, Mass.

MILOŠ ŠAFRÁNEK, *Bohuslav Martinů* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. Pp 126. \$3.00.

THERE ARE not many composers about whom biographies would be written while their creative capacity has hardly approached the point of consummation. The fifty-four-year-old Czech composer Bohuslav Martinů is one of the exceptions. This is due chiefly to the fact that he has

been writing music of distinct qualities. But a considerable share of the credit must also go to Miloš Šafránek, the composer's countryman and friend. Thus the feat is a double one. The writer discovered his subject of preference and the composer found his biographer. The result is a neat little book which from now on will have its permanent place on the reference shelves of the critics, commentators and music lovers in general.

The layman interested in Martinů as a man will find in the book an interesting account of the composer's career. Born in 1890, he began to write music at the age of ten when he had already attained a relatively high level of perfection as a violin player. In common with many musicians he had little predilection for such subjects as drawing and mathematics. A passionate reader of literature, Martinů entered the Prague conservatory of music when he was sixteen. Frequent attendances at rehearsals with his father, the prompter of a local amateur society, introduced him to things theatrical, the third of his early great loves. Being "a free bird," it could not be said that the more or less rigid school conditions agreed with him. His formal school record left, therefore, much to be desired. Yet inwardly the shy young man, completely engrossed in his own thoughts, was going through an incessant process of growth. During World War I he settled down as a music teacher in a high school at his native town of Polička. Not for long, however. After having written his first successful composition, *Czech Rhapsody*, he returned to Prague to rejoin the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra as second violinist. In 1922, the Prague National Theater produced his ballet *Istar* based on an oriental theme. But it was Paris which was destined to become his second home for seventeen years, from 1923 until the fall of France in 1940.

Struggling against material difficulties, the composer adapted himself to the inspiring climate of this cultural metropolis of Europe. With a solid rooting in his native land, so apparent in nearly all his works, he soon surprised the world with three orchestral compositions that brought him international fame: *Half-Time*, *La Bagarre* and *La Symphonie*. *La Bagarre* had its premiere by the Symphony Orchestra in Boston under Serge Koussevitzky. Although an unfamiliar composition, it had a tremendous success. Then came a series of works in the field of chamber music and the *Double Concerto*, "the most forceful of all Martinů works." In 1937 he wrote in Paris his great opera *Južetie*, the eighth of his operatic compositions. Eventually, the year 1940 saw the composer and Mrs. Martinů join the exodus of many outstanding Europeans seeking a haven in the land of the free. Here he accomplished his Symphonies No. 1 and No. 2 and the *Memorial to Lidice*, besides other works figuring frequently in the programs of contemporary concerts. And here he is engaged in finishing his Symphony No. 3.

The connoisseur will derive from Šafránek's biography of Martinů an enjoyment far in excess of the relatively small size of the book and its unostentatious appearance. Allowing for the fact that it is a work of love, the effect of the writing is achieved largely by the refreshing combination

of a descriptive analysis, genuine reporting, and an undercurrent of philosophy. And what is equally meritorious is the unusual economy of language. There is no rule as to the way in which a biography should be written, especially a biography of a modern composer. Šafránek created his own method. In 126 well set pages he succeeded in telling the reader all he is anxious to know about the man and his 124 compositions to date. At a time when so much paper is often needlessly wasted on irrelevant subjects, this handling of an obviously uneasy theme is doubly gratifying. It is a piece of honest portraiture. And a very useful one.

JOSEPH HANČ
New York, N. Y.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A NEW VENTURE in the publishing world has been started recently. For the first time in history an American publishing firm, the International University Press of New York, has undertaken the publication of works of Russian classics in Russian. So far they have published a one volume edition of the works of Pushkin and a similar one of Gogol, as well as a volume of selected works of Chekhov. In addition they have announced the publication of the following in separate volumes: 1. Gogol, *Dead Souls*; 2. Gogol, *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka*; 3. Gogol, *Comedies*, 4. Lermontov, *Poems*; 5. Lermontov, *Hero of Our Times*; 6. Leskov, *The Enchanted Wanderer*; 7. Leskov, *The Left-handed One*; 8. Leskov, *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*; 9. Turgenev, *Notes of a Hunter*; 10. Turgenev, *Novellettes and short stories*; 11. Turgenev, *Fathers and Sons*; 12. Turgenev, *A Nest of Gentle folk*; and 13. Chekhov, *One-Act Plays*.

While heartily welcoming such publications because of the dearth of Russian texts now available, one should point out that the print used by the publishers, although clear, is very small and therefore will constitute a handicap to any but very advanced American students of the Russian language.

L.I.S.

THE ADDITION of a Russian Summer School at Middlebury College this year brings the total of the local foreign language schools to five; others being French, German, Italian and Spanish. In addition, there are two English sessions: the Bread Loaf School of English and the Writers' Conference.

The Russian School will open on June 30 on the campus at Middlebury and run for a seven weeks' period, closing on August 16. Under the direction of Dr. Mischa H. Fayer, head of the Russian Department which has existed at Middlebury for the past two years, the Summer School will offer intensive courses for beginners as well as intermediate and advanced lecture courses in Russian.

Dr. Fayer lived in Russia for over twenty years, and has taught languages in this country for the past sixteen years. He will be assisted by Mrs. Lydia Mikhaïloff-Shelly, who will direct the activities of the Russian House in addition to her teaching.

The Middlebury Language Schools stand for the thorough preparation of language teachers and for the linguistic training of those who will participate in the rehabilitation of the world after the war. Mastery of the spoken and written language and an intimate knowledge of the life, institutions, literature, history and culture of the foreign countries are stressed. Separate residence and dining halls, native instructors, and exclusive use of the language both in and out of the classroom are essential features of the instruction.

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EUROPEAN REVIEW, which will therefore begin in 1945 with Volume IV, the initial issue of which will count as No. 8.

A few full sets of the American Series of the (British) *Slavonic and East European Review* are still available at \$13.50 per set plus postage, and may be obtained on order addressed to the Editor, AMERICAN SLAVIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW, 545 Widener Library, Cambridge 38, Mass.

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